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THE
HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.



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John Riley, pinx^t

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THE RIGHT REVEREND GILBERT BURNET,

Lord Bishop of Salisbury.

WILLIAM SMITH, III, FLEET STREET, LONDON.



THE
HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BY
✓
GILBERT BURNET, D.D.,

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

—◆—
A New Edition.

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES, AND A COPIOUS INDEX.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON :
WILLIAM S. ORR & CO., AMEN CORNER,
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MDCCCL.



INTRODUCTORY NOTICE

TO THE PRESENT EDITION.

THE established character of Burnet's History of the Reformation as a standard work, and most valuable historical authority, renders it unnecessary to apologise for its re-publication, or to enter into a defence of the author against those attacks which his well-known political opinions drew upon him from the wits of the time. The gibes and sarcasms of Swift and Parnell *, which after all were directed not against the work itself, but to those introductory portions which referred to the topics of the day, are now little more than literary curiosities; while the merits and fidelity of the historical portion have received ample confirmation in the continued approbation of successive generations.

It therefore only here remains for the editor to point out the means which have been taken to obviate, as far as possible, the inconveniences arising from the peculiar mode in which the original volumes were published, and to make a few remarks calculated to assist those who have hitherto been unacquainted with the work, in the most advantageous method of perusing it.

The History of the Reformation was first published in three folio volumes; the first appearing in the year 1679, the second in the year 1681. These two volumes complete the History; the third volume, which was not published until 1714, being merely supplementary to the former volumes, and consisting chiefly of additional facts relating to the transactions already noticed, and of corrections of inadvertent errors. Thus, it will be perceived that it is necessary to read the third volume (or Part, as it is otherwise designated) in connexion with its predecessors, and not as a continuation of the history contained in them.

In a work of such magnitude it was impossible to avoid errors, and it

* We allude to Swift's witty "Preface to the B——p of S——'s Introduction to the third volume of the History of the Reformation," and Parnell's lines on the bishop's narrowly escaping being burnt in his closet.

is therefore not surprising to find the bishop guilty of several inaccuracies ; he is however deserving of great praise for the candour with which he acknowledged and corrected his mistakes when they were pointed out. The means he adopted for this purpose were, however, of a nature to cause much embarrassment to the reader, and it has been a main object with the editor to supply these defects. At the end of the first Part the bishop supplied several corrections in the form of "Addenda ;" and as these could not with propriety be introduced into the text, care has been taken to make them accessible at the proper moment by references at the passages to which they relate. At the end of the second volume a long list of corrections of errors in the former part, sent to the bishop by Mr. Fulman, rector of Hamton Meysey, in Gloucestershire, was printed ; and in the appendix to the third volume similar corrections furnished by Mr. Granger, Mr. Strype, and an anonymous contributor (Mr. Baker, author of the *Reflections on Learning*), were inserted,—an arrangement which rendered them almost useless to the reader. All these corrections, together with some drawn from other sources, and such as were made by the author himself in subsequent parts of his work on what he had written before, have been either silently introduced into the text, or given in notes at the foot of the page, and are thus rendered immediately available.

The want of such an arrangement, and especially of a reference to the author's numerous and important corrections of himself,—a want which has led even our best historians into error*,—is so obvious, that it is surprising to find that it was not until 1820, when the corrections furnished by Mr. Granger alone were incorporated in an edition of the work published in that year, that anything of the kind was attempted. In 1839, Dr. Nares set the example of incorporating the whole of the corrections, omitting however, for what reason we know not, the name of the commentator when he introduced his corrections as notes. In the present edition we have taken care to give our authority in every case where we have offered corrections, save in such cases as were so indisputable as to prevent all hesitation in transferring them at once and without comment to the text. We may then claim for the present edition the merit of being (if we except that by Dr. Nares) the only complete, and we may add, useable edition of Burnet's *History of the Reformation*.

* For a remarkable instance see note page 55.

TO THE KING.

SIR,

THE first step that was made in the reformation of this church was the restoring to your royal ancestors the rights of the crown, and an entire dominion over all their subjects, of which they had been disseised by the craft and violence of an unjust pretender ; to whom the clergy, though your Majesty's progenitors had enriched them by a bounty no less profuse than ill managed, did not only adhere, but drew with them the laity, over whose consciences they had gained so absolute an authority that our kings were to expect no obedience from their people but what the popes were pleased to allow.

It is true, the nobler part of the nation did frequently in parliament assert the regal prerogatives against those papal invasions ; yet these were but faint endeavours, for an ill-executed law is but an unequal match to a principle strongly infused into the consciences of the people.

But how different was this from the teaching of Christ and his apostles ! They forbade men to use all those arts by which the papacy grew up and yet subsists : they exhorted them to obey magistrates, when they knew it would cost them their lives : they were for setting up a kingdom not of this world, nor to be attained but by a holy and peaceable religion. If this might everywhere take place, princes would find government both easy and secure ; it would raise in their subjects the truest courage, and unite them with the firmest charity ; it would draw from them obedience to the laws, and reverence to the persons of their kings. If the standards of justice and charity which the gospel gives, of doing as we would be done by, and loving our neighbours as ourselves, were made the measures of men's actions, how steadily would societies be governed, and how exactly would princes be obeyed !

The design of the Reformation was to restore Christianity to what it was at first, and to purge it of those corruptions with which it was overrun in the later and darker ages.

GREAT SIR, this work was carried on by a slow and unsteady progress under King Henry VIII. ; it advanced in a fuller and freer course under the short but blessed reign of King Edward ; was sealed with the blood of many martyrs under Queen Mary ; was brought to a full settlement in the happy and glorious days of Queen Elizabeth ; was defended by the learned pen of King James ; but the established frame of it, under which it had so long flourished, was overthrown with your Majesty's blessed father, who fell with it, and honoured it by its unexampled suffering for it ; and was again restored to its former beauty and order by your Majesty's happy return.

What remains to complete and perpetuate this blessing, the composing of our differences at home, the establishing a closer correspondence with the reformed churches abroad, the securing us from the restless and wicked practices of that party who hoped so lately to have been at the end of their designs, and that which can only entitle us to a blessing from God, the reforming of our manners

and lives, as our ancestors did our doctrine and worship,—all this is reserved for your Majesty, that it may appear that your royal title of Defender of the Faith is no empty sound, but the real strength and glory of your crown.

For attaining these ends, it will be of great use to trace the steps of our first reformers ; for if the land-marks they set be observed, we can hardly go out of the way. This was my chief design in the following sheets, which I now most humbly offer to your Majesty, hoping that, as you were graciously pleased to command that I should have free access to all records for composing them, so you will not deny your royal patronage to the history of that work, which God grant your Majesty may live to raise to its perfection, and to complete in your reign the glory of all your titles. This is a part of the most earnest as well as the daily prayers of,

May it please your sacred Majesty,

Your Majesty's most loyal, most faithful, and most devoted subject and servant,

G. BURNET.

THE PREFACE.

THERE IS NO part of history better received than the account of great changes and revolutions of states and governments, in which the variety of unlooked-for accidents and events both entertains the reader and improves him.

OF all changes, those in religion that have been sudden and signal are inquired into with the most searching curiosity ; where the salvation of souls being concerned the better sort are much affected ; and the credit, honour, and interest of churches and parties draw in these, who, though they do not much care for the religious part, yet make noise about it to serve other ends. The changes that were made in religion in the last century have produced such effects everywhere, that it is no wonder if all persons desire to see a clear account of the several steps in which they advanced—of the counsels that directed them—and the motives, both religious and political, that inclined men of all conditions to concur in them. Germany produced a Sleidan, France a Thuanus, and Italy a Friar Paul, who have given the world as full satisfaction in what was done beyond sea as they could desire. And though the two last lived and died in the communion of the church of Rome, yet they have delivered things to posterity with so much candour and evenness, that their authority is disputed by none but those of their own party.

BUT while foreign churches have such historians, ours at home have not had the like good fortune ; for whether it was that the reformers at first presumed so far on their legal and calm proceedings—on the continued succession of their clergy—the authority of the law—and the protection of the prince—that they judged it needless to write a history, and therefore employed their best pens rather to justify what they did than to deliver how it was done ; or whether by a mere neglect the thing was omitted,—we cannot determine. True it is, that it was not done to any degree of exactness when matters were so fresh in men's memories, that things might have been opened with greater advantages, and vouched by better authority, than it is to be expected at this distance.

THEY were soon after much provoked by Sanders's History, which he published to the world in Latin ; yet, either despising a writer who did so impudently deliver falsehoods, that from his own book many of them may be disproved, or expecting a command from authority, they did not then set about it. The best account I can give of their silence is, that most of Sanders's calumnies being levelled at Queen Elizabeth, whose birth and parents he designed chiefly to disgrace, it was thought

too tender a point by her wise counsellors to be much inquired into : it gave too great credit to his lies to answer them ; an answer would draw forth a reply, by which those calumnies would still be kept alive ; and therefore it was not without good reason thought better to let them lie unanswered and despised. From whence it is come that in this age that author is in such credit, that now he is quoted with much assurance ; most of all the writers in the church of Rome rely on his testimony as a good authority. The collectors of the general history of that age follow his thread closely, some of them transcribe his very words. One Pollini, a Dominican, published a history of the changes that were made in England, in Italian, at Rome, anno 1594, which he should more ingenuously have called " A Translation or Paraphrase of Sanders's History ;" and of late, more candidly, but no less maliciously, one of the best pens of France has been employed to translate him into their language, which has created such prejudices in the minds of many there, that our Reformation—which generally was more modestly spoken of, even by those who wrote against it—is now looked on, by such as read Sanders's and believe him, as one of the foulest things that ever was.

Fox, for all his voluminous work, had but few things in his eye when he made his collection ; and designed only to discover the corruptions and cruelties of the Roman clergy, and the sufferings and constancy of the reformers. But his work was written in haste, and there are so many defects in it, that it can by no means be called a complete history of these times ; though I must add that, having compared his Acts and Monuments with the records, I have never been able to discover any errors or prevarications in them, but the utmost fidelity and exactness. Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, designed only in his account of the " British Antiquities," to do justice and honour to his see, and so gives us barely the life of Cranmer, with some few and general hints of what he did. Hall was but a superficial writer, and was more careful to get full informations of the clothes that were worn at the interviews of princes, jousts, tournaments, and great solemnities, than about the councils or secret transactions of the time he lived in. Holingshed, Speed, and Stow give bare relations of things that were public, and commit many faults. Upon their scent most of our late writers have gone, and have only collected and repeated what they wrote.

The Lord Herbert judged it unworthy of him to trifle as others had done, and therefore made a more narrow search into records and original papers than all that had gone before him ; and with great fidelity and industry has given us the " History of King Henry the Eighth." But in the transactions that concern religion, he dwells not so long as the matter required, leaving those to men of another profession, and judging it perhaps not so proper for one of his condition to pursue a full and accurate deduction of those matters.

Since he wrote, two have undertaken the ecclesiastical history—Fuller and Heylin. The former got into his hands some few papers that were not seen before he published them ; but, being a man of fancy and affecting an odd way of writing, his

work gives no great satisfaction. But Doctor Heylin wrote smoothly and handsomely; his method and style are good, and his work was generally more read than anything that had appeared before him: but either he was very ill-informed or very much led by his passions; and he being wrought on by most violent prejudices against some that were concerned in that time, delivers many things in such a manner and so strangely, that one would think he had been secretly set on to it by those of the church of Rome, though I doubt not he was a sincere Protestant, but violently carried away by some particular conceits. In one thing he is not to be excused,—that he never vouched any authority for what he writ, which is not to be forgiven any who write of transactions beyond their own time, and deliver new things not known before. So that upon what grounds he wrote a great deal of his book we can only conjecture, and many in their guesses are not apt to be very favourable to him.

Things being delivered to us with so much alloy and uncertainty, those of the church of Rome do confidently disparage our Reformation; the short history of it, as it is put in their mouths, being,—that it was begun by the lusts and passions of King Henry the Eighth, carried on by the ravenousness of the Duke of Somerset under Edward the Sixth, and confirmed by the policy of Queen Elizabeth and her council to secure her title. These things being generally talked and spread abroad in foreign parts, especially in France, by the new translation of Sanders, and not being yet sufficiently cleared, many have desired to see a fuller and better account of those transactions than has yet been given; so, the thing being necessary, I was the more encouraged to set about it by some persons of great worth and eminence, who thought I had much leisure and other good opportunities to go through with it, and wished me to undertake it. The person that did engage me chiefly to this work was, on many accounts, much fitter to have undertaken it himself; being the most indefatigable in his industry, and the most judicious in his observations, of any I know, and is one of the greatest masters of style now living. But being engaged in the service of the church, in a station that affords him very little leisure, he set me on to it, and furnished me with a curious collection of his own observations. And in some sort this work may be accounted his, for he corrected it with a most critical exactness; so that the first materials, and the last finishing of it, are from him. But, after all this, I lie under such restraints from his modesty that I am not allowed to publish his name*.

I had two objections to it, besides the knowledge of my own unfitness for such a work. One was my unacquaintedness with the laws and customs of this nation, not being born in it; the other was the expense that such a search as was necessary required, which was not easy for me to bear. My acquaintance with the most ingenious Master William Petyt, counsellor of the Inner Temple, cleared one difficulty, he offering me his assistance and direction, without which I must have committed great faults. But I must acknowledge myself highly obliged by the

* Bishop Lloyd is here referred to. See preface to part II., page 274, *infra*.—Ed.

favour and bounty of the honourable Master of the Rolls, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, of whose worth and goodness to me I must make a large digression, if I would undertake to say all that the subject will bear: the whole nation expressed their value of him upon the most signal occasion, when they made him their mouth and speaker in that blessed assembly which called home their king, after which real evidence all little commendations may be well forborne. The obligations he has laid on me are such, that as the gratitude and service of my whole life is the only equal return I can make for them, so, as a small tribute, I judge myself obliged to make my acknowledgments in this manner for the leisure I enjoy under his protection, and the support I receive from him; and if this work does the world any service, the best part of the thanks is due to him, that furnished me with particular opportunities of carrying it on. Nor must I conceal the nobleness of that renowned promoter of learning, Master Boyle, who contributed liberally to the expense this work put me to.

Upon these encouragements I set about it, and began with the search of all public records and offices, the parliament and treaty rolls, with all the patent-rolls, and the registers of the sees of Canterbury and London, and of the Augmentation-office. Then I laid out for all the manuscripts I could hear of, and found things beyond my expectation in the famous Cotton Library, where there is such a collection of original papers relating to these times as perhaps the world can show nothing like it. I had also the favour of some manuscripts of great value both from the famous and eminently learned Doctor Stillingfleet, who gave me great assistance in this work, and from Mr. Petyt and others. When I had looked these over, I then used all the endeavours I could to gather together the books that were printed in those days, from which I not only got considerable hints of matters of fact, but (that which I chiefly looked for) the arguments upon which they managed the controversies then on foot, of which I thought it was the part of an ecclesiastical historian to give an account, as I could recover them, that it may appear upon what motives and grounds they proceeded.

The three chief periods of Henry the Eighth's reign, in which religion is concerned, are, first, from the beginning of his reign till the process of his divorce with Queen Katherine commenced; the second, is from that, till his total breaking off from Rome, and setting up his supremacy over all causes and persons; the third, is from that to his death.

When I first set about this work, I intended to have carried on the History of the Reformation to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in which it was finished and fully settled; but I was forced to change that resolution. The chief reason, among many others, was, that I have not yet been able to discover such full informations of what passed under the succeeding reigns as were necessary for a history; and though I have searched the public registers of that time, yet I am still in the dark myself in many particulars. This made me resolve on publishing this volume first, hoping that those in whose hands any manuscripts or papers of that time lie, will, from

what is now performed, be encouraged to communicate them ; or if any have made a considerable progress in those collections, I shall be far from envying them the honour of such a work, in which it had been inexcusable vanity in me to have meddled, if the desires of others, who have great power over me, had not prevailed with me to set about it. And therefore, though I have made a good advance in the following part of the work, I shall most willingly resign it up to any who will undertake it, and they shall have the free use of all my papers. But if none will set about it who yet can furnish materials towards it, I hope their zeal for carrying on so desired a work will engage them to give all the help to it that is in their power.

There is only one passage belonging to the next volume which I shall take notice of here, since from it I must plead my excuse for several defects which may seem to be in this work. In the search I made of the Rolls and other offices, I wondered much to miss several commissions, patents, and other writings, which by clear evidence I knew were granted, and yet none of them appeared on record. This I could not impute to anything but the omission of the clerks, who failed in the enrolling those commissions ; though it was not likely that matters of so high concernment should have been neglected, especially in such a critical time, and under so severe a king. But as I continued down my search to the fourth year of Queen Mary, I found in the twelfth roll of that year a commission which cleared all my former doubts, and by which I saw what was become of the things I had so anxiously searched after. We have heard of the expurgation of books practised in the church of Rome, but it might have been imagined that public registers and records would have been safe ; yet lest these should have been afterwards confessors, it was resolved they should then be martyrs ; for on the 29th of December, in the fourth year of her reign, a commission was issued out under the great seal to Bonner bishop of London, Cole dean of St. Paul's, and Martine a doctor of the civil law, which is of that importance that I shall here insert the material words of it :—" Whereas it is come to our knowledge, that in the time of the late schism diverse compts, books, scrolls, instruments, and other writings were practised, devised, and made concerning professions against the pope's holiness, and the see apostolic ; and also sundry infamous scrutinies taken in abbeys and other religious houses, tending rather to subvert and overthrow all good religion and religious houses than for any truth contained therein : which being in the custody of divers registers, and we intending to have those writings brought to knowledge, whereby they may be considered and ordered according to our will and pleasure ; " there-upon those three or any two of them are empowered " to cite any persons before them, and examine them upon the premises upon oath, and to bring all such writings before them, and certify their diligence about it to cardinal Pole, that further order might be given about them."

When I saw this, I soon knew which way so many writings had gone ; and as I could not but wonder at their boldness who thus presumed to raze so many records, so their ingenuity in leaving this commission in the Rolls, by which any who had the

curiosity to search for it might be satisfied how the other commissions were destroyed, was much to be commended. Yet in the following work it will appear that some few papers escaped their hands.

I know it is needless to make great protestations of my sincerity in this work. These are of course and are little considered, but I shall take a more effectual way to be believed, for I shall vouch my warrants for what I say, and tell where they are to be found. And having copied out of records and manuscripts many papers of great importance, I shall not only insert the substance of them in the following work, but at the end of it shall give a collection of them at their full length, and in the language in which they were originally written; from which as the reader will receive full evidence of the truth of this history, so he will not be ill pleased to observe the genius and way of the great men in that time, of which he will be better able to judge by seeing their letters and other papers, than by any representation made of them at second-hand. They are digested into that order in which they are referred to in the History.

It will surprise some to see a book of this bigness written of the history of our Reformation under the reign of King Henry the Eighth; since the true beginnings of it are to be reckoned from the reign of King Edward the Sixth, in which the articles of our church, and the forms of our worship, were first compiled and set forth by authority. And indeed in King Henry's time the Reformation was rather conceived than brought forth; and two parties were in the last eighteen years of his reign struggling in the womb, having now and then advantages on either side, as the unconstant humour of that king changed, and as his interests, and often as his passions, swayed him.

Cardinal Wolsey had so dissolved his mind into pleasures, and puffed him up with flattery and servile compliances, that it was not an easy thing to serve him; for being boisterous and impatient naturally, which was much heightened by his most extravagant vanity and high conceit of his own learning and wisdom, he was one of the most uncounsellable persons in the world.

The book which he wrote had engaged him deep in these controversies; and by perpetual flatteries he was brought to fancy it was written with some degrees of inspiration. And Luther, in his answer, had treated him so unmannerly, that it was only the necessity of his affairs that forced him into any correspondence with that party in Germany.

And though Cranmer and Cromwell improved every advantage that either the king's temper or his affairs offered them as much as could be, yet they were to be pitied, having to do with a prince who upon the slightest pretences threw down those whom he had most advanced; which Cromwell felt severely, and Cranmer was sometimes near it.

The faults of this king being so conspicuous, and the severity of his proceedings so unjustifiable, particularly that heinous violation of the most sacred rules of justice and government, in condemning men without bringing them to make their answers;

most of our writers have separated the concerns of this church from his reign : and imagining that all he did was founded only on his revenge upon the court of Rome, for denying his divorce, have taken little care to examine how matters were transacted in his time.

But if we consider the great things that were done by him, we must acknowledge that there was a signal providence of God, in raising up a king of his temper, for clearing the way to that blessed work that followed : and that could hardly have been done but by a man of his humour ; so that I may very fitly apply to him the witty simile of an ingenious writer, who compares Luther to a postilion in his waxed boots and oiled coat, lashing his horses through thick and thin, and bespattering all about him.

This character befits King Henry better (saving the reverence due to his crown), who, as the postilion of reformation, made way for it through a great deal of mire and filth. He abolished the pope's power, by which not only that tyranny was destroyed, which had been long a heavy burthen on this oppressed nation ; but all the opinions, rites, and constitutions, for which there was no better authority than papal decrees, were to fall to the ground ; the foundation that supported them being thus sapped. He suppressed all the monasteries ; in which though there were some inexcusable faults committed, yet he wanted not reason to do what he did. For the foundation of those houses being laid on the superstitious conceit of redeeming souls out of purgatory, by saying masses for them ; they whose office that was, had, by counterfeiting relics, by forging of miracles, and other like impostures, drawn together a vast wealth, to the enriching of their saints, of whom some perhaps were damned souls, and others were never in being. These arts being detected, and withal their great viciousness in some places, and in all their great abuse of the Christian religion, made it seem unfit they should be continued. But it was their dependence on the see of Rome which, as the state of things then was, made it necessary that they should be suppressed. New foundations might have done well ; and the scantness of those, considering the number and wealth of those which were suppressed, is one of the great blemishes of that reign. But it was in vain to endeavour to amend the old ones. Their numbers were so great, their riches and interests in the nation so considerable, that a prince of ordinary metal would not have attempted such a design, much less have completed it in five years' time. With these fell the superstition of images, relics, and the redemption of souls out of purgatory. And those extravagant addresses to saints that are in the Roman offices were thrown out ; only an "*Ora pro nobis*" was kept up : and even that was left to the liberty of priests, to leave it out of the litanies as they saw cause. These were great preparations for a reformation. But it went further, and two things were done, upon which a greater change was reasonably to be expected. The Scriptures were translated into the English tongue, and set up in all churches, and every one was admitted to read them, and they alone were declared the rule of faith. This could not but open the eyes of the nation, who finding a profound silence in these

writings about many things, and a direct opposition to other things that were still retained, must needs conclude, even without deep speculations or nice disputing, that many things that were still in the church had no ground in Scripture, and some of the rest were directly contrary to it. This Cranmer knew well would have such an operation, and therefore made it his chief business to set it forward, which in conclusion he happily effected.

Another thing was also established, which opened the way to all that followed : that every national church was a complete body within itself, so that the church of England, with the authority and concurrence of their head and king, might examine and reform all errors and corruptions, whether in doctrine or worship. All the provincial councils in the ancient church were so many precedents for this, who condemned heresies and reformed abuses as the occasion required. And yet these being all but parts of one empire, there was less reason for their doing it, without staying for a general council, which depended upon the pleasure of one man (the Roman emperor), than could be pretended when Europe was divided into so many kingdoms : by which a common concurrence of all these churches was a thing scarce to be expected ; and therefore this church must be in a very ill condition, if there could be no endeavours for a reformation till all the rest were brought together.

The grounds of the new covenant between God and man in Christ were also truly stated, and the terms on which salvation was to be hoped for were faithfully opened according to the New Testament. And this being in the strict notion of the word, the gospel, and the glad tidings preached through our blessed Lord and Saviour, it must be confessed that there was a great progress made when the nation was well instructed about it, though there was still an alloy of other corruptions, embasing the purity of the faith. And indeed in the whole progress of these changes, the king's design seemed to have been to terrify the court of Rome, and cudgel the pope into a compliance with what he desired : for in his heart he continued addicted to some of the most extravagant opinions of that church, such as transubstantiation, and the other corruptions in the mass, so that he was to his life's end more papist than protestant.

There are two prejudices which men have generally drunk in against that time. The one is, from the king's great enormities, both in his personal deportment and government, which make many think no good could be done by so ill a man and so cruel a prince. I am not to defend him nor to lessen his faults. The vastness and irregularity of his expense procured many heavy exactions, and twice extorted a public discharge of his debts, embased the coin, with other irregularities. His proud and impatient spirit occasioned many cruel proceedings. The taking so many lives, only for denying his supremacy, particularly Fisher's and More's, the one being extreme old, and the other one of the glories of his nation for probity and learning ; the taking advantage from some eruptions in the north, to break the indemnity he had before proclaimed to those in the rebellion, even though they could not be proved guilty of those second disorders ; his extreme severity to all

Cardinal Pole's family ; his cruel using, first Cromwell, and afterwards the Duke of Norfolk and his son, besides his unexampled proceedings against some of his wives ; and that which was worst of all, the laying a precedent for the subversion of justice, and oppressing the clearest innocence, by attainting men without hearing them : these are such remarkable blemishes, that as no man of ingenuity can go about the whitening them ; so the poor reformers drunk so deep of that bitter cup, that it very ill becomes any of their followers to endeavour to give fair colours to those red and bloody characters with which so much of his reign is stained.

Yet after all this sad enumeration, it was no new nor unusual thing in the methods of God's providence to employ princes who had great mixtures of very gross faults, to do signal things for his service. Not to mention David and Solomon, whose sins were expiated with a severe repentance ; it was the bloody Cyrus that sent back the Jews to their land, and gave them leave to rebuild their temple. Constantine the Great is by some of his enemies charged with many blemishes both in his life and government. Clovis of France, under whom that nation received the Christian faith, was a monster of cruelty and perfidiousness, as even Gregory of Tours represents him, who lived near his time, and nevertheless makes a saint of him. Charles the Great, whom some also make a saint, both put away his wife for a very slight cause, and is said to have lived in most unnatural lusts with his own daughter. Irene, whom the church of Rome magnifies as the restorer of their religion in the East, did, both contrary to the impressions of nature and of her sex, put out her own son's eyes, of which he died soon after. with many other execrable things. And whatever reproaches those of the church of Rome cast on the Reformation, upon the account of this king's faults, may be easily turned back on their popes, who have never failed to court and extol princes that served their ends, how gross and scandalous soever their other faults have been ; as Phocas, Brunichild, Irene, Mathildis, Edgar of England, and many more. But our church is not near so much concerned in the persons of those princes under whom the Reformation began, as theirs is in the persons of their popes, who are believed to have far higher characters of a divine power and spirit in them than other princes pretend to. And yet if the lives of those popes who have made the greatest advances in their jurisdiction be examined, particularly Gregory the Seventh, and Boniface the Eighth, vices more eminent than any can be charged on King Henry will be found in them. And if a lewd and wicked pope may yet have the Holy Ghost dwelling in him, and directing him infallibly, why may not an ill king do so good a work as set a reformation forward ? And if it were proper to enter into a dissection of four of those popes that sat at Rome during this reign, Pope Julius will be found beyond him in a vast ambition, whose bloody reign did not only embroil Italy, but a great part of Christendom. Pope Leo the Tenth was as extravagant and prodigal in his expense, which put him on baser shifts than ever this king used to raise money ; not by embasing the coin, or raising new and heavy taxes, but by embasing the Christian religion, and prostituting the pardon of sin in that foul trade of

indulgences. Clement the Seventh was false to the highest degree; a vice which cannot be charged on this king. And Paul the Third was a vile and lewd priest, who not only kept his whore, but gloried in it, and raised one of his bastards to a high dignity, making him prince of Parma and Piacenza; and himself is said to have lived in incest with others of them. And except the short reign of Hadrian the Sixth, there was no pope at Rome all this while whose example might make any other prince blush for his faults; so that Guicciardini, when he calls Pope Clement a good pope, adds: "I mean not goodness apostolical, for in those days he was esteemed a good pope that did not exceed the wickedness of the worst of men."

In sum, God's ways are a great deep, who has often showed his power and wisdom in raising up unlikely and unpromising instruments to do great services in the world; not always employing the best men in them, lest good instruments should share too deep in the praises of that which is only due to the Supreme Creator and Governor of the world. And therefore he will stain the pride of all glory, that such as glory may only glory in the Lord. Jehu did an acceptable service to God in destroying the idolatry of Baal, though neither the way of doing it be to be imitated, being grossly insincere; nor was the reformation complete, since the worshipping the two calves was still kept up; and it is very like his chief design in it was to destroy all the party that favoured Ahab's family; yet the thing was good, and was rewarded by God: so whatever this king's other faults were, and how defective soever the change he made was, and upon what ill motives soever it may seem to have proceeded, yet the things themselves being good, we ought not to think the worse of them because of the instrument or manner by which they were wrought, but are to adore and admire the paths of the Divine Wisdom, that brought about such a change in a church, which being subjected to the see of Rome, had been more than any other part of Europe most tame under its oppressions, and was most deeply drenched in superstition: and this by the means of a prince who was the most devoted to the interest of Rome of any in Christendom, and seemed to be so upon knowledge, being very learned; and continued to the last much leavened with superstition, and was the only king in the world whom that see declared Defender of the Faith. And that this should have been carried on so far, with so little opposition, some risings, though numerous and formidable, being scattered and quieted without blood; and that a mighty prince, who was victorious almost in all his undertakings, Charles the Fifth, and was both provoked in point of honour and interest, yet could never find one spare season to turn his arms upon England,—are great demonstrations of a particular influence of Heaven in these alterations, and of its watchful care of them.

But the other prejudice touches the Reformation in a more vital and tender part; and it is, that Cranmer, and the other bishops who promoted the Reformation in the succeeding reign, did in this comply too servilely with King Henry's humours, both in carrying on his frequent divorces, and in retaining those corruptions in the

worship, which by their throwing them off in the beginning of King Edward's reign, we may conclude were then condemned by them; so that they seem to have prevaricated against their consciences in that compliance.

It were too faint a way of answering so severe a charge, to turn it back on the church of Rome, and to show the base compliances of some, even of the best of their popes, as Gregory the Great, whose congratulations to the usurper Phocas are a strain of the meanest and undeepest flattery that ever was put in writing. And his compliments to Brunichild, who was one of the greatest monsters both for lust and cruelty that ever her sex produced, show that there was no person so wicked that he was ashamed to flatter: but the blemishing them will not (I confess) excuse our reformers; therefore other things are to be considered for their vindication. They did not at once attain the full knowledge of divine truth, so that in some particulars, as in that of the corporal presence in the sacrament, both Cranmer and Ridley were themselves then in the dark. Bertram's book first convinced Ridley, and he was the chief instrument in opening Cranmer's eyes: so if themselves were not then enlightened, they could not instruct others. As for other things, such as the giving the cup to the laity, the worshipping God in a known tongue, and several reformations about the mass, though they judged them necessary to be done as soon as was possible; yet they had not so full a persuasion of the necessity of these as to think it a sin not to do them. The prophet's words to Naaman the Syrian might give them some colour for that mistake, and the practice of the apostles, who continued not only to worship at the temple, but to circumcise and to offer sacrifices (which must have been done by St. Paul when he purified himself in the temple) even after the law was dead, by the appearing of the gospel, seemed to excuse their compliance. They had also observed, that as the apostles were all things to all men, that so they might gain some; so the primitive Christians had brought in many rites of heathenism into their worship: upon which inducements they were wrought on to comply in some uneasy things, in which, if these excuses do not wholly clear them, yet they very much lessen their guilt.

And after all this, it must be confessed they were men, and had mixtures of fear and human infirmities with their other excellent qualities. And indeed Cranmer was in all other points so extraordinary a person, that it was perhaps fit there should be some ingredients in his temper, to lessen the veneration which his great worth might have raised too high, if it had not been for these feeblenesses, which upon some occasions appeared in him. But if we examine the failings of some of the greatest of the primitive fathers, as Athanasius, Cyril, and others, who were the most zealous asserters of the faith, we must conclude them to have been nothing inferior to any that can be charged on Cranmer; whom if we consider narrowly, we shall find as eminent virtues and as few faults in him, as in any prelate that has been in the Christian church for many ages. And if he was prevailed on to deny his Master through fear, he did wash off that stain by a sincere repentance and a patient martyrdom, in which he expressed an eminent resentment

of his former frailty, with a pitch of constancy of mind above the rate of modern examples.

But their virtues as well as their faults are set before us for our instruction; and how frail soever the vessels were, they have conveyed to us a treasure of great value, —the pure gospel of our Lord and Saviour: which if we follow, and govern our lives and hearts by it, we may hope in easier and plainer paths to attain that blessedness which they could not reach but through scorching flames: and if we do not improve the advantages which this light affords, we may either look for some of those trials which were sent for the exercise of their faith and patience, and perhaps for the punishment of their former compliance; or if we escape these, we have cause to fear worse in the conclusion.

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KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

OB. 1547

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

PART I.—BOOK I.

A SUMMARY VIEW OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH'S REIGN, TILL THE PROCESS OF HIS DIVORCE WAS BEGUN, IN WHICH THE STATE OF ENGLAND, CHIEFLY AS IT RELATED TO RELIGION, IS OPENED.

ENGLAND had for a whole age felt the miseries of a long and cruel war between the two houses of York and Lancaster; during which time as the crown had lost great dominions beyond sea, so the nation was much impoverished, many noble families extinguished, much blood shed, great animosities everywhere raised, with all the other miseries of a lasting civil war: but they now saw all these happily composed, when the two families did unite in king Henry VIII. In his father's reign they were rather cemented and joined than united; whose great partiality to the house of Lancaster, from which he was descended, and severity to the branches of the house of York, in which even his own queen had a large share, together with the impostors that were set up to disturb his reign, kept these heats alive, which were now all buried in his grave: and this made the succession of his son so universally acceptable to the whole nation, who now hoped to revive their former pretensions in France, and to have again a large share in all the affairs of Europe, from which their domestic broils had so long excluded them.

There was another thing, which made his first coming to the crown no less acceptable, which was, that the same day that his father died*, he ordered Dudley and Empson to be committed to the Tower: his father, whether out of policy, or inclination, or both, was all his life much set on the gathering of treasure, so that those ministers were most acceptable who could fill his coffers best: and though this occasioned some tumults, and disposed the people to all those commotions which fell out in his reign; yet he being successful in them all, continued in his course of heaping up money.

Towards the end of his life, he found out those two instruments, who outdid all that went before them; and what by vexatious suits upon penal but obsolete laws, what by unjust imprisonments, and other violent and illegal proceedings, raised a general odium upon the government; and this grew upon him with his years, and was come to so great a height towards the end of his life, that he died in good time for his own quiet: for as he used all possible endeavours to get money, so what he got he as carefully kept, and distributed very little of it among those about him, so that he had many enemies, and but few friends. This

* Hall says the same day, L. Herbert says the day following.

being well considered by his son, he began his government with the disgrace of those two ministers, against whom he proceeded according to law ; all the other inferior officers whom they had made use of were also imprisoned.

When they had thus fallen, many and great complaints came in from all parts against them ; they also, apprehending the danger they were like to be in upon their master's death, had been practising with their partners to gather about them all the power they could bring together, whether to secure themselves from popular rage, or to make themselves seem considerable, or formidable to the new king. This and other crimes being brought in against them, they were found guilty of treason in a legal trial. But the king judged this was neither a sufficient reparation to his oppressed people nor satisfaction to justice : therefore

Hall. he went further, and both ordered restitution to be made by his father's executors of great sums of money, which had been unjustly extorted from his subjects ; and in his first parliament, which he summoned to the 21st of January following, he not only delivered up Empson and Dudley, with their accomplices, to the justice of

a Parliament, the two houses, who attainted them by act of parliament, and a little after gave Jan. 21, 1510. order for their execution, [August 18th] ; but did also give his royal assent to those other laws by which the subject was secured from the like oppressions for the future : and that he might not at all be suspected of any such inclinations as his father had to amass treasure, he was the most magnificent in his expense of any prince in Christendom, and very bountiful to all about him ; and as one extreme commonly produces another, so

His great Expense. his father's covetousness led him to be prodigal, and the vast wealth which was left him, being reckoned no less than 1,800,000*l.*, was in three years dissipated, as if the son in his expense had vied industry with his father in all his thrift.

Thomas earl of Surrey (afterwards duke of Norfolk) to show how compliant he was to the humours of the princes whom he served, as he had been lord-treasurer to the father the last seven years of his life ; so being continued in the same office by this king, did as dexterously comply with his prodigality, as he done formerly with his father's sparingness.

But this in the beginning of the prince's reign did much endear him both to the court and nation ; there being a freer circulation of money, by which trade was encouraged ; and the courtiers tasted so liberally of the king's bounty that he was everywhere much magnified, though his expense proved afterwards heavier to the subject than ever his father's avarice had been.

Another thing that raised the credit of this king was, the great esteem he was in beyond sea, both for his wisdom and power ; so that in all the treaties of peace and war His affairs beyond Sea. he was always much considered ; and he did so exactly pursue that great maxim of princes, of holding the balance, that still as it grew heavier, whether in the

scale of France or Spain, he governed himself and them as a wise arbiter. His first action was against France, which by the accession of the duchy of Brittany, through his father's oversight, was made greater and more formidable to the neighbouring princes ; therefore the French successes in Italy having united all the princes there against them, Spain and England willingly joined themselves in the quarrel. The kingdom of Spain being also then

united, conquered Navarre, which set them at great ease, and weakened the king of France on that side ; whose affairs also declining in Italy, this king finding him A War with France. so much lessened, made peace with him, having first managed his share of the war with great honour at sea and land : for, going over in person, he did both defeat the

French army, and take Terwin and Tournay ; the former he demolished, the Aug. 24, & Oct. 2, 1513. latter he kept : and in these exploits he had an unusual honour done him, which

though it was a slight thing, yet was very pleasant to him,—Maximilian the emperor taking pay in his army, amounting to a hundred crowns a day, and upon all public solemnities giving the king the precedence.

The peace between England and France was made firmer by Louis the French king's Aug. 7, 1514. marrying Mary the king's sister ; but he dying soon after *, new counsels were to A Peace, and be taken. Francis, who succeeded, did in the beginning of his reign court this France, Oct. 9. king with great offers to renew the peace with him, which was accordingly done. Afterward Francis falling in with all his force upon the duchy of Milan, all

* Louis died Jan. 1, 1515.

endeavours were used to engage king Henry into the war, both by the pope and emperor, this last feeding him long with hopes of resigning the empire to him, which wrought much on him; insomuch that he did give them a great supply in money, but he could not be

engaged to divert Francis by making war upon him: and Francis ending the war of Italy by a peace, was so far from resenting what the king had done, that he courted him into a straiter league, and a match was agreed between the dauphin and the lady Mary, the king's daughter, and Tournay was delivered up to the French again.

But now Charles, archduke of Austria by his father, and heir to the house of Burgundy by his grandmother, and to the crown of Spain by his mother, began to make a great figure

in the world; and his grandfather Maximilian dying, Francis and he were co-rivals for the empire: but Charles being preferred in the competition, there followed, what through personal animosities, what through reason of state, and a desire of conquest, lasting wars between them; which though they were some-

times for a while closed up, yet were never clearly ended. And those two great monarchs, as they eclipsed most other princes about them, so they raised this king's glory higher, both courting him by turns, and that not only by earnest and warm addresses, but oft by unusual submissions; in which they, knowing how great an ingredient vanity was in his temper, were never deficient when their affairs required it: all which tended to make him appear

greater in the eyes of his own people. In the year 1520, there was an interview agreed on between the French king and him; but the emperor, to prevent the effects he feared from it, resolved to outdo the French king in the compliment, and without

any treaty or previous assurances came to Dover, and solicited the king's friendship against Francis; and to advance his design gained cardinal Wolsey, who then governed all the king's counsels, by the promise of making him pope; in

which he judged he might, for a present advantage, promise a thing that seemed to be at so great a distance (pope Leo X. being then but a young man), and with rich presents, which he made both to the king, the cardinal, and all the court, wrought much on them. But that which prevailed most with the king was, that he saw, though Charles had great dominions, yet they lay at such a distance that France alone was a sufficient counterpoise to him; but if Francis could keep Milan, recover Naples, Burgundy, and Navarre, to all which he was then preparing, he would be an uneasy neighbour to himself; and if he kept the footing he then had in Italy, he would lie so heavy on the papacy that the popes could no longer carry equally in the affairs of Christendom, upon which much depended, according to the religion of that time. Therefore he resolved to take part with

the emperor till at least Francis was driven out of Italy and reduced to juster terms; so that the following interview between Francis and him produced nothing but a vast expense and high compliments: and from a second interview between

the king and the emperor, Francis was full of jealousy, in which what followed justified his apprehensions; for the war going on between the emperor and Francis, the king entered in a league with the former, and made war upon France.

But the pope dying sooner than it seems the emperor looked for, cardinal Wolsey claimed his promise for the papacy; but before the messenger came to him, Adrian, the emperor's tutor, was chosen pope; yet to feed the cardinal with fresh hopes, a

new promise was made for the next vacancy, and in the meanwhile he was put in hope of the archbishopric of Toledo. But two years after, that pope dying,

the emperor again broke his word with him; yet though he was thereby totally alienated from him, he concealed his indignation, till the public concerns should

give him a good opportunity to prosecute it upon a better colour; and by his letters to Rome, dissembled his resentments so artificially, that in a congratulation

he wrote to pope Clement, he "protested his election was matter of such joy both to the king and himself, that nothing had ever befallen them which pleased them better, and that he was the very person whom they had wished to see raised to that great-

ness*." But while the war went on, the emperor did cajole the king with the highest compliments possible, which always wrought much on him, and came in person into England to be installed knight of the garter; where a new league was concluded, by which, beside mutual assistance, a match was agreed on between the emperor and the lady Mary, the king's only child by his queen, of whom he had no hopes of more issue. This was sworn to on both hands, and the emperor was obliged, when she was of age, to marry her, *per verba de præsenti*, under pain of excommunication, and the forfeiture of 100,000*l*.

The war went on with great success on the emperor's part, especially after the battle of Pavia, in which Francis's army was totally defeated, and himself taken prisoner and carried into Spain. After which the emperor, being much offended with the pope for joining with Francis, turned his arms against him, which were so successful that he besieged and took Rome†, and kept the pope prisoner six months.

The cardinal finding the public interests concur so happily with his private distastes, engaged the king to take part with France, and afterwards with the pope against the emperor, his greatness now becoming the terror of Christendom; for the emperor, lifted up with his success, began to think of no less than an universal empire. And first, that he might unite all Spain together, he preferred a match with Portugal, to that which he had before contracted in England; and he thought it not enough to break off his sworn alliance with the king, but he did it with a heavy imputation on the lady Mary: for in his council it was said that she was illegitimate, as being born in an unlawful marriage, so that no advantage could be expected from her title to the succession, as will appear more particularly in the Second Book. And the pope having dispensed with the oath, he married the Infanta of Portugal. Besides, though the king of England had gone deep in the charge, he would give him no share in the advantages, of the war; much less give him that assistance which he had promised him, to recover his ancient inheritance in France. The king being irritated with this manifold ill usage, and led on by his own interests, and by the offended cardinal, joined himself to the interests of France. Upon which there followed not only a firm alliance, but a personal friendship, which appeared in all the most obliging expressions that could be devised. And upon the king's threatening to make war on the emperor, the French king was set at liberty, though on very hard terms, if anything can be hard that sets a king out of prison; but he still acknowledged he owed his liberty to king Henry.

Then followed the famous Clementine league between the pope and Francis, the Venetians, the Florentines, and Francis Sforza duke of Milan, by which the pope absolved the French king from the oath he had sworn at Madrid, and they all united against the emperor, and declared the king of England protector of the league. This gave the emperor great distaste, who complained of the pope as an ungrateful and perfidious person. The first beginning of the storm fell heavy on the pope; for the French king, who had a great mind to have his children again into his own hands, that lay hostages in Spain, went on but slowly in performing his part. And the king of England would not openly break with the emperor, but seemed to reserve himself to be arbiter between the princes. So that the Colonnas being of the imperial faction, with

3000 men entered Rome, and sacked a part of it, forcing the pope to fly into the castle of St. Angelo, and to make peace with the emperor. But as soon as that fear was over, the pope, returning to his old arts, complained of the cardinal of Colonna, and resolved to deprive him of that dignity, and with an army entered the kingdom of Naples, taking divers places that belonged to that family. But the confederates coming slowly to his assistance, and he hearing of great forces that were coming from Spain against him, submitted

* Among the corrections printed at the end of the third part of the original edition is the following, given anonymously:—"I have seen a collection of this cardinal's letters, and amongst 'em the same letter, as I suppose, that is here quoted; wherein he presses the emperor's and his master's interest with great zeal, and solicits the new

elected pope to join with them against the French; and that in such a manner as seems to leave no room for dissimulation. To the same purpose in the following letter. Collect. MS. p. 47, 23."

† This is the siege mentioned in the next page, laid by the Constable de Bourbon, who fell in the assault.—*Ed.*

himself to the emperor, and made a cessation of arms; but being again encouraged with some hopes from his allies, and (by a creation of fourteen cardinals for money) having raised 300,000 ducats he disowned the treaty, and gave the kingdom of Naples to count Vaudemont, whom he sent with forces to subdue it. But the duke of Bourbon prevented him, and went to Rome, and giving the assault, in which himself received his mortal wound, the city was taken by storm, and plundered for several days, about 5000 being killed. The pope with seventeen cardinals fled to the castle St. Angelo, but was forced to render his person, and to pay 400,000 ducats to the army.

This gave great offence to all the princes of Christendom, except the Lutherans of Germany; but none resented it more loudly than this king, who sent over cardinal Wolsey to make up a new treaty with Francis, which was chiefly intended for setting the pope at liberty. Nor did the emperor know well how to justify an action which seemed so inconsistent with his devotion to the see of Rome; yet the pope was for some months detained a prisoner, till at length the emperor having brought him to his own terms, ordered him to be set at liberty: but he being weary of his guards escaped in a disguise, and owned his liberty to have flowed chiefly from the king's endeavours to procure it. And thus stood the king as to foreign affairs: he had infinitely obliged both the pope and the French king, and was firmly united to them, and engaged in a war against the emperor, when he began first to move about his divorce.

As for Scotland, the near alliance between him and James IV. king of Scotland, did not take away the standing animosities between the two nations, nor interrupt the alliance between France and Scotland. And therefore when he made the first war upon France in the fourth year of his reign, the king of Scotland came with a great army into the north of England, but was totally defeated by the earl of Surrey in Flodden field. The king himself was either killed in the battle, or soon after; so that the kingdom falling under factions, during the minority of the new king, the government was but feeble, and scarce able to secure its own quiet. And the duke of Albany, the chief instrument of the French faction, met with such opposition from the parties that were raised against him by king Henry's means, that he could give him no disturbance. And when there came to be a lasting peace between England and France, then, as the king needed fear no trouble from that warlike nation, so he got a great interest in the government there. And at this time money becoming a more effectual engine than any the war had ever produced, and the discovery of the Indies having brought great wealth into Europe, princes began to deal more in that trade than before: so that both France and England had their instruments in Scotland, and gave considerable yearly pensions to the chief heads of parties and families. In the search I have made, I have found several warrants for sums of money, to be sent into Scotland, and divided there among the favourers of the English interest; and it is not to be doubted but France traded in the same manner, which continued till a happier way was found out for extinguishing these quarrels, both the crowns being set on one head.

Having thus showed the state of this king's government as to foreign matters, I shall next give an account of the administration of affairs at home, both as to civil and spiritual matters. The king upon his first coming to the crown did choose a wise council, partly out of those whom his father had trusted, partly out of those that were recommended to him by his grandmother, the countess of Richmond and Derby*, in whom was the right of the house of Lancaster, though she willingly devolved her pretensions on her son, claiming nothing to herself, but the satisfaction of being mother to a king. She was a wise and religious woman, and died soon after her grandson came to the crown.

1509. There was a faction in the council between Fox, bishop of Winchester, and the lord treasurer, which could never be well made up, though they were often reconciled:

* The "venerable Margaret," the foundress of Christ-church and St. John's colleges, Cambridge. She was descended from John of Gaunt and Catherine Swynford, and marrying Edmund earl of Richmond, the son of queen

Katherine, widow of Henry V. and Owen Tudor, placed the line of Tudor on the throne in the person of her son Henry VII.—Ed.

Fox always complaining of the lord treasurer, for squandering away so soon that vast mass of treasure, left by the king's father, in which the other justified himself, that what he did was by the king's warrants which he could not disobey : but Fox objected that he was too easy to answer, if not to procure these warrants, and that he ought to have given the king better

Jan. 21, 1510. advice. In the king's first parliament, things went as he desired upon his delivering up Empson and Dudley, in which his preventing the severity of the houses, and proceeding against them at the common law, as it secured his ministers from an unwelcome precedent, so the whole honour of it fell on the king's justice.

His next parliament was in the third year of his reign, and there was considered the brief Feb. 4, 1512. from pope Julius II. to the king, complaining of the indignities and injuries done to the apostolic see and the pope by the French king, and entreating the king's assistance with such cajoling words as are always to be expected from popes on the like occasions. It was first read by the master of the rolls in the House of Lords, and then the lord chancellor (Warham archbishop of Canterbury) and the lord treasurer, with other lords, went down to the House of Commons and read it there. Upon this and other reasons they gave the king subsidies towards the war with France. At this time Fox, to strengthen his party against the lord

Cardinal treasurer, finding Thomas Wolsey to be a likely man to get into the king's favour, Wolsey's rising. used all his endeavours to raise him, who was at that time neither unknown nor inconsiderable, being lord almoner ; he was at first made a privy councillor, and frequently admitted to the king's presence, and waited on him over to France. The king liked him well, which he so managed that he quickly engrossed the king's favour to himself, and for fifteen years together was the most absolute favourite that had ever been seen in England ; all foreign treaties and places of trust at home were at his ordering ; he did what he pleased, and his ascendancy over the king was such, that there never appeared any party against him all that while. The great artifice by which he insinuated himself so much on

Cavendish's the king, is set down very plainly by one that knew him well, in these words : Life of Wolsey, MSS. in Bibliotheca. Nob. D. G. Pierpoint. "In him the king conceived such a loving fancy, especially for that he was most earnest and readiest in all the counsel to advance the king's only will and pleasure, having no respect to the case ; and whereas the ancient councillors would, according to the office of good councillors, divers times persuade the king to have some time a recourse unto the council, there to hear what was done in weighty matters, the king was nothing at all pleased therewith ; for he loved nothing worse than to be constrained to do anything contrary to his pleasure, and that knew the almoner very well, having secret insinuations of the king's intentions ; and so fast as the others counselled the king to leave his pleasures, and to attend to his affairs, so busily did the almoner persuade him to the contrary, which delighted him much, and caused him to have the greater affection and love to the almoner." Having got into such power, he observed the king's inclinations exactly, and followed his interests closely : for though he made other princes retain him with great presents and pensions, yet he never engaged the king into any alliance, but what was for his advantage. For affairs at home, after he was established in his greatness, he affected to govern without parliaments, there being from the seventh year of his reign, after which he got the great seal, but one parliament in the fourteenth and fifteenth year, and no more till the one-and-twentieth, when matters were turning about : but he raised great sums of money by loans and benevolences. And, indeed, if we look on him as a minister of state, he was a very extraordinary person ; but as he was a churchman, he was the disgrace of his profession. He not only served the king in all his secret pleasures, but was lewd and vicious himself ; so that his having the French pox (which in those days was a matter of no small infamy) was so public, that it was brought against him in parliament when he fell in disgrace : he was a man of most extravagant vanity, as appears by the great state he lived in ; and to feed that, his ambition and covetousness were proportionable.

He was first made bishop of Tournay when that town was taken from the French ; then Oct. 1513. he was made bishop of Lincoln*, which was the first bishopric that fell void in this kingdom ; after that, upon cardinal Bembridge's death, he parted with Lincoln, and was made archbishop of York† ; then Adrian, that was a cardinal and bishop

* Rest. temp. 4 March, 5 Regni, 1 Part, Rot. Pat.

† Novemb. 6 Regni, 1 Part, R. P.

of Bath and Wells, being deprived, that see was given to him*; then the Abbey of St. Albans† was given to him *in commendam*; he next parted with Bath and Wells, and got the bishopric of Durham‡, which he afterwards exchanged for the bishopric of Winchester§. But besides all that he had in his own hands, the king granted him a full power of disposing of all the ecclesiastical benefices in England (which brought him in as much money as all the places he held), for having so vast a power committed to him both from the king and the pope as to church-preferments, it may be easily gathered what advantages a man of his temper would draw from it. Warham was lord chancellor the first seven years of the king's reign, but retired to give place to this aspiring favourite, who had a mind to the great seal, that there might be no interfering between the legantine and chancery courts. And perhaps it wrought somewhat on his vanity, that even after he was cardinal, Warham as lord chancellor took place of him, as appears from the entries made in the journals of the house of peers in the parliament held the seventh year of the king's reign, and afterwards gave him place, as appears on many occasions, particularly in the letter written to the pope 1530, set down by the lord Herbert, which the cardinal subscribed before Warham. We have nothing on record to show what a speaker he was, for all the journals of parliament from the seventh to the twenty-fifth year of this king are lost, but it is like he spoke as his predecessor in that office Warham did, whose speeches, as they are entered in the journals, are sermons begun with a text of scripture, which he expounded and applied to the business they were to go upon, stuffing them with the most fulsome flattery of the king that was possible.

The next in favour and power was the lord-treasurer, restored to his father's honour of duke of Norfolk, to whom his son succeeded in that office as well as in his hereditary honours; and managed his interest with the king so dexterously that he stood in all the changes that followed, and continued lord-treasurer during the reign of this king, till near the end of it, when he fell through jealousy rather than guilt: this showed how dexterous a man he was, that could stand so long in that employment under such a king.

But the chief favourite in the king's pleasures was Charles Brandon, a gallant graceful person; one of the strongest men of the age, and so a fit match for the king at his jousts and tiltings, which was the manly diversion of that time; and the king taking much pleasure in it, being of a robust body, and singularly expert at it, he, who was so able to second him in these courses, grew mightily in his favour; so that he made him first viscount Lisle, and

May 15. some months after, duke of Suffolk. Nor was he less in the ladies' favours than
510. Reg., the king's; for his sister, the lady Mary, liked him; and being but so long
1 Part. Rot. married to king Louis of France, as to make her queen-dowager of France, she
Pat. resolved to choose her second husband herself, and cast her eye on the duke of

Suffolk, who was then sent over to the court of France. Her brother had designed the marriage between them, yet would not openly give his consent to it; but she, by a strange kind of wooing, prefixed him the term of four days to gain her consent, in which she told him, if he did not prevail, he should for ever lose all his hopes of having her; though, after such a declaration, he was like to meet with no great difficulty from her. So they were married; and the king was easily pacified, and received them into favour; neither did his favour die with her, for it continued all his life: but he never meddled much in business, and by all that appears was a better courtier than statesman.

April 1515. Little needs be said of any other person more than will afterwards occur.
Lady Mary
died June 23, 1533.

The king loved to raise mean persons, and upon the least distaste to throw them down; and falling into disgrace, he spared not to sacrifice them to public discontents. His court was magnificent, and his expense vast; he indulged himself in his pleasures: and the hopes of children (besides the lady Mary) failing by the queen, he, who of all things desired issue most, kept one Elizabeth Blunt, by whom he had Henry Fitzroy, 18 Reg., Rot. whom, in the 17th year of his reign, he created earl of Nottingham, and the same day made him duke of Richmond and Somerset, and intended afterwards to have put him in the succession of the crown after his other children; but his death 1536. prevented it.

* Aug. 28, 10 Regni, 1 Part, R. P.

† Decemb. 7, 13 Regni, 3 Part, R. P.

‡ April 30, 15 Regni, 2 Part, R. P.

§ May 4, 20 Regni, 1 Part, R. P.

As for his parliaments, he took great care to keep a good understanding with them, and chiefly with the House of Commons, by which means he seldom failed to carry matters as he pleased among them: only in the parliament held in the 14th and 15th of his reign, the demand of the subsidy towards the war with France being so high as 800,000*l.*, the fifth of men's goods and lands to be paid in four years, and the cardinal being much hated, there was great opposition made to it: for which the cardinal blamed sir Thomas More much, who was then speaker of the House of Commons; and finding that which was offered was not above the half of what was asked, went himself to the House of Commons, and desired to hear the reasons of those who opposed his demands, that he might answer them: but he was told the order of their house was to reason only among themselves, and so went away much dissatisfied. It was with great difficulty that they obtained a subsidy of three shillings in the pound, to be paid in four years. This disappointment, it seems, did so offend the cardinal, that as no parliament had been called for seven years before, so there was none summoned for seven years after. And thus stood the civil government of England in the 19th year of the king's reign, when the matter of the divorce was first moved. But I shall next open the state of affairs in reference to religious and spiritual concerns.

King Henry was bred with more care than had been usually bestowed on the education of princes for many ages, who had been only trained up to those exercises that prepared them

He was bred to war; and if they could read and write, more was not expected of them. But a Scholar. learning began now to flourish; and as the house of Medici in Florence had great honour by the protection it gave to learned men, so other princes everywhere cherished the muses. King Henry VII., though illiterate himself, yet took care to have his children instructed in good letters. And it generally passes current, that he bred his second son a scholar, having designed him to be archbishop of Canterbury, but that has no foundation; for the writers of that time tell, that his elder brother, prince Arthur, was also bred a scholar. And all the instruction king Henry had in learning must have been after his brother was dead, when that design had vanished with his life. For he being born the 18th of June, 1491, and prince Arthur dying the 2nd of April, 1502, he was not full eleven years of age when he became prince of Wales; at which age princes have seldom made any great progress in learning. But king Henry VII., judging either that it would make his sons greater princes, and fitter for the management of their affairs, or, being jealous of their looking too early into business, or their pretending to the crown upon their mother's title, which might have been a dangerous competition to him, that was so little beloved by his subjects, took this method for amusing them with other things: thence it was that his son was the most learned prince that had been in the world for many ages, and deserved the title *Beau-clerke* on a better account than his predecessor, that long before had carried it. The learning then in credit was either that of the schools, about abstruse questions of divinity, which, from the days of Lombard*, were debated and descanted on with much subtlety and nicety, and exercised all speculative divines; or the study of the canon-law, which was the way to business and preferment. To the former of these the king was much addicted, and delighted to read often in Thomas Aquinas; and this made cardinal Wolsey more acceptable to him, who was chiefly conversant in that sort of learning. He loved the purity of the Latin tongue, which made him be so kind to Erasmus, that was the great restorer of it, and to Polydore Virgil; though neither of these made their court dexterously with the cardinal, which did much intercept the king's favour to them; so that the one left England, and the other was

* Peter Lombard, known in the schools as "the master of the sentences," was born at Novara in Lombardy, whence he took his name. He was educated at Bologna and Rheims, under St. Bernard, and afterwards removed to the university of Paris, where he attained a high reputation, and was promoted to the canonry of Chartres, and ultimately to the bishopric of Paris, which, for his sake, was declined by his pupil, Philip, the younger son of king Louis le Gros, who had been designed for that dignity. Lombard died in 1164, four years after he was installed in the bishopric, and was buried in the church of Marcellus, in the suburb of that name. His work of the "Sen-

tences," divided into four books, contains an illustration of the doctrines of the church, in a collection of sentences or passages taken from the fathers. It obtained so high a degree of celebrity, that in a short time it was the only work taught in the schools: and the author was, by way of eminence, called the "Master of the Sentences," and was accounted the chief of the scholastic divines. Greater veneration was paid to his book than even to the scriptures, a circumstance which called down the severe animadversions of the learned Bacon, in a letter he addressed to pope Clement IV.—Ed.

but coarsely used in it, who has sufficiently revenged himself upon the cardinal's memory. The philosophy then in fashion was so intermixed with their divinity, that the king understood it too; and was also a good musician, as appears by two whole masses which he composed. He never wrote well, but scrawled so that his hand was scarce legible.

Being thus inclined to learning, he was much courted by all hungry scholars, who generally over Europe dedicated their books to him with such flattering epistles, that it very much lessens him to see how he delighted in such stuff. For if he had not taken pleasure in it, and rewarded them, it is not likely that others should have been every year writing after such ill copies. Of all things in the world, flattery wrought most on him; and no sort of flattery pleased him better than to have his great learning and wisdom commended. And in this his parliaments, his courtiers, his chaplains, foreigners and natives, all seemed to vie who should exceed most, and came to speak to him in a style which was scarce fit to be used to any creature. But he designed to entail these praises on his memory, cherishing churchmen more than any king in England had ever done; he also courted the pope with a constant submission, and upon all occasions made the pope's interests his own, and made war and peace as they desired him: so that had he died any time before the 19th year of his reign, he could scarce have escaped being canonized, notwithstanding all his faults; for he abounded in those virtues which had given saintship to kings for near one thousand years together, and had done more than they all did, by writing a book for the Roman faith.

England had, for above three hundred years, been the tamest part of Christendom to the papal authority, and had been accordingly dealt with. But though the parliaments and

The King's
Prerogative in
Ecclesiastical
matters. two or three high-spirited kings had given some interruption to the cruel exactions and other illegal proceedings of the court of Rome, yet that court always gained their designs in the end. But even in this king's days the crown

was not quite stripped of all its authority over spiritual persons. The investitures of bishops and abbots, which had been originally given by the delivery of the pastoral ring and staff by the kings of England, were, after some opposition, wrung out of their hands; yet I find they retained another thing, which upon the matter was the same. When any

Custodia
Temporalita-
tis. see was vacant, a writ was issued out of the chancery for seizing on all the temporalities of the bishopric, and then the king recommended one to the pope, upon which his bulls were expedited at Rome, and so by a warrant from the pope he was consecrated, and invested in the spiritualities of the see; but was to appear before the king either in person or by proxy, and renounce every clause in his letters and bulls that were or might be prejudicial to the prerogative of the crown, or contrary to the laws of the land, and was to swear fealty and allegiance to the king. And after this a new

Restitutio
Temporalita-
tis. writ was issued out of the chancery, bearing that this was done, and that thereupon the temporalities should be restored. Of this there are so many precedents in the records, that every one that has searched them must needs find them in every year; but when this began I leave to the more learned in the law to discover.

Collect.
Numb. 15. And for proof of it the reader will find in the collection the fullest record which I met with concerning it in Henry VII.'s reign, of cardinal Adrian's being invested in the bishopric of Bath and Wells. So that upon the matter the kings then disposed of all bishoprics, keeping that still in their own hands which made them most desired in those ages; and so had the bishops much at their devotion.

But king Henry in a great degree parted with this, by the above-mentioned power granted to cardinal Wolsey, who being legate as well as lord chancellor, it was thought a great error in government to lodge such a trust with him which might have passed into a precedent for other legates pretending to the same power, since the papal greatness had thus risen, and

Licence to
the Prior of
Peterboro'.
Nov. 3. 1
Part. 5^{to} Reg.
Rot. Pat. oft upon weaker grounds, to the height it was then at. Yet the king had no mind to suffer the laws made against the suing out of bulls in the court of Rome without his leave to be neglected; for I find several licences granted to sue bulls in that court, bearing for their preamble the statute of the 16th of Richard II. against the pope's pretended power in England.

But the immunity of ecclesiastical persons was a thing that occasioned great complaints.

And good cause there was for them. For it was ordinary for persons, after the greatest crimes, to get into orders; and then not only what was past must be forgiven them, but they were not to be questioned for any crime after holy orders given, till they were first degraded; and till that was done they were the bishops' prisoners. Whereupon there rose a great dispute in the beginning of this king's reign, of which none of our historians having taken any notice, I shall give a full account of it.

King Henry VII., in his fourth parliament, did a little lessen the privileges of the clergy, enacting that clerks convicted should be burnt in the hand. But this not proving a

A Contest about the Ecclesiastical Immunity. Keilway's Reports. sufficient restraint, it was enacted in parliament in the fourth year of this king, that all murderers and robbers should be denied the benefit of their clergy. But though this seemed a very just law, yet to make it pass through the House of

Lords, they added two provisos to it, the one for excepting all such as were within the holy orders of bishop, priest, or deacon; the other that the act should only be in force till the next parliament. With these provisos it was unanimously assented to by the lords on the 26th January, 1513; and being agreed to by the commons, the royal assent made it a law: pursuant to which many murderers and felons were denied their clergy, and the law passed on them to the great satisfaction of the whole nation. But this gave great offence to the clergy, who had no mind to suffer their immunities to be touched or lessened. And judging that if the laity made bold with inferior orders, they would proceed further, even against sacred orders; therefore, as their opposition was such that the act not being continued did determine at the next parliament (that was in the fifth year of the king), so they not satisfied with that, resolved to fix a censure on that act as contrary to the franchises of the holy church. And the abbot of Winchelcomb being more forward than the rest, during the session of parliament, in the seventh year of this king's reign, in a sermon at Paul's Cross, said openly "That that act was contrary to the law of God, and to the liberties of the holy church, and that all who assented to it, as well spiritual as temporal persons, had by so doing incurred the censures of the church." And for confirmation of his opinion, he published a book to prove, that all clerks, whether of the greater or lower orders, were sacred, and exempted from all temporal punishment by the secular judge, even in criminal cases. This made great noise, and all the temporal lords, with the concurrence of the House of Commons, desired the king to suppress the growing insolence of the clergy. So there was a hearing of the matter before the king, with all the judges, and the king's temporal council. Dr. Standish, guardian of the mendicant friars in London (afterwards bishop of St. Asaph), the chief of the king's spiritual council, argued, that by the law clerks had been still convened and judged in the king's court for civil crimes, and that there was nothing either in the laws of God or the church inconsistent with it; and that the public good of the society, which was chiefly driven at by all laws, and ought to be preferred to all other things, required that crimes should be punished. But the abbot of Winchelcomb, being counsel for the clergy, excepted to this, and said, "There was a decree made by the church expressly to the contrary, to which all ought to pay obedience, under the pain of mortal sin; and that therefore the trying of clerks in the civil courts was a sin in itself." Standish, upon this turned to the king, and said, "God forbid that all the decrees of the church should bind. It seems the bishops think not so; for though there is a decree that they should reside at their cathedrals all the festivals of the year, yet the greater part of them do it not;" adding, "that no decree could have any force in England till it was received there; and that this decree was never received in England, but that as well since the making of it as before, clerks had been tried for crimes in the civil courts." To this the abbot made no answer, but brought a place of Scripture to prove this exemption to have come from our Saviour's words, *Nolite tangere Christos meos*,—Touch not mine anointed; and therefore princes ordering clerks to be arrested, and brought before their courts, was contrary to Scripture, against which no custom can take place. Standish replied, these words were never said by our Saviour, but were put by David in his Psalter, a thousand years before Christ; and he said these words had no relation to the civil judicatories, but because the greatest part of the world was then wicked, and but a small number believed the law, they were a charge to the rest of the world, not to do them harm. But though the abbot had

been very violent, and confident of his being able to confound all that held the contrary opinion, yet he made no answer to this. The laity that were present being confirmed in their former opinion by hearing the matter thus argued, moved the bishops to order the abbot to renounce his former opinion, and recant his sermon at Paul's Cross. But they flatly refused to do it, and said they were bound by the laws of the holy church to maintain the abbot's opinion in every point of it. Great heats followed upon this during the sitting of the parliament, of which there is a very partial entry made in the journal of the lords' house; and no wonder, the clerk of the parliament, Doctor Tylor, doctor of the canon-law, being at the same time speaker of the lower house of convocation*. The entry is in these words:—"In this parliament and convocation there were most dangerous contentions between the clergy and the secular power, about the ecclesiastical liberties, one Standish, a minor friar, being the instrument and promoter of all that mischief." But a passage fell out, that made this matter be more fully prosecuted in the Michaelmas-term. One Richard Hunne, a merchant-tailor in London, was questioned by a clerk in Middlesex for a mortuary, pretended to be due for a child of his that died five weeks old. The clerk claiming the biering sheet, and Hunne refusing to give it; upon that he was sued, but his counsel advised him to sue the clerk in a premunire, for bringing the king's subjects before a foreign court; the spiritual court sitting by authority from the legate. This touched the clergy so in the quick, that they used all the arts they could to fasten heresy on him; and understanding that he had Wickliff's Bible, upon that he was attached of heresy, and put in the Lollard's Tower at Paul's, and examined upon some articles objected to him by Fitzjames, then bishop of London. He denied them as they were charged against him, but acknowledged he had said some words sounding that way, for which he was sorry, and asked God's mercy, and submitted himself to the bishop's correction; upon which he ought to have been enjoined penance, and set at liberty, but he persisting still in his suit in the king's courts, they used him most cruelly. On the 4th of December he was found

Hunne
hanged in
Prison;

hanged in the chamber where he was kept prisoner. And Dr. Horsey, chancellor to the bishop of London, with the other officers who had the charge of the prison, gave it out that he had hanged himself. But the corner of London coming to hold an inquest on the dead body, they found him hanging so loose, and in a silk girdle, that they clearly perceived he was killed; they also found his neck had been broken, as they judged, with an iron chain; for the skin was all fretted and cut; they saw some streams of blood about his body, besides several other evidences, which made it clear he had not murdered himself; whereupon they did acquit the dead body, and laid the murder on the officers that had the charge of that prison: and by other proofs they found the bishop's sumner and the bell-ringer guilty of it, and by the deposition of the sumner himself, it did appear that the chancellor and he, and the bell-ringer, did murder him, and then hang him up.

But as the inquest proceeded in this trial, the bishop began a new process against the dead body of Richard Hunne, for other points of heresy; and several articles were gathered out of Wickliff's Preface to the Bible with which he was charged: and his having the book in his possession being taken for good evidence, he was judged an heretic, and his body delivered to the secular power. When judgment was given, the bishops of Durham and Lincoln,

And his

Body burnt,
Dec. 20, 1514.

with many doctors both of divinity and the canon law, sat with the bishop of London; so that it was looked on as an act of the whole clergy, and done by common consent. On the 20th of December his body was burnt at Smithfield.

But this produced an effect very different from what was expected, for it was hoped that he being found an heretic nobody should appear for him any more; whereas, on the contrary, it occasioned a great outcry, the man having lived in very good reputation among his neighbours; so that after that day the city of London was never well affected to the popish clergy, but inclined to follow anybody who spoke against them, and every one looked on it

* Made Clerk Oct. 29. 1 Reg. Rot. Pat. Part 1. "Journal Procerum 7 Hen. VIII. Dissolutum et finitum fuit hoc Parlamentum, 22 Dec. 1515. Johanne Tylor Juris Pontificii Doct. Clerico Parlamentorum Domini Regis: et eodem tempore Prolocutore Convoca-

tionis Cleri quod raro accidit. In hoc Parlamento et Convocatione periculosissimæ seditioes exortæ sunt inter Clerum et Secularem potestatem super libertatibus Ecclesiasticis, quodam Fratre Minore, nomine Standish, omnium malorum ministro ac stimulatore."—Hall and Fox.

as a cause of common concern. All exclaimed against the cruelty of their clergy, that for a man's suing a clerk according to law, he should be long and hardly used in a severe imprisonment, and at last cruelly murdered; and all this laid on himself to defame him, and ruin his family. And then to burn that body which they had so handled, was thought such a complication of cruelties, as few barbarians had ever been guilty of. The bishop, finding that the inquest went on, and the whole matter was discovered, used all possible endeavours to stop their proceedings; and they were often brought before the king's council, where it was pretended that all proceeded from malice and heresy. The cardinal laboured to procure an order to forbid their going any further, but the thing was both so foul and so evident that it could not be done; and that opposition made it more generally believed. In the parliament there was a bill sent up to the lords by the commons for restoring Hunne's children, which was passed, and had the royal assent to it; but another bill being brought in about this murder, it occasioned great heats among them. The bishop of London said that Hunne had hanged himself, that the inquest were false perjured caitiffs, and if they proceeded further he could not keep his house for heretics;—so

that the bill which was sent up by the commons was but once read in the House of Lords, for the power of the clergy was great there. But the trial went on, and both the bishops, chancellor, and the summer were indicted as principals in the murder.

The convocation that was then sitting, finding so great a stir made, and that all their liberties were now struck at, resolved to call doctor Standish to an account for what he had said and argued in that matter, so he being summoned before them, some articles were objected to him by word of mouth, concerning the judging of clerks in civil courts; and the day following they being put in writing, the bill was delivered to him, and a day assigned for him to make answer. The doctor perceiving their intention, and judging it would go hard with him if he were tried before them, went and claimed the king's protection from this trouble that he was now brought in, for discharging his duty as the king's spiritual counsel. But the clergy made their excuse to the king, that they were not to question him for any thing he had said as the king's counsel, but for some lectures he read at St. Paul's and elsewhere, contrary to the law of God and liberties of the holy church, which they were bound to maintain; and desired the king's assistance, according to his coronation oath, and as he would not incur the censures of the holy church. On the other hand the temporal lords and judges, with the concurrence of the House of Commons, addressed to the king, to maintain the temporal jurisdiction according to his coronation oath, and to protect Standish from the malice of his enemies.

This put the king in great perplexity, for he had no mind to lose any part of his temporal jurisdiction, and on the other hand was no less apprehensive of the dangerous effects that might follow on a breach with the clergy. So he called for doctor Veysey, then dean of his chapel, and afterwards bishop of Exeter, and charged him upon his allegiance to declare the truth to him in that matter; which after some study he did, and said, upon his faith, conscience, and allegiance, he did think that the convening of clerks before the secular judge, which had been always practised in England, might well consist with the law of God and the true liberties of the holy church. This gave the king great satisfaction; so he commanded all the judges, and his council both spiritual and temporal, and some of both houses, to meet at Blackfriars, and to hear the matter argued. The bill against doctor Standish was read, which consisted of six articles that were objected to him. First, That he had said that the lower orders were not sacred. Secondly, That the exemption of clerks was not founded on a divine right. Thirdly, That the laity might coerce clerks when the prelates did not their duty. Fourthly, That no positive ecclesiastical law binds any but those who receive it. Fifthly, That the study of the canon-law was needless. Sixthly, That of the whole volume of the Decretum, so much as a man could hold in his fist, and no more, did oblige Christians. To these doctor Standish answered, that for those things expressed in the third, the fifth, and the sixth articles, he had never taught them; as for his asserting them at any time in discourse, as he did not remember it, so he did not much care whether he had done it or not. To the first he said, lesser orders in one sense are sacred, and in another they are not sacred. For the second and fourth, he confessed he had taught

them, and was ready to justify them. It was objected by the clergy, that as by the law of God no man could judge his father, it being contrary to that commandment, Honour thy Father,—so, churchmen being spiritual fathers, they could not be judged by the laity, who were their children. To which he answered, that as that only concluded in favour of priests, those in inferior orders not being fathers, so it was a mistake to say a judge might not sit upon his natural father, for the judge was by another relation above his natural father; and though the commandment is conceived in general words, yet there are some exceptions to be admitted, as though it be said, Thou shalt not kill,—yet in some cases we may lawfully kill; so in the case of justice a judge may lawfully sit on his father.

But doctor Veysey's argument was that which took most with all that were present. He said, it was certain that the laws of the church did not bind any but those who received them. To prove this, he said, that in old times all secular priests were married, but in the days of St. Augustine, the apostle of England, there was a decree made to the contrary, which was received in England and in many other places, by virtue whereof the secular priests in England may not marry; but this law not being universally received, the Greek church never judged themselves bound by it, so that to this day the priests in that church have wives as well as other secular men. If then the churches of the East, not having received the law of the celibate of the clergy, have never been condemned by the church for not obeying it, then the convening clerks having been always practised in England, was no sin, notwithstanding the decree to the contrary, which was never received here. Nor is this to be compared to those privileges that concern only a private man's interest; for the commonwealth of the whole realm was chiefly to be looked at, and to be preferred to all other things.

When the matter was thus argued on both sides, all the judges delivered their opinions, in these words:—"That all those of the convocation who did award the citation against Standish, were in the case of a *premunire facias*;" and added somewhat about the constitution of the parliament, which being foreign to my business, and contrary to a received opinion, I need not mention, but refer the reader to Keilway* for his information, if he desires to know more of it: and thus the court broke up. But soon after, all the lords spiritual and temporal, with many of the House of Commons, and all the judges and the king's council, were called before the king to Baynard's Castle; and in all their presence the cardinal kneeled down before the king, and in the name of the clergy said, "That none of them intended to do anything that might derogate from his prerogative, and least of all himself, who owed his advancement only to the king's favour. But this matter of convening of clerks, did seem to them all to be contrary to the laws of God, and the liberties of the church, which they were bound by their oaths to maintain according to their power." Therefore in their name he humbly begged, "that the king, to avoid the censures of the church, would refer the matter to the decision of the pope and his council, at the court of Rome." To which the king answered, "It seems to us that doctor Standish, and others of our spiritual council, have answered you fully in all points." The bishop of Winchester replied, "Sir, I warrant you doctor Standish will not abide by his opinion at his peril." But the doctor said, "What should one poor friar do alone, against all the bishops and clergy of England?" After a short silence the archbishop of Canterbury said, "That in former times divers holy fathers of the church had opposed the execution of that law, and some of them suffered martyrdom in the quarrel." To whom Fineux, lord chief-justice, said "That many holy kings had maintained that law, and many holy fathers had given obedience to it, which it is not to be presumed they would have done, had they known it to be contrary to the law of God:" and he desired to know by what law bishops could judge clerks for felony, it being a thing only determined by the temporal law; so that either it was not at all to be tried, or it was only in the temporal court; so that either clerks must do as they please or be tried in the civil courts. To this no answer being made, the king said these words: "By the permission and ordinance of God we are king of England, and the kings of England in times past had never any superior but God only. Therefore know you well that we will maintain the right of our crown, and of our temporal jurisdiction, as well in this as in all other points, in as ample manner as any of our progenitors have done before our time. And, as for

* See some notice of Keilway in the Appendix, No. 3.

your decrees, we are well assured that you of the spirituality go expressly against the words of divers of them, as hath been shown you by some of our council; and you interpret your decrees at your pleasure, but we will not agree to them more than our progenitors have done in former times." But the archbishop of Canterbury made most humble instance, that the matter might be so long respited, till they could get a resolution from the court of Rome, which they should procure at their own charges; and if it did consist with the law of God, they should conform themselves to the law of the land. To this the king made no answer; but the warrants being out against doctor Horsey, the bishop of London's chancellor, he did abscond in the archbishop's house; though it was pretended he was a prisoner there, till afterwards a temper was found, that Horsey should render himself a prisoner in the King's Bench and be tried. But the bishop of London made earnest applications to the cardinal that he would move the king to command the attorney-general to confess the indictment was not true, that it might not be referred to a jury; since he said the citizens of London did so favour heresy, that, if he were as innocent as Abel, they would find any clerk guilty. The king, not willing to irritate the clergy too much, and judging he had maintained his prerogative by bringing Horsey to the bar, ordered the attorney to do so. And accordingly when Horsey was brought to the bar, and indicted of murder, he pleaded not guilty; which the attorney acknowledging, he was dismissed, and went and lived at Exeter, and never again came back to London, either out of fear or shame. And for doctor Standish, upon the king's command, he was also dismissed out of the court of convocation.

It does not appear that the pope thought fit to interpose in this matter. For though, upon less provocations, popes had proceeded to the highest censures against princes, yet this king was otherwise so necessary to the pope at this time, that he was not to be offended. The clergy suffered much in this business, besides the loss of their reputation with the people, who involved them all in the guilt of Hunne's murder; for now their exemption being well examined, was found to have no foundation at all but in their own decrees; and few were much convinced by that authority, since, upon the matter, it was but a judgment of their own, in their own favours: nor was the city of London at all satisfied with the proceedings in the King's Bench, since there was no justice done; and all thought the king seemed more careful to maintain his prerogative than to do justice.

This I have related the more fully, because it seems to have had great influence on people's minds, and to have disposed them much to the changes that followed afterwards. How these things were entered in the books of convocation, cannot be now known. For among the other sad losses sustained in the late burning of London, this was one, that almost all the registers of the spiritual courts were burned, some few of the archbishops of Canterbury and bishops of London's registers being only preserved. But having compared Fox's account of this and some other matters, and finding it exactly according to the registers that are preserved, I shall the more confidently build on what he published from those records that are now lost.

This was the only thing in the first eighteen years of the king's reign that seemed to lessen the greatness of the clergy, but in all other matters he was a most faithful son of the see of Rome. Pope Julius, soon after his coming to the crown, sent him a golden rose, with a letter to archbishop Warham to deliver it^a, and though such presents might seem fitter for young children than for men of discretion, yet the king was much delighted with it: and to show his gratitude, there was a treaty^b concluded the year following between the king and Ferdinand of Arragon, for the defence of the papacy against the French king. And when in opposition to the council, that the French king and some other princes and cardinals had called, first to Pisa (which was afterwards translated to Milan, and then to Lyons, that summoned the pope to appear before them, and suspended his authority), pope Julius called another council to be held in the Lateran^c; the king sent the bishop of Worcester, the prior of St. John's, and the abbot of Winchelcomb, to sit in that council, in which there was such a representative of the Catholic church as had been for several of the latter ages in the Western church: in which a few bishops, packed out of several kingdoms, and many Italian bishops, with a vast number of abbots, priors,

The King obliged the Popes highly, and was much courted by them.

^a Collect. Numb. 2d.

^b Treaty Rolls 3 Reg.

^c 19 Ap. 1512.

and other inferior dignified clergymen, were brought to confirm together whatever the popes had a mind to enact; which passing easily among them, was sent over the world with a stamp of sacred authority, as the decrees and decisions of the "holy universal church assembled in a general council."

Nor was there a worse understanding between this king and pope Leo X. that succeeded Julius, who did also compliment him with those papal presents of roses, and at his desire made Wolsey a cardinal; and above all other things obliged him by conferring on him the title of defender of the faith, (upon the presenting to the pope his book against Luther,) in a pompous letter signed by the pope, and twenty-seven cardinals, in which the king took great pleasure; affecting it always beyond all his other titles, though several of the former kings of England had carried the same title, as Spelman informs us. So easy a thing it was for popes to oblige princes in those days, when a title or a rose was thought a sufficient recompense for the greatest services.

The cardinal governing all temporal affairs as he did, it is not to be doubted but his authority was absolute in ecclesiastical matters, which seemed naturally to lie within his province; yet Warham made some opposition to him, and complained to the king of his encroaching too much in his legantine courts upon his jurisdiction; and the things being clearly made out, the king chid the cardinal sharply for it, who ever after that hated Warham in his heart, yet he proceeded more warily for the future.

But the cardinal drew the hatred of the clergy upon himself, chiefly by a bull which he obtained from Rome, giving him authority to visit all monasteries, and all the clergy of England, and to dispense with all the laws of the church for one whole year after the date of the bull. The power that was lodged in him by this bull was not more invidious, than the words in which it was conceived were offensive; for the preamble of it was full of severe reflections against the manners and ignorance of the clergy, who are said in it to have been delivered over to a reprobate mind. This, as it was a public defaming them, so, how true soever it might be, all thought it did not become the cardinal, whose vices were notorious and scandalous, to tax others whose faults were neither so great nor so eminent as his were.

He did also affect a magnificence and greatness, not only in his habit (being the first clergyman in England that wore silks) but in his family, his train, and other pieces of state, equal to that of kings. And even in performing divine offices, and saying mass, he did it with the same ceremonies that the popes use; who judge themselves so nearly related to God, that those humble acts of adoration, which are devotions in other persons, would abase them too much. He had not only bishops and abbots to serve him, but even dukes and earls to give him the water and the towel. He had certainly a vast mind; and he saw the corruptions of the clergy gave so great scandal, and their ignorance was so profound, that unless some effectual ways were taken for correcting these, they must needs fall into great disesteem with the people: for though he took great liberties himself, and perhaps, according to the maxim of the canonists, he judged cardinals as princes of the church were not comprehended within ordinary ecclesiastical laws; yet he seemed to have designed the reformation of the inferior clergy by all the means he could think of, except the giving them a good example: therefore, he intended to visit all the monasteries of England, that so discovering their corruptions, he might the better justify the design he had to suppress most of them, and convert them into bishoprics, cathedrals, collegiate churches and colleges: for which end he procured the bull from Rome; but he was diverted from making any use of it, by some who

advised him rather to suppress monasteries by the pope's authority, than proceed in a method which would raise great hatred against himself, cast foul aspersions on religious orders, and give the enemies of the church great advantages against it. Yet he had communicated his design to the king; and his secretary Cromwell understanding it, was thereby instructed how to proceed afterwards when they went about the total suppression of the monasteries.

1521.
October 11.

L. Herbert.

A Bull for
Reforming
the Clergy;
10th June,
1519. L. Her-
bert, and Ar-
ticle 29 of his
Impeachment.

The Cardi-
nal's Pride.
Polydore
Virgil.

He designs a
Reformation;

And a Sup-
pression of
Monasteries.

The summoning of convocations he assumed by virtue of his legantine power. Of these there were two sorts, the first were called by the king; for with the writs for a parliament there went out always a summons to the two archbishops for calling a convocation of their provinces, the style of which will be found in the collection. It differs in nothing from what is now in use, but that the king did not prefix the day, requiring them only to be summoned to meet with all convenient speed; and the archbishops, having the king's pleasure signified to them, did in their writs prefix the day. Other convocations were called by the archbishops in their several provinces upon great emergencies to meet and treat of things relating to the church, and were provincial councils. Of this I find but one, and that called by Warham in the first year of this king, for restoring the ecclesiastical immunities that had been very much impaired, as will appear by the writ of summons. But the cardinal did now, as legate, issue out writs for convocations. In the year 1522, I find by the register there was a writ issued from the king to Warham to call one, who upon that summoned it to meet at St. Paul's the 20th of April. But the cardinal prevailed so far with the king that on the 2nd of May after, he, by his legantine authority, dissolved that convocation; and issued out a writ to Tonstall, bishop of London, to bring the clergy of Canterbury to St. Peter's in Westminster, there to meet and reform abuses in the church, and consider of other important matters that should be proposed to them. What they did towards reformation I know not, the records being lost: but as to the king's supply, it was proposed, that they should give the king the half of the full value of their livings for one year, to be paid in five years. The cardinal laid out to them how much the king had merited from the church, both by suppressing the schism that was like to have been in the papacy in pope Julius's time, and by protecting the see of Rome from the French tyranny; but most of all, for that excellent book written by him in defence of the faith against the heretics: and that, therefore, since the French king was making war upon him, and had sent over the duke of Albany to Scotland to make war also on that side, it was fit that on so great an occasion, it should appear that his clergy were sensible of their happiness in having such a king; which they ought to express in granting somewhat, that was as much beyond all former precedents, as the king had merited more from them than all former kings had ever done.

But the bishops of Winchester and Rochester opposed this: for they both hated the cardinal. The one thought him ungrateful to him who had raised him: the other, being a man of a strict life, hated him for his vices. Both these spake against it as an unheard-of tax, which would so oppress the clergy, that it would not be possible for them to live and pay it; and that this would become a precedent for after-times, which would make the condition of the clergy most miserable. But the cardinal, who intended that the convocation by a great subsidy should lead the way to the parliament, took much pains for carrying it through; and got some to be absent, and others were prevailed on to consent to it: and, for the fear of its being made a precedent, a clause was put in the act, that it should be no precedent for after-times. Others laughed at this, and said, it would be a precedent for all that, if it once passed. But in the end it was granted, with a most glorious preamble; and

by it all the natives of England that had any ecclesiastical benefice were to pay the full half of the true value of their livings in five years; and all foreigners who were beneficed in England were to pay a whole year's rent in the same time: out of which number were excepted the bishops of Worcester and Llandaff, Polydore Virgil, Peter the Carmelite, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Silvester Darius, and Peter Vannes, who were to pay only as natives did. This increased the hatred that the clergy bore the cardinal. But he despised them, and in particular was a great enemy to the monks, and looked on them as idle mouths that did neither the church nor state any service, but were through their scandalous lives a reproach to the church, and a burden to the state. Therefore he resolved to suppress a great number of them, and to change them to another institution.

From the days of king Edgar the state of monkery had been still growing in England.

For most of the secular clergy being then married, and refusing to put away their wives, were by Dunstan archbishop of Canterbury, and Ethelwald bishop of Winchester, and Oswald bishop of Worcester, who were all monks, turned out of their livings. There is in the rolls an *inspeximus* of king Edgar's, erecting the priory and convent of Worcester, which bears date *Anno 964, Edgari 6^{to}*, on St. Innocent's-

day, signed by the king, the queen, two archbishops, five bishops, six abbots, (but neither bishopric nor abbey are named), six dukes, and five knights, but there is no seal to it. It bears, that the king, with the counsel and consent of

his princes and gentry, did confirm and establish that priory; and that he had erected forty-seven monasteries, which he intended to increase to fifty, the number of jubilee; and that the former incumbents should be for ever excluded from all pretensions to their benefices, because they had rather chosen, with the danger of their order, and the prejudice of the ecclesiastical benefice, to adhere to their wives, than to serve God chastely and canonically.

The monks being thus settled in most cathedrals of England, gave themselves up to idleness and pleasure, which had been long complained of; but now that learning began to be restored, they being everywhere possessed of the best church-benefices, were looked upon by all learned men with an evil eye, as having in their hands the chief encouragements of learning, and yet doing nothing towards it; they, on the contrary, decrying and disparaging it all they could, saying, it would bring in heresy, and a great deal of mischief. And the restorers of learning, such as Erasmus, Vives, and others, did not spare them, but did expose their ignorance and ill-manners to the world.

Now the king naturally loved learning, and therefore the cardinal, either to do a thing which he knew would be acceptable to the king, or that it was also agreeable to his own inclinations, resolved to set up some colleges, in which there should be both great encouragements for eminent scholars to prosecute their studies, and good schools for teaching and training up of youth. This he knew would be a great honour

to him, to be looked upon as a patron of learning; and therefore he set his heart much on it, to have two colleges, (the one at Oxford, the other at Ipswich*, the place of his birth,) well constituted, and nobly endowed. But towards this it was necessary to suppress some monasteries, which was thought every whit as justifiable and lawful, as it had been, many ages before, to change secular prebends into canons regular,—the endowed goods being still applied to a religious use. And it was thought hard to say, that if the pope had the absolute power of dispensing the spiritual treasure of the church, and to translate the merits of one man, and apply them to another; that he had not a much more absolute power over the temporal treasure of the church, to translate church-lands from one use, and apply them to another. And, indeed, the cardinal was then so much considered at Rome as a pope of another world, that whatever he desired he easily obtained. Therefore on the 3rd of April, 1524, pope Clement by a bull gave him authority to suppress the monastery of St. Frediswood in Oxford, and in the diocese of Lincoln, and to carry the monks elsewhere, with a very full *non obstante*. To this the king gave his assent the 19th of April

following. After this there followed many other bulls for other religious houses and rectories that were impropriated. These houses being thus suppressed by the law, they belonged to the king†, who thereupon made them over to the cardinal by new and special grants, which are all enrolled. And so he went on with these great foundations, and brought them to perfection: that at Oxford in the eighteenth year, and that at Ipswich in the twentieth year of the king's reign, as appears by the dates of the king's patents for founding them.

In the last place, I come to show the new opinions in religion, or those that were accounted new, then in England; and the state and progress of them till the nineteenth year of the king's reign.

From the days of Wickliffe, there were many that disliked most of the received doctrines

* Shortly after the cardinal's disgrace this noble building was razed to the ground, little more than three years after its foundation, and its site granted away by king Henry. No part now remains except the gate, which

stands adjoining to the east side of St. Peter's church-yard.—Ed.

† But see a doubt upon this point, book 3, Anno 1539.—Ed.

in several parts of the nation. The clergy were at that time very hateful to the people ; as the pope did exact heavily on them, so they being oppressed took all means possible to make the people repay what the popes wrested from them. Wickliffe being much encouraged and supported by the duke of Lancaster and the lord Piercy, the bishops could not proceed against him till the duke of Lancaster was put from the king, and then he was condemned at Oxford. Many opinions are charged upon him ; but whether he held them or not we know not but by the testimonies of his enemies, who write of him with so much passion, that it discredits all they say ; yet he died in peace, though his body was afterwards burnt. He translated the Bible out of Latin into English, with a long preface before it, in which he reflected severely on the corruptions of the clergy, and condemned the worshipping of saints and images, and denied the corporal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, and exhorted all people to the study of the Scriptures. His Bible with this preface was well received by a great many, who were led into these opinions rather by the impressions which common sense and plain reason made on them, than by any deep speculation or study. For the followers of this doctrine were illiterate and ignorant men : some few clerks joined to them, but they formed not themselves into any body or association ; and were scattered over the kingdom, holding these opinions in private without making any public profession of them. Generally they were known by their disparaging the superstitious clergy, whose corruptions were then so notorious, and their cruelty so enraged, that no wonder the people were deeply prejudiced against them. Nor were the methods they used likely to prevail much upon them, being severe and cruel.

In the primitive church, though in their councils they were not backward to pass anathematisms on everything that they judged heresy, yet all capital proceedings against heretics were condemned ; and when two bishops did prosecute Priscillian and his followers before the emperor Maximus, upon which they were put to death, they were generally so blamed for it, that many refused to hold communion with them. The Roman emperors made many laws against heretics, for the fining and banishing of them, and secluded them from the privileges of other subjects : such as making wills, or receiving legacies ; only the Manichees (who were a strange mixture between heathenism and Christianity) were to suffer death for their errors. Yet the bishops in those days, particularly in Africa, doubted much whether, upon the insolences of heretics or schismatics, they might desire the emperor to execute those laws for fining, banishing, and other restraints. And St. Austin was not easily prevailed on to consent to it. But, at length, the Donatists were so intolerable, that after several consultations about it, they were forced to consent to those inferior penalties, but still condemned the taking away of their lives. And even in the execution of the imperial laws in those inferior punishments, they were always interposing, to moderate the severity of the prefects and governors. The first instance of severity on men's bodies that was not censured by the church, was in the fifth century under Justin I., who ordered the tongue of Severus (who had been patriarch of Antioch, but did daily anathematise the council of Chalcedon) to be cut out. In the eighth century Justinian II. (called Rhinotmetus from his cropped nose) burnt all the Manichees in Armenia : and in the end of the eleventh century the Bogomili were condemned to be burnt by the patriarch and council of Constantinople. But in the end of the twelfth and in the beginning of the thirteenth century, a company of simple and innocent persons in the southern parts of France*, being disgusted with the corruptions both of the popish clergy and of the public worship, separated from their assemblies ; and then Dominic and his brethren-preachers, who came among them to convince them, finding their preaching did not prevail, betook themselves that way that was sure to silence them. They persuaded the civil magistrates to burn all such as were judged obstinate heretics. That they might do this by a law, the fourth council of Lateran did decree, that all heretics should be delivered to the secular power to be extirpated ; (they thought not fit to speak out, but by the practice it was known that burning was that which they meant ;) and if they did it not, they were to be excommunicated ; and after that, if they still refused to do their duty, (which was

The First
beginning of
Reformation
in England.

The Cruel-
ties of the
Church of
Rome.

* The Albigenses and Vallenses.—Ed.

upon the matter to be the inquisitors' hangmen,) they were to deny it at their utmost perils. For not only the ecclesiastical censures, but anathemas, were thought too feeble a punishment for this omission. Therefore a censure was found out, as severe upon the prince as burning was to the poor heretic. He was to be deposed by the pope, his subjects to be absolved from their oaths of allegiance, and his dominions to be given away to any other faithful son of the church, such as pleased the pope best, and all this by the authority of a synod that passed for a holy general council. This, as it was fatal to the counts of Tholouse, who were great princes in the south of France, and first fell under the censures, so it was terrible to all other princes, who thereupon, to save themselves, delivered up their subjects to the mercy of the ecclesiastical courts.

Burning was the death they made choice of, because witches, wizards, and sodomites, had been so executed. Therefore to make heresy appear a terrible thing, this was thought the most proper punishment of it. It had also a resemblance of everlasting burning, to which they adjudged their souls as well as their bodies were condemned to the fire; but with this signal difference, that they could find no such effectual way to oblige God to execute their sentence, as they contrived against the civil magistrate. But, however, they confidently gave it out, that by virtue of that promise of our Saviour's, "Whose sins ye bind on earth, they are bound in heaven," their decrees were ratified in heaven. And it not being easy to disprove what they said, people believed the one, as they saw the other sentence executed. So that whatever they condemned as heresy, was looked on as the worst thing in the world.

There was no occasion for the execution of this law in England till the days of Wickliffe. And the favour he had from some great men stopped the proceedings against him. But in the fifth year of king Richard II., a bill passed in the house of lords, and was assented to by the king, and published for an act of parliament, though the bill was never sent to the house of commons. By this pretended law it appears, Wickliffe's followers were then very numerous, that they had a certain habit, and did preach in many places, both in churches, church-yards, and markets, without licence from the ordinary; and did preach several doctrines, both against the faith and the laws of the land, as had been proved before the archbishop of Canterbury, the other bishops, prelates, doctors of divinity, and of the civil and canon law, and others of the clergy: that they would not submit to the admonitions nor censures of the church; but by their subtle ingenious words did draw the people to follow them and defend them by strong hand, and in great routs. Therefore it was ordained, that upon the bishops certifying into the Chancery the names of such preachers and their abettors, the chancellor should issue forth commissions to the sheriffs and others the king's ministers, to hold them in arrest and strong prison till they should justify them according to the law and reason of holy church. From the gentleness of which law it may appear, that England was not then so tame as to bear the severity of those cruel laws which were settled and put in execution in other kingdoms.

The custom at that time was to engross copies of all the acts of parliament, and to send them with a writ under the great seal to the sheriffs, to make them be proclaimed within their jurisdictions. And Robert Braibrook bishop of London, then lord chancellor, sent this with the other acts of that parliament to be proclaimed. The writ bears date the 26th of May, 5th Reg. But in the next parliament that was held in the sixth year of that king's reign, the commons preferred a bill reciting the former act, and constantly affirmed that they had never assented to it, and therefore desired it might be declared to be void; for they protested it was never their intent to be justified, and to bind themselves and their successors to the prelates, more than their ancestors had done in times past. To which the king gave the royal assent as it is in the records of parliament. But in the proclamation of the acts of that parliament this act was suppressed; so that the former act was still looked on as a good law, and is printed in the book of statutes. Such pious frauds were always practised by the popish clergy, and were indeed necessary for the supporting the credit of that church. When Richard II. was deposed and the crown usurped by Henry

IV., then he, in gratitude to the clergy that assisted him in his coming to the crown, granted them a law to their hearts' content in the second year of his reign. The preamble bears, "that some had a new faith about the sacraments of the church, and the authority of the same; and did preach without authority, gathered conventicles, taught schools, wrote books against the catholic faith, with many other heinous aggravations. Upon which the prelates and clergy, and the commons of the realm, prayed the king to provide a sufficient remedy to so great an evil. Therefore the king, by the assent of the states, and other discreet men of the realm being in the said parliament, did ordain, That none should preach without licence, except persons privileged; that none should preach any doctrine contrary to the catholic faith, or the determination of the holy church; and that none should favour and abet them, nor keep their books, but deliver them to the diocesan of the place within forty days after the proclamation of that statute. And that if any persons were defamed, or suspected of doing against that ordinance, then the ordinary might arrest them, and keep them in his prison, till they were canonically purged of the articles laid against them, or did abjure them according to the laws of the church. Provided always that the proceedings against them were publicly and judicially done and ended within three months after they had been so arrested; and if they were convict, the diocesan, or his commissaries, might keep them in prison as long as his discretion shall seem expedient, and might fine them as should seem competent to him, certifying the fine into the king's exchequer; and if any being convict did refuse to abjure, or after abjuration did fall into relapse, then he was to be left to the secular court according to the holy canons. And the mayors, sheriffs, or bailiffs, were to be personally present at the passing the sentence, when they should be required by the diocesan, or his commissaries, and after the sentence they were to receive them, and them before the people in a high place do to be brent." By this statute the sheriffs, or other officers, were immediately to proceed to the burning of heretics without any writ, or warrant from the king. But it seems the king's learned council advised him to issue out a writ *de heretico comburendo*, upon what grounds of law I cannot tell *. For in the same year when William Sautre (who was the first that was put to death upon the account of heresy) was judged relapse by Thomas Arundel, arch-

Fitz-Herbert's Natura degraded from priesthood, and left to secular power; a writ was issued out to Brevium.

burn him, which in the writ is called "the customary punishment" (relating it is like to the customs that were beyond sea). But this writ was not necessary by the law, and therefore it seems these writs were not enrolled. For in the whole reign of king Henry VIII. I have not been able to find any of these writs in the rolls. But by Warham's register I see the common course of the law was to certify into the chancery the conviction of an heretic, upon which the writ was issued out, if the king did not send a pardon. Thus it went on all the reign of Henry IV. But in the beginning of his son's reign, there was a conspiracy (as was pretended) by sir John Oldecastle, and some others against the king and the clergy; upon which many were put in prison, and twenty-nine were both attainted of treason, and condemned of heresy, so they were both hanged and burnt.

Hall. But, as a writer that lived in the following age, says, "Certain affirmed that these were but feigned causes, surmised of the spirituality more of displeasure than truth." That conspiracy, whether real or pretended, produced a severe act against those heretics who were then best known by the name of Lollards. By which act all officers of state, judges, justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs and bailiffs, were to be sworn when they

* Nor will I pretend to say. But from Fitzherbert it seems to appear that this writ issued before this act of parliament passed; (Fox places Sautre's death Anno 1400); and that the custom for the writ had been formerly so. De Nat. Brev. p. 269. ANONYMOUS CORRECTION.—[This supposition is supported by the form of the writ which terms burning for heresy the "customary punishment," referring, not as the bishop presumes, to the customs of foreign countries, which can in no way affect the laws of England, but to the customary or common law of the land. This tends to prove that heretics had theretofore been burnt

upon the judgment of common law, although we are not aware of the precedents; but Fitzherbert, who wrote Anno 1534, may be relied on as an accurate authority. He quotes Breton, who lived many years before: "Heretikes sert auxi comburs et arces et appiet per ceo livre que ceo est le Comen Ley. Quod vide in Breton, c. 9." It is probable that the practice of issuing the writ was kept up after the passing of the act to prevent the sheriff, a *civil* officer, from being compelled to act as the *immediate* servant of the church, which might be thought a dangerous innovation.—Ed.]

took their employments, to use their whole power and diligence to destroy all heresies and errors, called Lollardies, and to assist the ordinaries and their commissaries in their proceedings against them; and that the Lollards should forfeit all the lands they held in fee-simple and their goods and chattels to the king.

The clergy, according to the genius of that religion, having their authority fortified with such severe laws, were now more cruel and insolent than ever. And if any man denied them any part of that respect or of those advantages to which they pretended, he was presently brought under the suspicion of heresy, and vexed with imprisonments, and articles were brought against him.

Upon which great complaints followed. And the judges to correct this granted *habeas corpus* upon their imprisonments, and examined the warrants, and either bailed or discharged the prisoners as they saw cause: for though the decrees of the church had made many things heresy, so that the clergy had much matter to work upon; yet when offenders against them in other things could not be charged with any formal heresy, then by consequences they studied to fasten it on them, but were sometimes overruled by the judges. Thus, when one Keyser (who was excommunicated by Thomas

^{5th year of} Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury, at the suit of another) said openly, that ^{Edw. IV.} "That sentence was not to be feared; for though the archbishop or his commissary had excommunicated him, yet he was not excommunicated before God;" he was upon this committed by the archbishop's warrant as one justly suspected of heresy: but the judges upon his moving for an *habeas corpus* granted it; and the prisoner being brought to the bar, with the warrant for his imprisonment, they found the matter contained in it was not within the statute, and first bailed him, and after that they discharged him. One Warner of London having said, that he was not bound to pay tithes to his curate, was also imprisoned by Edward Vaughan, at the command of the bishop of London; but he escaped out of prison, and brought his action of false imprisonment against Vaughan. Whereupon Vaughan pleaded the statute of Henry IV., and that his opinion was an heresy against the determination of the catholic faith; the court of the Common Pleas judged, "That the words were not within the statute, and that his opinion was an error, but no heresy." So that the judges, looking on themselves as the interpreters of the law, thought, that even in the case of heresy, they had authority to declare what was heresy by the law and what not: but what opposition the clergy made to this I do not know.

I hope the reader will easily excuse this digression, it being so material to the history that is to follow. I shall next set down what I find in the records about the proceedings against heretics in the beginning of this reign.

On the 2nd of May, in the year 1611, six men and four women, most of them being of Tenterden, appeared before archbishop Warham, in his manor of Knoll, and abjured the following errors. 1st, That in the sacrament of the altar is not the body of

Warham's
Proceedings
against Here-
tics.
Regist. War-
ham, Fol. 164.

Christ, but material bread. 2ndly, That the sacraments of baptism and confirmation are not necessary, nor profitable for men's souls. 3rdly, That confession of sins ought not to be made to a priest. 4thly, That there is no more power given by God to a priest than to a layman. 5thly, That the solemnization of matrimony is not profitable, nor necessary for the weal of man's soul. 6thly, That the sacrament of extreme unction is not profitable, nor necessary for man's soul. 7thly, That pilgrimages to holy and devout places be not profitable, neither meritorious for man's soul. 8thly, That images of saints be not to be worshipped. 9thly, That a man should pray to no saint, but only to God. 10thly, That holy water and holy bread be not the better after the benediction made by the priest than before. And as they abjured these opinions, so they were made to swear, that they should discover all whom they knew to hold these errors, or who were suspected of them, or that did keep any private conventicles, or were fautors*, or comforters of them that published such doctrines. Two other men of Tenterden did that day in the afternoon abjure most of these opinions. The court sat again the 5th of May, and the archbishop enjoined them penance, to wear the

* Favourers, patrons, or protectors.—Ed.

badge of a faggot in flames on their clothes during their lives, or till they were dispensed with for it; and that in the procession, both at the cathedral of Canterbury and at their own parish churches, they should carry a faggot on their shoulders: which was looked on as a public confession that they deserved burning.

That same day another of Tenterden abjured the same doctrines. On the 15th of May the court sat at Lambeth, where four men and one woman abjured. On the 19th, four men more abjured. On the 3rd of June a man and a woman abjured. Another woman the 26th of July; another man the 29th of July; two women on the 2nd of August; a man on the 3rd, and a woman on the 8th of August; three men on the 16th of August; and three men and a woman on the 3rd of September. In these abjurations some were put to abjure more, some fewer of the former doctrines; and in some of their abjurations two articles more were added:—1st, That the images of the crucifix, of our Lady, and other saints, ought not to be worshipped, because they were made with men's hands, and were but stocks and stones. 2ndly, That money and labour spent in pilgrimages was all in vain. All these persons (whether they were unjustly accused, or were overcome with fear, or had but crude conceptions of those opinions, and so were easily frightened out of them) abjured and performed the penance that was enjoined them. Others met with harder measure; for on the 29th of April, in the same year, 1511, one William Carder, of Tenterden, being indicted on the former articles, he denied them all but one,—that he had said it was enough to pray to Almighty God alone, and therefore we needed not to pray to saints for any mediation. Upon which witnesses were brought against him, who were all such as were then prisoners, but intended to abjure, and were now made use of to convict others. They swore that he had taught them these opinions. When their depositions were published, he said, he did repent if he had said anything against the faith and the sacraments; but he did not remember that he had ever said any such thing. Sentence was given upon him as an obstinate heretic, and he was delivered up to the secular power. On the same day a woman, Agnes Grevill, was indicted upon the same articles: she pleaded not guilty; but, by a strange kind of proceeding, her husband and her two sons were brought in witnesses against her. Her husband deposed, that in the end of the reign of king Edward IV., one John Ive had persuaded her into these opinions, in which she had persisted ever since: her sons also deposed, that she had been still infusing these doctrines into them. One Robert Harrison was also indicted, and pleading not guilty, witnesses did prove the articles against him. And on the 2nd of May sentence was given against these two as obstinate heretics. And the same day the archbishop signed the writs for certifying these sentences into the Chancery, which conclude in these words:—"Our holy mother the church having nothing further that she can do in this matter, we leave the forementioned heretics, and every one of them, to your royal highness, and to your secular council." And on the 8th of May, John Brown and Edward Walker, being also indicted of heresy on the former points, they both pleaded not guilty. But the witnesses deposing against them, they were judged obstinate heretics, and the former a relapse, for he had abjured before cardinal Morton. And on the 19th of May sentence was given. When or how the sentences were executed I cannot find. Sure I am there are no pardons upon record for any of them, and it was the course of the law, either to send a pardon or to issue out the writ for burning them.

Fox mentions none of these proceedings, only he tells that John Brown was taken for some words said in discourse with a priest, about the saying of masses for redeeming souls out of purgatory. Upon which he was committed for suspicion of heresy: but Fox seems to have been misinformed about the time of his burning, which he says was Anno 1517, for they would not have kept a condemned heretic six years out of the fire. I never find them guilty of any such clemency. These severe sentences made the rest so apprehensive of their danger, that all the others who were indicted abjured. And in the year 1512, on the 5th of June, two men and two women abjured that article, That in the sacrament of the altar, there was only material bread, and not the body of Christ. And on the 4th and 13th of September, two other women abjured the former articles; and this is all that is in Warham's register about heretics.

In what remains of Fitz-James bishop of London's Register, there are but three abjurations. Fitz-James Bishop of London, his proceedings against Heretics, Fol. 4. In the year 1509, on Elizabeth Sampson, of Aldermanbury, was indicted for having spoken reproachfully of the images of our Lady, of Willsden, Crom, and Walsingham, condemning pilgrimages to them, and saying it was better to give alms at home to poor people than to go on pilgrimages; and that images were but stocks and stones, and denying the virtue of the sacrament of the altar when the priest was not in clean life, and saying it was but bread, and that Christ could not be both in heaven and earth; and for denying Christ's ascension to heaven, and saying, that more should not go to heaven than were already in it. But she, to be free of further trouble, confessed herself guilty, and abjured all those opinions. It is generally observed, that in the proceedings against Lollards, the clergy always mixed some capital errors, which all Christians rejected, with those for which they accused them; and some particulars being proved, they gave it out that they were guilty of them all, to represent them the more odious. And in this case the thing is plain, for this woman is charged for denying Christ's ascension; and yet another of the articles was, that she said Christ's body could not be in the sacrament, because it could not be both in heaven and on earth. Which two opinions are inconsistent. In the year 1511, William Poitier was indicted for saying, there were three Gods, and that he knew not for what Christ's passion or baptism availed, and did abjure. Whether he only spoke these things impiously, or whether he held them in opinion, is not clear. But certainly he was no Lollard. One Joan Baker was also made to abjure some words she had said, that images were but idols, and not to be worshipped; and that they were set up by the priest out of covetousness, that they might grow rich by them; and that pilgrimages were not to be made. More is not in that register. But Fox gives an account of six others, who were burnt in Fitz-James's time. On this I have been the longer, that it may appear what were the opinions of the Lollards at that time before Luther had published anything against the indulgences. For these opinions did very much dispose people to receive the writings which came afterwards out of Germany.

The Progress of Luther's doctrine. The first beginnings and progress of Luther's doctrine are so well known, that I need not tell how upon the publishing of indulgences in Germany, in so gross a manner, that for a little money any man might both preserve himself and deliver his friends out of purgatory, many were offended at this merchandise, against which Luther wrote. But it concerning the see of Rome in so main a point of their prerogative, which would also have cut off a great branch of their revenue, he was proceeded against with extreme severity. So small a spark as that collision made could never have raised so great a fire, if the world had not been strongly disposed to it by the just prejudices they had conceived against the popish clergy, whose ignorance and lewd lives had laid them so open to contempt and hatred, that any one that would set himself against them could not but be kindly looked on by the people. They had engrossed the greatest part both of the riches and power of Christendom, and lived at their ease and in much wealth; and the corruptions of their worship and doctrine were such, that a very small proportion of common sense, with but an overly looking on the New Testament, discovered them. Nor had they any other varnish to colour them by but the authority and traditions of the church. But when some studious men began to read the ancient fathers and councils (though there was then a great mixture of sophisticated stuff that went under the ancient names, and was joined to their true works, which critics have since discovered to be spurious), they found a vast difference between the first five ages of the Christian church, in which piety and learning prevailed, and the last ten ages, in which ignorance had buried all their former learning, only a little misguided devotion was retained for six of these ages, and in the last four, the restless ambition and usurpation of the popes was supported by the seeming holiness of the begging friars, and the false counterfeits of learning, which were among the canonists, schoolmen, and casuists: so that it was incredible to see how men, notwithstanding all the opposition the princes everywhere made to the progress of these reputed new opinions, and the great advantages by which the church of Rome both held and drew many into their interests, were generally inclined to these doctrines. Those of the clergy who at first preached them were of the begging orders of friars, who having fewer engagements on them from their interests,

were freer to discover and follow the truth. And the austere discipline they had been trained under did prepare them to encounter those difficulties that lay in their way ; and the laity that had long looked on their pastors with an evil eye, did receive these opinions very easily,—which did both discover the impostures with which the world had been abused, and showed a plain and simple way to the kingdom of heaven, by putting the Scriptures into their hands, and such other instructions about religion as were sincere and genuine. The clergy, who at first despised these new preachers, were at length much alarmed when they saw all people running after them and receiving their doctrines.

As these things did spread much in Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands, so their books came over into England, where there was much matter already prepared to be wrought on, not only by the prejudices they had conceived against the corrupt clergy, but by the opinions of the Lollards which had been now in England since the days of Wickliffe, for about one hundred and fifty years. Between which opinions and the doctrines of the reformers there was great affinity ; and therefore, to give the better vent to the books that came out of Germany, many of them were translated into the English tongue, and were very much read and applauded. This quickened the proceedings against the Lollards ; and the inquiry became so severe, that great numbers were brought into the toils of the bishops and their commissaries. If a man had spoken but a light word against any of the constitutions of the church, he was seized on by the bishops' officers ; and if any taught their children the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Apostles' Creed in the vulgar tongue, that was crime enough to bring them to the stake ; as it did six men and a

woman at Coventry, in the passion-week, 1519, being the 4th of April. Longland, Fox. bishop of Lincoln, was very cruel to all that were suspected of heresy in his diocese ; several of them abjured, and some were burnt.

But all that did not produce what they designed by it. The clergy did not correct their own faults, and their cruelty was looked on as an evidence of guilt, and of a weak cause ; so that the method they took wrought only on people's fears, and made them more cautious and reserved, but did not at all remove the cause, nor work either on their reasons or affections.

Upon all this, the king, to get himself a name, and to have a lasting interest with the clergy, thought it not enough to assist them with his authority, but would needs turn their champion, and write against Luther * in defence of the seven sacraments.

The King writes against Luther. This book was magnified by the clergy, as the most learned work that ever the sun saw ; and he was compared to king Solomon, and to all the Christian emperors that had ever been : and it was the chief subject of flattery for many

years, besides the glorious title of "Defender of the Faith," which the pope bestowed on him for it. And it must be acknowledged, that considering the age, and that it was the work of a king, it did deserve some commendation. But Luther was not at all daunted at it, but rather valued himself upon it, that so great a king had entered the lists with him, and answered his book. And he replied, not without a large mixture of acrimony, for which he was generally blamed, as forgetting that great respect that is due to the persons of sovereign princes.

But all would not do. These opinions still gained more footing ; and William Tindal made a translation of the New Testament in English, to which he added some short glosses.

October 23. This was printed in Antwerp, and sent over into England in the year 1526. Reg. Ton- Against which there was a prohibition published by every bishop in his diocese, stall, Fol. 45. bearing that some of Luther's followers had erroneously translated the New Testament, and had corrupted the Word of God, both by a false translation and that in Fox Testaments, by heretical glosses ; therefore they required all incumbents to charge all within ages exactly.

* No doubt this book was wrote by the king, as other books were under his name ; that is, by his bishops and other learned men. Sir Thomas More (who must have known the authors) gives this account of it, in his MS. life by Roper : "That after it was finished by his grace's appointment, and consent of the makers of the same, I was only a sorter out and placer of the principal matters

therein contained." So it seems others were makers, and sir Thomas More only a sorter. By the style it was guessed by some to be wrote by Erasmus ; and he (in mirth I suppose) owns the king might have hit upon his style, several letters having passed between them.—ANONYMOUS CORRECTION.

their parishes, that had any of these, to bring them in to the vicar-general within thirty days after that premonition, under the pains of excommunication, and incurring the suspicion of heresy. There were also many other books prohibited at that time, most of them written by Tindal. And sir Thomas More, who was a man celebrated for virtue and learning, undertook the answering of some of those; but before he went about it, he would needs have the bishops' licence for keeping and reading them. He wrote according to the way of the age, with much bitterness; and though he had been no friend to the monks, and a great declaimer against the ignorance of the clergy, and had been ill-used by the cardinal, yet he was one of the bitterest enemies of the new preachers, not without great cruelty when he came into power, though he was otherwise a very good-natured man. So violently did the Roman clergy hurry all their friends into those excesses of fire and sword.

When the party became so considerable that it was known there were societies of them, not only in London but in both the universities, then the cardinal was constrained to act. His contempt of the clergy was looked on as that which gave encouragement to the heretics. When reports were brought to court of a company that were in Cambridge—Bilney, Latimer, and others—that read and propagated Luther's book and opinions, some bishops moved, in the year 1523, that there might be a visitation appointed to go to Cambridge, for trying who were the fautors of heresy there. But he, as legate, did inhibit it (upon what grounds I cannot imagine); which was brought against him afterwards in Parliament (art. 43 of his impeachment). Yet when these doctrines were spread everywhere, he called a meeting of all the bishops and divines and canonists about London; where Thomas Bilney and Thomas Arthur were brought before them, and articles were brought in against them. The whole process is set down at length by Fox, in all points according to "Tonstall's Register," except one fault in the translation. When the cardinal asked Bilney whether he had not taken an oath before not to preach, or defend any of Luther's doctrines, he confessed he had done it, but not judicially (*judicialiter* in the Register). This Fox translates "not lawfully." In all the other particulars there is an exact agreement between the Register and his acts. The sum of the proceedings of the court was, that after examination of witnesses, and several other steps in the process, which the cardinal left to the bishop of London and the other bishops to manage, Bilney stood out long, and seemed resolved to suffer for a good conscience. In the end, what through human infirmity, what through the great importunity of the bishop of London, who set all his friends on him, he did abjure on the 7th of December, as Arthur had done on the 2nd of that month. And though Bilney was relapsed, and so was to expect no mercy by the law, yet the bishop of London enjoined him penance, and let him go. For Tonstall being a man both of good learning and an unblemished life, these virtues produced one of their ordinary effects in him, great moderation, that was so eminent in him, that at no time did he dip his hands in blood. Geoffrey Loni and Thomas Gerard also abjured for having had Luther's books, and defending his opinions.

These were the proceedings against heretics in the first half of this reign. And thus far I have opened the state of affairs, both as to religious and civil concerns, for the first eighteen years of this king's time, with what observations I could gather of the disposition and tempers of the nation at that time, which prepared them for the changes that followed afterwards.

PART I.—BOOK II.

OF THE PROCESS OF DIVORCE BETWEEN KING HENRY AND QUEEN KATHARINE, AND OF WHAT PASSED FROM THE NINETEENTH TO THE TWENTY-FIFTH YEAR OF HIS REIGN, IN WHICH HE WAS DECLARED SUPREME HEAD OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

KING Henry hitherto lived at ease, and enjoyed his pleasures; he made war with much honour, and that always produced a just and advantageous peace. He had no trouble upon him in all his affairs except about the getting of money, and even in that the cardinal eased him. But now a domestic trouble arose, which perplexed all the rest of his government, and drew after it consequences of a high nature.

The beginning of the suit of Divorce.

Henry VII., upon wise and good considerations, resolved to link himself in a close confederacy with Ferdinand and Isabella, kings of Castile and Arragon, and with the house of Burgundy against France, which was looked on as the lasting and dangerous enemy of England. And therefore a match was agreed on between his son, prince Arthur, and Katharine the infanta of Spain, whose eldest sister Joan was married to Philip, that was then duke of Burgundy, and earl of Flanders; out of which arose a triple alliance between England, Spain, and Burgundy, against the king of France, who was then become formidable to all about him. There was given with her 200,000 ducats, the greatest portion that had been given for many ages with any princess, which made it not the less acceptable to king Henry VII.

The Marriage of Prince Arthur to the Infanta of Spain.

The infanta was brought into England, and on the 14th of November was married at St. Paul's to the prince of Wales*. They lived together as man and wife till the 2nd of April following; and not only had their bed solemnly blest when they were put in it on the night of their marriage, but also were seen publicly in bed for several days after, and went down to live at Ludlow castle in Wales, where they still bedded together. But prince Arthur, though a strong and healthful youth when he married her, yet died soon after, which some thought was hastened by his too early marriage. The Spanish ambassador had by his master's order taken proofs of the consummation of the marriage, and sent them into Spain, the young prince also himself had by many expressions given his servants cause to believe that his marriage was consummated the first night, which, in a youth of sixteen years of age that was vigorous and healthful, was not at all judged strange. It was so constantly believed, that when he died his younger brother Henry duke of York was not called prince of Wales for some considerable time. Some say for one month, some for six months. And he was not created prince of Wales till ten months were elapsed, viz. in the February following, when it was apparent that his brother's wife was not with child by him. These things were afterwards looked on as a full demonstration (being as much as the thing was capable of) that the princess was not a virgin after prince Arthur's death.

See the Depositions of Witnesses in L. Herbert.

Prince Arthur's Death, Apr. 2, 1502.

Bacon's Henry VII.

But the reason of state still standing for keeping up the alliance against France, and king Henry VII. having no mind to let so great a revenue as she had in jointure be carried out of the kingdom, it was proposed that she should be married to the younger brother Henry, now prince of Wales. The two prelates that were then in greatest esteem with king Henry VII. were Warham archbishop of Canterbury, and Fox bishop of Winchester. The former delivered his opinion

Consultations about a second Marriage of the Infanta to his Brother.

* The queen, under her picture, is said to be "nata 1486." The book de Visibili Ro. Monarchiâ, an authentic piece, says thus: "Hæc decimum octavum, ille decimum quintum ætatis annum, cum hæc nuptiæ celebrarentur, expleverat." P. 135. Sandford, p. 445.—ANONYMOUS CORRECTIONS.

against it, and told the king that he thought it was neither honourable nor well-pleasing to God. The bishop of Winchester persuaded it, and for the objections that were against it, and the murmuring of the people who did not like a marriage that was disputable, lest out of it new wars should afterwards arise about the right of the crown, the pope's dispensation was thought sufficient to answer all; and his authority was then so undisputed that it did it effectually. So a bull was obtained on the 26th of December 1503, to this effect, "that the pope, according to the greatness of his authority,

having received a petition from prince Henry and the princess Katharine, bearing, that whereas the princess was lawfully married to prince Arthur (which which was perhaps consummated by the *carnalis copula*), who was dead without any issue; but they being desirous to marry for preserving the peace between the crowns of England and Spain, did petition his holiness for his dispensation; therefore the pope, out of his care to maintain peace among all catholic kings, did absolve them from all censures under which they might be, and dispensed with the impediment of their affinity, notwithstanding any apostolical constitutions or ordinances to the contrary, and gave them leave to marry, or if they were already married, he confirming it, required their confessor to enjoin them some healthful penance for their having married before the dispensation was obtained."

It was not much to be wondered at, that the pope did readily grant this, for though very many both cardinals and divines did then oppose it, yet the interest of the papacy, which was preferred to all other considerations, required it. For as that pope, being a great enemy to Louis XII. the French king, would have done anything to make an alliance against him firmer; so he was a warlike pope who considered religion very little, and therefore might be easily persuaded to confirm a thing that must needs oblige the succeeding kings of England to maintain the papal authority, since from it they derived their title to the crown; little thinking that by a secret direction of an overruling Providence, that deed of his would occasion the extirpation of the papal power in England. So strangely doth God make the devices of men become of no effect, and turn them to a contrary end to that which is intended.

Upon this bull they were married, the prince of Wales being yet under age. But Warham had so possessed the king with an aversion to this marriage, that on the same day that the prince was of age, he by his father's command, laid on him in the presence of many of the nobility and others, made a protestation in the hands of Fox, bishop of Winchester, before a public notary, and read it himself, by which he declared, "That whereas he being under age was married to the princess Katharine, yet now coming to be of age, he did not confirm that marriage, but retracted and annulled it, and would not proceed in it, but intended in full form of law to void it and break it off, which he declared he did freely and of his own accord."

Thus it stood during his father's life, who continued to the last to be against it; and when he was just dying, he charged his son to break it off, though it is possible that no consideration of religion might work so much on him as the apprehension he had of the troubles that might follow on a controverted title to the crown; of which the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster had given a fresh and sad demonstration. The king being dead, one of the first things that came under consultation was, that the young king must either break his marriage totally, or conclude it. Arguments were brought on both hands, but those for it prevailed most with the king: so six weeks after he came to the crown he was married again publicly, and soon after they were both crowned. On the first day of the year she made him a very acceptable new-year's gift of a son, but he died in the February thereafter: she miscarried often, and another son died soon after he was born; only the lady Mary lived to a perfect age.

In this state was the king's family when the queen left bearing more children, and contracted some diseases that made her person unacceptable to him; but was as to her other qualities a virtuous and grave princess, much esteemed and beloved both of the king and the whole nation. The king being out of

Warham's
Deposition in
L. Herbert.

It is allowed
by the Pope.
Collect.
Numb. 1.

Upon poli-
tical reasons.
L. Herbert.

Henry Pro-
tests against it.
Jun. 27, 1505.

Collect.
Numb. 2.
Morison.

His Father
also dissuaded
it.

April 22,
1509, King
Henry VII.
dies.

Henry being
come to the
Crown Mar-
ries her,
June 3.

They are
Crowned,
June 24.

Son born
Jan. 1, 1511,
dies Feb. 22;
another born,
and dies Nov.
1514.

Lady Mary
born, Feb. 19,
1516.

hopes of more children, declared his daughter princess of Wales, and sent her to Ludlow to hold her court there, and projected divers matches for her. The first was with the dauphin, which was agreed to between the king of France and him the 9th of November 1518, as appears by the treaty yet extant. But this was broken afterwards

1518.

Treaty Rolls
10 Reg.

His Daughter Mary contracted to the Dauphin.

October 11.

Afterwards to the Emperor, June 22, 1522.

Offered to Scotland, Sept. 1524.

Again to France, Apr. 30, 1527.

For King Francis himself, or for his Son the Duke of Orleans.

The King's Marriage questioned by Foreigners.

upon the king's confederating with the emperor against France, and a new match agreed and sworn to between the emperor and the king at Windsor the 22nd of June 1522, the emperor being present in person. This being afterwards neglected and broken by the emperor, by the advice of his courts and states, as was formerly related, there followed some overtures of a marriage with Scotland. But those also vanished, and there was a second treaty begun with France, the king offering his daughter to Francis himself, which he gladly accepting, a match was treated; and on the last of April it was agreed that the lady Mary should be given in marriage either to Francis himself, or to his second son the duke of Orleans; and that alternative was to be determined by the two kings, at an interview that was to be between them soon after at Calais, with forfeitures on both sides if the match went not on.

But while this was in agitation the bishop of Tarbe, the French ambassador, made a great demur about the princess Mary's being illegitimate, as begotten in a marriage that was contracted against a divine precept, with which no human authority could dispense. How far this was secretly concerted between the French court and ours, or between the cardinal and the ambassador, is not known. It is surmised that the king or the cardinal set on the French to make this exception publicly, that so the king might have a better colour to justify his suit of divorce, since other princes were already questioning it. For if upon a marriage proposed of such infinite advantage to France, as that would be with the heir of the crown of England, they nevertheless made exceptions and proceeded but coldly in it, it was very reasonable to expect that after the king's death, other pretenders would have disputed her title in another manner.

To some it seemed strange that the king did offer his daughter to such great princes as the emperor and the king of France, to whom if England had fallen in her right it must have been a province: for though in the last treaty with France she was offered either to the king or his second son; by which either the children which the king might have by her, or the children of the duke of Orleans, should have been heirs to the crown of England, and thereby it would still have continued divided from France; yet this was full of hazard: for if the duke of Orleans by his brother's death should become king of France, as it afterwards fell out, or if the king of France had been once possessed of England, then according to the maxim of the French government, that whatever their king acquires he holds it in the right of his crown, England was still to be a province to France, unless they freed themselves by arms. Others judged that the king intended to marry her to France, the more effectually to seclude her from the succession, considering the aversion his subjects had to a French government, that so he might more easily settle his bastard son the duke of Richmond in the succession of the crown.

While this treaty went on, the king's scruples about his marriage began to take vent.

It is said that the cardinal did first infuse them into him, and made Longland bishop of Lincoln, that was the king's confessor, possess the king's mind with them in confession*. If it was so, the king had, according to the religion of that time, very just cause of scruple, when his confessor judged his marriage sinful, and the pope's legate was of the same mind. It is also said that the cardinal being alienated from the emperor, that he might irreparably embroil the king and him, and

* In a MS. life of Sir Thomas More, wrote not many years after Longland's death, this account is given. "I have heard Dr. Draycot, that was his (Longland's) chaplain and chancellor, say, That he once told the bishop what rumour ran, and desired to know of him the very truth, who answered, that in very deed he did not break

the matter after that sort as is said; but the king brake the matter to him first, and never left urging him, until he had won him to give his consent—of which his doings he did sore forethink himself, and repented afterward," &c. MS. Coll. Eman. Cant.—ANONYMOUS CORRECTIONS.

unite the king to the French interests designed this out of spite ; and that he was also dissatisfied toward the queen, who hated him for his lewd and dissolute life, and had oft admonished and checked him for it : and that he therefore, designing to engage the king to marry the French king's sister the duchess of Alençon, did (to make way for that) set this matter on foot ; but as I see no good authority for all this except the queen's suspicions, who did afterwards charge the cardinal as the cause of all her trouble ; so I am inclined to think the king's scruples were much ancients,—for the king declared to Simon Grineus four years after this, that for seven years he had abstained from the queen upon these scruples, so that by that it seems they had been received into the king's mind three years before this time.

What were the king's secret motives and the true grounds of his aversion to the queen, is only known to God, and till the discovery of all secrets at the day of judgment must lie hid. But the reasons which he always owned, of which all human judicatories must only take notice, shall be now fully opened. He found by the law of Moses, if a man took his brother's wife they should die childless: this made him reflect on the death of his children, which he now looked on as a curse from God for that unlawful marriage. Upon this he set himself to study the case, and called for the judgments of the best divines and canonists. For his own inquiry, Thomas Aquinas being the writer in whose works he took most pleasure, and to whose judgment he submitted most, did decide it clearly against him. For he both concluded, that the laws in Leviticus about the forbidden decrees of marriage were moral and eternal, such as obliged all Christians ; and that the pope could only dispense with the laws of the church, but could not dispense with the laws of God ; upon this reason, that no law can be dispensed with by any authority but that which is equal to the authority that enacted it. Therefore he infers that the pope can indeed dispense with all the laws of the church, but not with the laws of God, to whose authority he could not pretend to be equal. But as the king found this from his own private study, so having commanded the archbishop of Canterbury to require the opinions of the bishops of England, they all in a writing under their hands and seals declared they judged it an unlawful marriage. Only the bishop of Rochester refused to set his hand to it, and though the archbishop pressed him most earnestly to it, yet he persisted in his refusal, saying, that it was against his conscience. Upon which the archbishop made another write down his name, and set his seal to the resolution of the rest of the bishops. But this being afterwards questioned, the bishop of Rochester denied it was his hand, and the archbishop pretended that he had leave given him by the bishop to put his hand to it, which the other denied. Nor was it likely that Fisher, who scrupled in conscience to subscribe it himself, would have consented to such a weak artifice. But all the other bishops did declare against the marriage, and as the king himself said afterwards in the Legantine court, neither the cardinal nor the bishop of Lincoln did first suggest these scruples, but the king being possessed with them, did in confession propose them to that bishop : and added that the cardinal was so far from cherishing them, that he did all he could to stifle them.

The king was now convinced that his marriage was unlawful, both by his own study and the resolution of his divines. And as the point of conscience wrought on him, so the interest of the kingdom required, that there should be no doubting about the succession to the crown : lest as the long civil war between the houses of York and Lancaster had been buried with his father, so a new one should rise up at his death. The king of Scotland was the next heir to the crown after his daughter. And if he married his daughter to any out of France, then he had reason to judge, that the French upon their ancient alliance with Scotland, and that they might divide and distract England, would be ready to assist the king of Scotland in his pretensions : or if he married her in France, then all those in England to whom the French government was hateful, and the emperor and other princes to whom the French power grew formidable, would have been as ready to support the pretensions of Scotland. Or if he should either set up his bastard son, or the children which his sister bore to Charles Brandon, there was still cause to fear a bloody decision of a title that was so doubtful. And though this may seem a consideration too politic and foreign to a matter of that nature, yet the obligation that lies on a prince to provide for

In his Letter
to Bucer, Sept.
10, 1531, in
MSS. R.
Smith.

The grounds
of his scrup-
ples.

All his
Bishops ex-
cept Fisher
declare it un-
lawful.

Cavendish's
Life of Wol-
sey.

The dangers
that were like
to follow from
it.

the happiness and quiet of his subjects was so weighty a thing, that it might well come in among other motives to incline the king much to have this matter determined. At this time the cardinal went over into France, under colour to conclude a league between the two crowns, and to treat about the means of setting the pope at liberty, 1527, Jul. 11. who was then the emperor's prisoner at Rome, and also for a project of peace between Francis and the emperor. But his chief business was to require Francis to declare his resolutions concerning that alternative about the lady Mary. To which it was answered, that the duke of Orleans, as a fitter match in years, was the French king's choice; but this matter fell to the ground upon the process that followed soon after.

The king did much apprehend the opposition the emperor was like to make to his designs; either out of a principle of nature and honour to protect his aunt, or out of a maxin of state, to raise his enemy all the trouble he could at home. But, on the other hand, he had some cause to hope well, even in that particular; for the question of the unlawfulness of the match had been first debated in the Cortes, or assembly of the states at Madrid, and the emperor had then showed himself so favourable to it that he broke the match (to which he had bound himself) with the princess; therefore the king had reason to think, that this at least would mitigate his opposition. The emperor had also used the pope so hardly, that it could not be doubted that the pope hated him. And it was believed that he would find the protection of the king of England most necessary to secure him, either from the greatness of France or Spain, who were fighting for the best part of Italy, which must needs fall into one of their hands; therefore the king did not doubt but the pope would be compliant to his desires. And in this he was much confirmed by the hopes, or rather assurance, which the cardinal gave him of the pope's favour; who, either calculating what was to be expected from that court on the account of their own interest, or upon some promises made him, had undertaken to the king to bring that matter about to his heart's content. It is certain that the cardinal had carried over with him out of the king's treasure 240,000*l.* to be employed about the pope's liberty. But whether he had made a bargain for the divorce, or had fancied that nothing could be denied him at Rome, it does not appear. It is clear by many of his letters, that he had undertaken to the king that the business should be done; and it is not like that a man of his wisdom would have adventured to do that without some good warrant.

But now that the suit was to be moved in the court of Rome, they were to devise such arguments as were like to be well heard there. It would have been unacceptable to have insisted on the nullity of the bull on this account, because the matter of it was unlawful, and fell not within the pope's power. For popes, like other princes, do not love to hear the extent of their prerogative disputed or defined; and to condemn the bull of a former pope as unlawful, was a dangerous precedent, at a time when the pope's authority was rejected by so many in Germany. Therefore the canonists, as well as divines, were consulted, to find such nullities in the bull of dispensation as, according to the canon law and the proceedings of the Rota, might serve to invalidate it without any diminution of the papal power; which being once done, the marriage that followed upon it must needs be annulled. When the canonists examined the bull, they found much matter to proceed upon. It is a maxin in law, that if the pope be surprised in anything, and bulls be procured upon false suggestions and untrue premises, they may be annulled afterwards; upon which foundation most of all the processes against popes' bulls were grounded. Now, they found by the preamble of this bull, that it was said, the king had desired that he might be dispensed with to marry the princess. This was false, for the king had made no such desire, being of an age that was below such considerations—but twelve years old. Then it appeared by the preamble, that this bull was desired by the king to preserve the peace between the king of England and Ferdinand and Isabella (called Elizabetha in the bull), the kings of Spain. To which they excepted, that it was plain this was false, since the king, being then but twelve years old, could not be supposed to have such deep speculations, and so large a prospect, as to desire a match upon a politic account. Then it being also in the bull, that the pope's dispensation was granted to keep peace between the crowns; if there was no hazard of any breach or war between them, this was a false suggestion, by which the pope

had been made believe, that this match was necessary for averting some great mischief; and it was known that there was no danger at all of that, and so this bull was obtained by a surprise. Besides, both king Henry of England and Isabella of Spain were dead before the king married his queen; so the marriage could not be valid by virtue of a bull that was granted to maintain amity between princes that were dead before the marriage was consummated: and they also judged, that the protestation which the king made when he came of age, did retract any such pretended desire that might have been preferred to the pope in his name; and that, from that time forward, the bull could have no further operation, since the ground upon which it was granted, which was the king's desire, did then cease, any pretended desire before he was of age being clearly annulled and determined by that protestation after he was of age, so that a subsequent marriage founded upon the bull must needs be void.

These were the grounds upon which the canonists advised the process at Rome to be carried on. But first to amuse or overreach the Spaniard, the king sent word to his ambassador in Spain to silence the noise that was made about it in that court. Whether the king had then resolved on the person that should succeed the queen, when he had obtained what he desired, or not, is much questioned. Some suggest, that from the beginning he was taken with the charms of Anne Boleyn, and that all this process was moved by the unseen spring of that secret affection. Others will have this amour to have been later in the king's thoughts. How early it came there, at this distance, it is not easy to determine. But before I say more of it, she being so considerable a person in the following relation, I shall give some account of her.

Wolsey's advice to the King, 1527, Aug. 1. Sanders his story about Anne Boleyn examined. For this he cites Rastal's life of Sir Thomas Moor, a Book that was never seen by any body else.

"Sanders has assured the world that the king had a liking to her mother, who was daughter to the duke of Norfolk, and to the end that he might enjoy her with the less disturbance, he sent her husband, sir Thomas Boleyn, to be ambassador in France; and that after two years' absence, his wife being with child, he came over, and sued a divorce against her in the archbishop of Canterbury's court; but the king sent the marquis of Dorchester to let him know that she was with child by him, and that therefore the king desired he would pass the matter over, and be reconciled to his wife: to which he consented. And so Anne Boleyn, though she went under the name of his daughter, yet was of the king's begetting. As he describes her, she was ill-shaped and ugly, had six fingers, a gag-tooth, and a tumour under her chin, with many other unseemly things in her person. At the fifteenth year of her age, he says both her father's butler and chaplain lay with her: afterwards she was sent to France, where she was at first kept privately in the house of a person of quality, then she went to the French court, where she led such a dissolute life that she was called the English hackney. That the French king liked her, and from the freedoms he took with her she was called the king's mule. But returning to England, she was admitted to the court, where she quickly perceived how weary the king was of the queen, and what the cardinal was designing; and having gained the king's affection, she governed it so, that by all innocent freedoms she drew him into her toils, and by the appearances of a severe virtue, with which she disguised herself, so increased his affection and esteem, that he resolved to put her in his queen's place as soon as the divorce was granted." The same author adds, "that the king had likewise enjoyed her sister," with a great deal more, to the disgrace of this lady and her family.

I know it is not the work of an historian to refute the lies of others, but rather to deliver such a plain account as will be a more effectual confutation than anything can be that is said by way of argument which belongs to other writers. And at the end of this king's reign, I intend to set down a collection of the most notorious falsehoods of that writer, together with the evidences of their being so. But all this of Anne Boleyn is so palpable a lie, or rather a complicated heap of lies, and so much depends on it, that I presume it will not offend the reader to be detained a few minutes in the refutation of it. For if it were true, very much might be drawn from it, both to disparage king Henry, who pretended conscience to annul his marriage for the nearness of affinity, and yet would after that marry his own daughter. It leaves also a foul and lasting stain, both on the memory

of Anne Boleyn, and of her incomparable daughter, queen Elizabeth. It also derogates so much from the first reformers, who had some kind of dependence on queen Anne Boleyn, that it seems to be of great importance for directing the reader in the judgment he is to make of persons and things, to lay open the falsehood of this account. It were sufficient for blasting it that there is no proof pretended to be brought for any part of it, but a book of one Rastall, a judge, that was never seen by any other person than that writer. The title of the book is "The Life of Sir Thomas More." There is great reason to think that Rastall never writ any such book, for it is most common for the lives of great authors to be prefixed to their works. Now this Rastall published all More's works in queen Mary's reign, to which if he had written his life it is likely he would have prefixed it. No evidence therefore being given for his relation, either from record, letters, or the testimony of any person who was privy to the matter, the whole is to be looked upon as a black forgery, devised on purpose to defame queen Elizabeth; for upon her mother's death, who can doubt but that some, either to flatter the king or to defame her, would have published these things, which, if they had been true, could be no secrets? For a lady of her mother's condition to bear a child two years after her husband was sent out of England on such a public employment, and a process thereupon to be entered in the archbishop's courts, are things that are not so soon to be forgotten. And that she herself was under so ill a reputation, both in her father's family and in France, for common lewdness, and for being the king's concubine, are things that could not lie hid. And yet, when the books of the archbishop's courts (which are now burnt) were extant, it was published to the

Anti-Sanderus.

world, and satisfaction offered to every one that would take the pains to inform themselves, that there was no such thing on record. Nor did any of the writers of that time, either of the imperial or papal side, once mention these things, notwithstanding their great occasion to do it. But eighty years after, this fable was invented, or at least it was then first published, when it was safer to lie, because none who had lived in the time could disprove it.

But it has not only no foundation, but Sanders, through the vulgar errors of liars, has strained his wit to make so ill a story of the lady, that some things in his own relation make it plainly appear to be impossible. For to pass by those many improbable things that he relates, as namely, that both the king of England and the French king could be so taken with so ugly and monstrous a woman, of so notorious and lewd manners; and that this king, for the space of seven years, that is, during the suit of the divorce, should continue enamoured of her, and never discover this, or having discovered it should yet resolve at all hazards to make her his wife; which are things that would require no common testimony to make them seem credible: there is beside in that story a heap of things so inconsistent with one another, that none but such a one as Sanders could have had either blindness or brow enough to have made or published it. For first, if the king, that he might the more freely enjoy sir Thomas Boleyn's lady, sent him over into France, as Sanders says, I shall allow it as soon as may be, that it was in the very beginning of his reign 1509. Then the time when Anne Boleyn was born, being according to Sanders's account two years after, that must be Anno 1511, and being, as he says, deflowered when she was fifteen, that must be Anno 1526. Then some time must be allowed for her going to France, for her living privately there for some time, and afterwards for her coming to court, and meriting those characters that he says went upon her; and after all that, for her return into England, and insinuating herself into the king's favour: yet by Sanders's own relation, these things must have happened in the same year 1526, for in that year he makes the king think of putting away his wife in order to marry Anne Boleyn, when, according to his account, she could be but fifteen years old, though this king had sent sir Thomas Boleyn into France the first day of his coming to the crown. But that he was not sent so early appears by several grants, that I have seen in the rolls, which were made to him in the first four years of the king's reign: they sufficiently show that he was all that while about the king's person, and mention no services beyond sea, but about the king's person, as the ground upon which they were made. Besides, I find in the treaty-rolls no mention of his being ambassador the first eight years of the king's reign. In the first year the bishops of Winchester and Durham,

and the earl of Surry, are named in the treaty between the two crowns, as the king's ambassadors in France. After this, none could be ambassadors there for two years together, for before two years elapsed there was a war proclaimed against France, and when overtures were made for a peace, it appears by the treaty-rolls

that the earl of Worcester was sent over ambassador. And when the king's sister was sent over to Lewis the French king, though sir Thomas Boleyn went over with her, he was not then so much considered as to be made an ambassador. For in the commission that was given to many persons of quality, to deliver her to her husband king Lewis XII., sir Thomas Boleyn is not named. The persons in the commission are, the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Dorchester, the bishop of Durham, the earls of

Surry and Worcester, the prior of St. John's, and doctor West dean of Windsor. A year after that, sir Thomas Boleyn was made ambassador; but then it was too late for Anne Boleyn to be yet unborn, much less could it be, as Sanders says, that she was born two years after it.

But the learned Camden, whose study and profession led him to a more particular knowledge of these things, gives us another account of her birth. He says that she was born in the year 1507, which was two years before the king came to the crown. And if it be suggested, that then the prince, to enjoy her mother, prevailed with his father to send her husband beyond sea, that must be done when the prince himself was not fourteen years of age; so they must make him to have corrupted other men's wives at that age, when yet they will not allow his brother (no not when he was two years older) to have known his own wife.

But now I leave this foul fiction, and go to deliver certain truths. Anne Boleyn's mother was daughter to the duke of Norfolk, and sister to the duke that was at the time of the divorce lord treasurer. Her father's mother was one of the daughters and heirs to the earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, and her great-grandfather sir Geoffrey Boleyn, who had been lord mayor of London, married one of the daughters and heirs of the lord Hastings; and their family, as they had mixed with so much great blood, so had

married their daughters to very noble families. She being but seven years old was carried over to France with the king's sister, which shows she could have none of those deformities in her person, since such are not brought into the courts and families of queens. And though upon the French king's death the queen dowager came soon back to England, yet she was so liked in the French court, that the next king Francis's queen kept her about herself for some years: and after her death the king's sister, the duchess of Alençon, kept her in her court all the while she was in France; which as it shows there was somewhat extraordinary in her person, so those princesses being much celebrated for their virtues, it is not to be imagined that any person so notoriously defamed as Sanders would represent her was entertained in their courts.

When she came into England is not so clear: it is said that in the year 1522, when war was made on France, her father who was then ambassador was recalled, and brought her over with him, which is not improbable; but if she came then, she did not stay long in England, for Camden says that she served queen Claudia of France till her death (which was in July 1524), and after that she was taken into service by king Francis's sister. How long she continued in that service I do not find, but it is probable that she returned out of France with her father from his embassy in the year 1527, when, as Stow says, he brought with him the picture of her mistress, who was offered in marriage to this king. If she came out of France before, as those authors before-mentioned say, it appears that the king had no design upon her then, because he suffered her to return, and when one mistress died to take another in France; but if she stayed there all this while, then it is probable he had not seen her till now at last, when she came out of the princess of Alençon's service: but whensoever it was that she came to the court of England, it is certain that she was much considered in it. And though the queen, who had taken her to be one of her maids of honour, had afterwards just cause to be displeased with her as her rival; yet she carried herself so, that in the whole progress of the suit, I never find the queen herself, or any of her agents, fix the

least ill character on her, which would most certainly have been done had there been any just cause or good colour for it.

And so far was this lady at least for some time from any thoughts of marrying the king, that she had consented to marry the lord Piercy the earl of Northumberland's eldest son, whom his father, by a strange compliance with the cardinal's vanity, Lord Piercy, had placed in his court and made him one of his servants. The thing is considerable, and clears many things that belong to this history; and the relator of it was an ear-witness of the discourse upon it, as himself informs us. The cardinal hearing that the lord

Cavendish's Life of Wolsey. Piercy was making addresses to Anne Boleyn, one day as he came from the court called for him before his servants (before us all, says the relator, including himself) and "chid him for it, pretending at first that it was unworthy of him to match so meanly; but he justified his choice, and reckoned up her birth and quality, which he said was not inferior to his own. And the cardinal insisting fiercely, to make him lay down his pretensions, he told him he would willingly submit to the king and him; but that he had gone so far before many witnesses that he could not forsake it, and knew not how to discharge his conscience; and therefore he entreated the cardinal would procure him the king's favour in it. Upon that the cardinal in great rage said, Why? thinkest thou that the king and I know not what we have to do in so weighty a matter? yes I warrant you, but I can see in thee no submission at all to the purpose: and said, You have matched yourself with such a one as neither the king nor yet your father will agree to it; and therefore I will send for thy father, who at his coming shall either make thee break this unadvised bargain, or disinherit thee for ever. To which the lord Piercy replied, that he would submit himself to him, if his conscience were discharged of the weighty burden that lay upon it, and soon after his father came into court, he was diverted another way."

Had that writer told us in what year this was done, it had given a great light to direct us; but by this relation we see that she was so far from thinking of the king at that time, that she had engaged herself another way; but how far this went on her side, or whether it was afterwards made use of when she was divorced from the king, shall be considered in its proper place. It also appears that there was a design about her then formed between the king and the cardinal; yet how far that went, whether to make her queen or only to corrupt

L. Herbert. her, is not evident. It is said, that upon this she ever after hated the cardinal, and that he never designed the divorce after he saw on whom the king had fixed his thoughts: but all that is a mistake, as will afterwards appear.

And now, having made way through these things that were previous to the first motion of the divorce, my narration leads me next to the motion itself. The king, resolving to put the matter home to the pope, sent doctor Knight, secretary of state, to Rome, with some instructions to prepare the pope for it, and to observe what might be the best method, and who the fittest tools to work by. At that time the family of the Cassali, being three brothers, were entertained by the king as his agents in Italy, both in Rome, Venice, and other places. Sir Gregory Cassali was then his ordinary ambassador at Rome: to him was the first full despatch about this business directed by the cardinal, the original whereof is yet extant, dated the 5th of December 1527, which the reader will find in the Collection: but here I shall give the heads of it.

"After great and high compliments and assurances of rewards, to engage him to follow the business very vigorously and with great diligence, he writes, that he had before opened the king's case to him, and that, partly by his own study, partly by the opinion of many divines, and other learned men of all sorts, he found that he could no longer, with a good conscience, continue in that marriage with the queen: having God and the quiet and salvation of his soul chiefly before his eyes. And that he had consulted both the most learned divines and canonists, as well in his own dominions as elsewhere, to know whether the pope's dispensation could make it good, and that many of them thought the pope could not dispense, in this case, of the first degree of affinity, which they esteemed forbidden by a divine, moral, and natural law; and all the rest concluded, that the pope could not do it but upon very weighty reasons, and they found not any such in the bull. Then he lays out the reasons for annulling the bull, which were touched before, upon

1527.
The King
moved for his
Divorce at
Rome.

The first de-
spatch about it.
Collect.
Numb. 3d.

which they all concluded the dispensation to be of no force; that the king looked on the death of his sons as a curse from God; and, to avoid further judgments, he now desired help of the apostolic see, to consider his case, to reflect on what he had merited by these services he had done the papacy, and to find a way that he, being divorced from his queen, may marry another wife, of whom, by the blessing of God, he might hope for issue male. Therefore the ambassador was to use all means possible to be admitted to speak to the pope in private, and then to deliver him these letters of credence, in which there was a most earnest clause added with the king's own hand. He was also to make a condolence of the miseries the pope and cardinals were in, both in the king's name and the cardinal's, and to assure the pope they would use all the most effectual means that were possible for setting them at liberty, in which the cardinal would employ as much industry as if there were no other way to come to the kingdom of heaven but by doing it. Then he was to open the king's business to the pope,—the scruples of his conscience, the great danger of cruel wars upon so disputable a succession, the entreaties of all the nobility and the whole kingdom, with many other urgent reasons, to obtain what was desired. He was also to lay before the pope the present condition of Christendom and of Italy, that he might consider of what importance it was to his own affairs, and to the apostolic see, to engage the king so firmly to his interests as this would certainly do. And to move that the pope, without communicating the matter to any person, would freely grant it, and sign the commission which was therewith sent engrossed in due form, and ready to be signed, by which the cardinal was authorized, with the assistance of such as he should choose, to proceed in the matter, according to some instructions which were also sent fairly written out for the pope to sign. A dispensation was also sent in due form; and, if these were expedited, he might assure the pope, that as the king had sent over a vast sum to the French king, for paying his army in Italy, so he would spare no travel nor treasure, but make war upon the emperor in Flanders, with his whole strength, till he forced him to set the pope at liberty, and restore the state of the church to its former power and dignity. And if the pope were already at liberty, and had made an agreement with the emperor, he was to represent to him how little cause he had to trust much to the emperor, who had so oft broke his faith, and designed to do all he could towards the depressing the ecclesiastical state. And the pope was to be remembered, that he had dispensed with the emperor's oath for marrying the king's daughter without communicating the matter to the king. And if he had done so much for one that had been his enemy, how much more might the king expect the like favour, who had always paid him a most filial duty? Or if the pope would not grant the commission to the cardinal to try the matter, as a person that being the king's chief minister was not indifferent enough to judge in any of the king's concerns, he was by all means to overcome that, and assure the pope that he would proceed in it as a judge ought to do. But if the pope stood upon it, and would by no means be persuaded to sign the commission for the cardinal, then he was to propose Staphileus, dean of the Rota, who was then in England; and was to except against all other foreigners, if the pope chanced to propose any other. He was also to represent to the pope, that the king would look upon a delay as a denial, and if the pope inclined to consult with any of the cardinals about it, he was to divert him from it all that was possible: but if the pope would needs do it, then he was to address himself to them, and partly by informing them of the reasons of the king's cause, partly by rewarding the good offices they should do, he was to engage them for the king. And with this despatch letters were sent to cardinal Pucci, Sanctorum Quatuor, and the other cardinals, to be made use of as there should be occasion for it. And because money was like to be the most powerful argument, especially to men impoverished by a captivity, ten thousand ducats were remitted to Venice, to be distributed as the king's affairs required; and he was empowered to make further promises as he saw cause for it, which the king would faithfully make good; and in particular, they were to be wanting in nothing that might absolutely engage the cardinal Datary to favour the king's business.

The Pope grants
it when he was
in Prison.

The same things had been committed to the secretary's care, and they were both to proceed by concert, each of them doing all that was possible to promote the business. But before this reached Rome, secretary Knight was come

thither, and finding it impossible to be admitted to the pope's presence, he had by Collect. corrupting some of his guards sent him the sum of the king's demands. Upon Numb. 4th. which the pope sent him word that the dispensation should be sent fully expedited. So gracious was a pope in captivity. But at that time the general of the Observants in Spain being at Rome, required a promise of the pope not to grant anything that might prejudice the queen's cause, till it were first communicated to the imperialists there. But when the pope made his escape, the secretary and the ambassador went to him Pope escaped, to Orvieto about the end of December, and first did in the king's and cardinal's Dec. 9. name congratulate his freedom. Then the secretary discoursed the business.

The pope owned that he had received the message which he had sent to him at Rome, but in respect of his promise, and that yet in a manner he was in captivity, he begged the king would have a little patience, and he should before long have not only that dispensation, but anything else that lay in his power. But the secretary not being satisfied with that excuse, the pope in the end said he should have it; but with this condition, that he would beseech the king not to proceed upon it till the pope were fully at liberty, and the Germans and Spaniards were driven out of Italy. And upon the king's promising this, the dispensation was to be put in his hands. So the secretary, who had a great mind once to have the bull in his possession, made no scruple to engage his promise for that. The pope also told them he was not expert in those things, but he easily apprehended the danger that might arise from any dispute about the succession to the crown, and that therefore he would communicate the business to the cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor; upon which they resolved to prevent that cardinal's being with the pope, and went and delivered the letters they had for him, and promised him a good reward if he were favourable to their requests in the king's behalf. Then they showed him the commissions that were sent from England; but he upon the perusal of them said, they could not pass without a perpetual dishonour on the pope and the king too, and excepted to several clauses that were in them. So they desired him to draw one that might both be sufficient for the king's purpose, and such as the pope might with honour grant. Which being done, the pope told them, that though he apprehended great danger to himself if the emperor should know what he had done, yet he would rather expose himself to utter ruin than give the king or the cardinal cause to think

And being at liberty, gives a Bull for it.

him ingrate; but with many sighs and tears he begged that the king would not precipitate things, or expose him to be undone, by beginning any process upon the bull. And so he delivered the commission and dispensation signed to Knight. But the means that the pope proposed for his publishing and owning what he now granted, was, that Lautrec with the French army should march, and coming where the pope was, should require him to grant the commission, so that the pope should excuse himself to the emperor, that he had refused to grant it upon the desire of the English ambassador, but that he could not deny the general of the French army to do an act of public justice, and by this means he would save his honour, and not seem guilty of breach of promise; and then he would despatch the commission about the time of Lautrec's being near him; and therefore he entreated the king to accept of what was then granted for the present. The commission and dispensation was given to the secretary, and they promised to send the bull after him, of the same form that was desired from England, and the pope engaged to reform it as should be found needful. And it seems by these letters, that a dispensation and commission had been signed by the pope, when he was a prisoner; but they thought not fit to make any use of them, lest they should be thought null, as being granted when the pope was in captivity.

Thus the pope expressed all the readiness that could be expected from him, in the circumstances he was then in; being overawed by the imperialists, who were harassing the country, and taking castles very near the place where he was. Lautrec, with the French army, lay still fast about Bononia; and as the season of the year was not favourable, so he did not express any inclinations to enter into action. The cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor got four thousand crowns as the reward of his pains, and in earnest of what he was to expect when the matter should be brought to a final conclusion. In this whole matter the pope carried himself as a wise and politic prince, that considered

And the measures that governed them.

his interest, and provided against dangers with great foresight. But as for apostolical wisdom, and the simplicity of the gospel, that was not to be expected from him. For now, though the high-sounding names of Christ's vicar, and St. Peter's successor, were still retained to keep up the pope's dignity and authority, yet they had for many ages governed themselves as secular princes; so that the maxims of that court were no more to keep a good conscience, and to proceed according to the rules of the gospel, and the practice of the primitive church, committing the event to God, and submitting to his will in all things; but the keeping a balance, the maintaining their interest in the courts of princes, the securing their dominions, and the raising their families, being that which they chiefly looked at, it is not to be wondered at that the pope governed himself by these measures, though religion was to be made use of to help him out of straits. All this I set down the more particularly, both because I take my information from original letters, and that it may chiefly appear how matters went at that time in the court of Rome.

Secretary Knight being infirm could not travel with that haste that was required in this business, and therefore he sent the protonotary Gambara with the commission and dispensation to England, and followed in easy journeys. The cardinals that had been consulted with did all express great readiness in granting the king's desire. The cardinal Datary had forsaken the court, and betaken himself to serve God and his cure; and other cardinals were hostages, so that now there were but five about the pope, Monte, Sanctorum Quatuor, Ridolphi, Ravennate, and Perusino. But a motion being made of sending over a legate, the pope would by no means hearken to it, for that would draw new troubles on him from the emperor. That had been desired from England by a despatch of the 27th of December, which pressed a speedy conclusion of the business; upon which the pope on the 12th of January did communicate the matter under the seal of confession to the cardinals Sanctorum Quatuor and Simoneta (who was then come to the court), and upon conference with them, he proposed to sir Gregory Cassali, that he thought the safer way was, "that either by virtue of the commission that the secretary had obtained, or by the legantine power that was lodged with the cardinal of York, he should proceed in the business.

And if the king found the matter clear in his own conscience (in which the pope said, no doctor in the whole world could resolve the matter better than the king himself), he should without more noise make judgment be given, and presently marry another wife, and then send for a legate to confirm the matter. And it would be easier to ratify all when it was once done, than to go on in a process from Rome. For the queen would protest that both the place and the judges were suspected, and not free; upon which, in the course of law, the pope must grant an inhibition for the king's not marrying another while the suit depended, and must avocate the business to be heard in the court of Rome, which, with other prejudices, were unavoidable in a public process by bulls from Rome. But if the thing went on in England, and the king had once married another wife, the pope then would find very good reasons to justify the confirming a thing that was gone so far, and promised to send any cardinal whom they should name. This the pope desired the ambassador would signify to the king as the advice of the two cardinals, and take no notice of him in it. But the despatch shows he was a more faithful minister than to do so.

The ambassador found all the earnestness in the pope that was possible to comply with the king; and that he was jealous both of the emperor and Francis, and depended wholly on the king; so that he found, if the terror of the imperial forces were over, the court of England would dispose of the apostolical see as they pleased. And indeed this advice, how little soever it had of the simplicity of the gospel, was certainly prudent and subtle, and that which of all things the Spaniards apprehended most. And therefore the general of the Observants moved cardinal Campegio, then at Rome, for an inhibition, lest the process should be carried on and determined in England. But that being signified to the pope, he said it could not be granted, since there was no suit depending, in which case only an inhibition can be granted.

But now I must look over again to England, to open the counsels there. At that time Staphileus was there; and he, either to make his court the better, or

that he was so persuaded in opinion, seemed fully satisfied about the justice of the king's cause. So they sent him to Rome with instructions both public and secret. The public instructions related to the pope's affairs, in which all possible assistance was promised by the king. But one proposition in them flowed from the cardinal's ambition:—

His Instruc- "That the kings of England and France thought it would advance the pope's
tions. interests, if he should command the cardinals that were under no restraint to
Cotton. Lib. meet in some secure place to consider of the affairs of the church, that they
Vitel. B. 10. might suffer no prejudice by the pope's captivity; and for that end, and to
Jan. 8. conserve the dignity of the apostolic see, that they should choose such a vicar or
Duplicates president, as partly by his prudence and courage, partly by the assistance of the
corrected by the Cardinal's Hand. two kings upon whom depended all their hopes, might do such services to the
apostolic see as were most necessary in that distracted time, by which the
pope's liberty would be hastened.

It cannot be imagined but the pope would be offended with this proposition, and apprehend that the cardinal of York was not satisfied to be intriguing for the popedom after his death, but was aspiring to it while he was alive. For as it was plain he was the person that must be chosen for that trust, so if the pope were used hardly by the emperor, and forced to ill conditions, the vicar so chosen and his cardinals would disown those conditions, which might end in a schism or his deposition. But Staphileus' secret instructions related wholly to the king's business, which were these: "That the king had opened to him the error of his marriage, and that the said bishop out of his great learning did now clearly perceive how invalid and insufficient it was: therefore the king recommended it to his care, that he would convince the pope and the cardinals with the arguments that had been laid before him, and of which a breviae was given him." He was also to represent the great mischiefs that might follow, if princes got not justice and ease from the apostolic see. Therefore if the pope were yet in captivity he was to propose a meeting of the cardinals, for choosing the cardinal of York to be their head during the pope's imprisonment, or that a full commission might be sent to him for the king's matter. And in particular he was to take care that the business might be tried in England. And for his pains in promoting the king's concerns, the king promised to procure a bishopric for him in France; and to help him to a cardinal's hat. By him the king wrote to the pope. The rude draught of it remains under the cardinal's hand, earnestly desiring a speedy and favourable despatch of his business with a credence to the bearer.

The cardinal also wrote to the pope by him; and after a long congratulating his liberty with many sharp reflections on the emperor, he pressed a despatch of the king's business, in which he would not use many words: "This only I will add," says he, "that that which is desired is holy and just, and very much for the safety and quiet of this kingdom, which is most devoted to the apostolical see." He also wrote by the same hand to the ambassador, "that the king would have things so carried, that all occasion of discontent or cavilling, whether at home or abroad, might be removed; and therefore desired that another cardinal might be sent legate to England, and joined in commission with himself for judging the matter. He named either Campeggio, Tranus, or Farnese: or if that could not be obtained, that a fuller commission might be sent to himself, with all possible haste, since delays might produce great inconveniences. If a legate were named, then care must be taken that he should be one who was learned, indifferent, and tractable; and if Campeggio could be the man, he was the fittest person. And when one was named, he should make him a decent present, and assure him that the king would most liberally recompense all his labour and expense. He also required him to press his speedy despatch, and that the commission should be full to try and determine, without any reservation of the sentence to be given by the pope." This despatch is interlined, and amended with the cardinal's own hand.

But upon the arrival of the messenger whom the secretary had sent, with the commission and dispensation, and the other packets before-mentioned; it was debated in the king's council, whether he should go on in his process, or continue to solicit new bulls from Rome. On the one hand, they saw how tedious, dangerous, and

A Larger
Bull desired
by the King.

expensive a process at Rome was like to prove : and therefore it seemed the easiest and most expedite way to proceed before the cardinal in his legantine court, who should *ex officio*, and in the summary way of their court, bring it to a speedy conclusion. But on the other hand, if the cardinal gave sentence, and the king should marry, then they were not sure but before that time the pope might either change his mind, or his interest might turn him another way. And the pope's power was so absolute by the canon law, that no general clauses in commissions to legates could bind him to confirm their sentences : and if upon the king's marrying another wife the pope should refuse to confirm it, then the king would be in a worse case than he was now in, and his marriage and issue by it should be still disputable : therefore they thought this was by no means to be adventured on, but they should make new addresses to the court of Rome. In the debate, some sharp words fell

Gardiner either from the king, or some of his secular counsellors ; intimating that if the pope continued under such fears, the king must find some other way to set him at ease. So it was resolved that Stephen Gardiner, commonly called doctor Stephens, the cardinal's chief secretary, and Edward Fox the king's almoner, should be sent to Rome ; the one being esteemed the ablest canonist in England, the other one of the best divines, they were despatched the 10th of February. "By them the king wrote to the pope thanking him that he had expressed such forward and earnest willingness to give him ease, and had so kindly promised to gratify his desires, of which he expected now to see the effects." He wrote also to the cardinals his thanks for the cheerfulness with which they had in consistory promised to

promote his suit ; for which he assured them they should never have cause to repent. But the cardinal wrote in a strain that shows he was in some fear that, if he could not bring about the king's desires, he was like to lose his favour. "He besought the pope as lying at his feet, that if he thought him a Christian, a good cardinal, and not unworthy of that dignity, an useful member of the apostolic see, a promoter of justice and equity, or thought him his faithful creature, or that he desired his own eternal salvation, that he would now so far consider his intercession, as to grant kindly and speedily that which the king earnestly desired ; which if he did not know to be holy, right, and just, he would undergo any hazard or punishment whatsoever, rather than promote it ; but he did apprehend if the king found that the pope was so overawed by the emperor as not to grant that which all Christendom judged was grounded both on the divine and human laws, both he and other Christian princes would from thence take occasion to provide themselves of other remedies, and lessen and despise the authority of the apostolic see." In his letters to Cassali he expressed a great sense of the services which the cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor had done the king ; and bid him inquire what were the things in which he delighted most, whether furniture, gold plate, or horses, that they might make him acceptable presents ; and assure him that the king would contribute largely towards the carrying on the building of St. Peter's in the Vatican.

The most important thing about which they were employed, was to procure the expediting of a bull which was formed in England, with all the strongest clauses that could be imagined. In the preamble of which all the reasons against the validity of the bull of pope Julius II. were recited : and it was also hinted "that it was against the law of God ; but to lessen that, it was added, 'at least where there was not a sufficient dispensation obtained :' therefore the pope, to reward the great services by which the king had obliged the apostolic see, and having regard to the distractions that might follow on a disputable title ; upon a full consultation with the cardinals, having also heard the opinions of divines and canonists, deputed ——— for his legate, to concur with the cardinal of York, either together or (the one being hindered or unwilling) severally. And if they found those things that were suggested against the bull of pope Julius, or any of them, well or sufficiently proved, then to declare it void and null, as surreptitiously procured upon false grounds ; and thereupon to annul the marriage that had followed upon it : and to give both parties full leave to marry again, notwithstanding any appellation or protestation, the pope making them his vicars, with full and absolute power and authority : empowering them also to declare the issue begotten in the former

marriage good and legitimate, if they saw cause for it. The pope binding himself to confirm whatever they should do in that process, and never to revoke or repeal what they should pronounce. Declaring also that this bull should remain in force till the process were ended, and that by no revocation or inhibition it should be recalled; and if any such were obtained, these are all declared void and null, and the legates were to proceed notwithstanding:” and all ended with a full *non obstante*.

This was judged the uttermost force that could be in a bull; though the civilians would scarce allow any validity at all in these extravagant clauses: but the most material thing in this bull is, that it seems the king was not fully resolved to declare his daughter illegitimate. Whether he pretended this to mitigate the queen's or the emperor's opposition, or did really intend it, is not clear. But what he did afterwards in parliament shows he had this deep in his thoughts, though the queen's carriage did soon after provoke him to pursue his resentments against her daughter. The French king did also join a most earnest letter of his to the pope, which they were also to deliver. They had likewise a secret instruction by all means to endeavour that cardinal Campegio should be the legate; he had the reputation of a learned canonist, and they knew he was a tractable man: and besides that he was

Rot. Pat. bishop of Salisbury, the king had obliged him by the grant of a palace which
2da Pars. Reg. the king was building in Burgo at Rome for his ambassadors, which, before it
10. was finished, he had by a patent given to him and his heirs: so they had better hopes of him than of any other.

By these ambassadors the cardinal wrote a long and most earnest letter to John Cassali the protonotary, that was the ambassador's brother; in which all the arguments that a most anxious mind could invent or dictate are laid together to persuade the pope to grant the king's desires. Among other things he tells him, “how he had engaged to the king that the pope would not deny it; that the king, both out of scruple of conscience and because of some diseases in the queen that were incurable, had resolved never to come near her more; and that if the pope continued, out of his partial respects to the emperor to be inexorable, the king would proceed another way.” He offers to take all the blame of it upon his own soul if it were amiss; with many other particulars, in which he is so pressing, that I cannot imagine what moved the lord Herbert, who saw those letters, to think that the cardinal did not really intend the divorce*. He (it seems) saw another paper of their instructions, by which they were ordered to say to the pope, that the cardinal was not the author of the counsel. But all that was intended by that was only to excuse him so far, that he might not be thought too partial, and an incompetent judge. For as he was far from disowning the justice of the king's suit, so he would not have trusted a secret of that importance to paper, which when it should be known to the king would have lost him his favour. But undoubtedly it was concerted between the king and him to remove an exception, which otherwise the cardinals of the imperial faction would have made, to his being the judge in that matter.

With those letters and instructions were Gardiner and Fox sent to Rome, where both the
Collect. Cassali† and Staphileus were promoting the king's business all they could.
Numb. 12. And being strengthened with the accession of those other two, they made a
Campegio declared Legate. greater progress; so that in April the pope did in consistory declare cardinal
Collect. Campegio legate to go to England, that he with the cardinal of York might try
Numb. 10. the validity of the king's marriage: but that cardinal made great excuses; he was then legate at Rome, in which he had such advantages, that he had no mind to enter in a

* Granger, in his corrections sent to Burnet, has the following note on this passage:—

“Possibly besides the paper of instructions here mentioned, the testimony of king Henry, [p. 55.] that the cardinal had always opposed it; and the information given the king, [p. 59.] of his having juggled in this business.” The cardinal, as a courtier, desired the divorce; but as a churchman, and an expectant pope, he would willingly have avoided a step which he must have considered a bad precedent. But when he found the king inflexible in his

purpose, he appears to have exerted himself very strenuously, upon the principle of choosing the lesser evil: being willing rather to shake the infallibility of a papal bull, than endanger the church by the secession of so powerful a member as the king of England.—ED.

† S. Greg. Cassali was not then at Rome, but at Orvieto, where the pope was at that time. Staphileus was not yet come: and when he came he did not promote but hindered the king's business all he could. See Gardiner's letters.
—STRYPE'S CORRECTIONS.

business which must for ever engage either the emperor or the king against him. He also pretended an inability to travel so great a journey, being much subject to the gout. But when this was known in England, the cardinal wrote him a most earnest letter to hasten over and bring with him all such things as were necessary for making their sentence firm and irreversible, so that it might never again be questioned.

But here I shall add a remark, which though it is of no great importance yet will be diverting to the reader. The draught of the letter is in Wolsey's secretary's hand, amended in some places by his own; and concluded thus, "I hope all things shall be done according to the will of God, the desire of the king, the quiet of the kingdom, and to our honour with a good conscience." But the cardinal dashed out this last word "with a good conscience;" perhaps judging that was a thing fit for meaner persons, but that it was below the dignity of two cardinals to consider it much. He wrote also to Cassali high compliments for his diligence in the step that was made, but desired him with all possible means to get the bull granted and trusted to his keeping, with the deepest protestations that no use should be made of it, but that the king only should see it; by which his mind would be at ease, and he being put in good hopes, would employ his power in the service of the pope and apostolic see: but the pope was not a man to be cozened so easily.

When the cardinal heard by the next despatch what excuses and delays Campegio made, he wrote to him again, and pressed his coming over in haste. "For his being legate of Rome he desired him to name a vice-legate. For his want of money and horses, Gardiner would furnish him as he desired, and he should find an equipage ready for him in France; and he might certainly expect great rewards from the king. But if he did not make more haste, the king would incline to believe an advertisement that was sent him, of his turning over to the emperor's party. Therefore if he either valued the king's kindness, or were grateful for the favours he had received from him; if he valued the cardinal's friendship or safety, or if he would hinder the diminution of the authority of the Roman church, all excuses set aside, he must make what haste in his journey was possible. Yet the legate made no great haste, for till October following he came not into England. The bull that was desired could not be obtained, but another was granted, which perhaps

The Pope grants a Decretal Bull. Anti-Sanderus. L. Herbert. is the copy of a bull to this purpose in the Cottonian library, which has been printed more than once by some that have taken it for a copy of the same bull that was sent by Campegio: but I take it to be rather a copy of that bull which the pope signed at Rome while he was there a prisoner, and probably afterward at Orvieto he might give it the date that it bears, 1527, Decemb. 17*. But that there was a decretal bull sent by Campegio, will appear evidently in the sequel of this relation. About this time I meet with the first evidence of the progress of the king's love to Anne Boleyn, in two original letters of hers to the cardinal, from which it appears not only that the king had then resolved to marry her, but that the cardinal was privy to it. They bear no date, but the matter of them shows they were written after the end of May, when the sweating-sickness began†, and about the time that the legate was expected. They give such a light to the history, that I shall not cast them over to the collection at the end, but set them down here.

"My Lord, in my most humblest wise that my heart can think, I desire you to pardon me that I am so bold to trouble you with my simple and rude writing, esteeming it to proceed from her that is much desirous to know that your Grace does well, as I perceive by this Bearer that you do. The which I pray God long to continue, as I am most bound to pray; for I do know the great pains and troubles that you have taken for me both day and night is never like to be recompenced on

* This was the third commission sent from the pope. The first was sent from Rome by Gambera, and the second from Orvieto, brought over by Fox, but both were disliked, so this was now obtained.—STRYPE'S CORRECTIONS.

† This dreadful disease, which repeatedly made fearful

ravages in the 16th and 17th centuries, and was known to occur though with less virulence as late as the middle of the 18th century, first made its appearance in the year 1485, and raged to such an extent as to occasion the postponement of Henry VII.'s coronation.—Ed.

my part, but alonly in loving you next, unto the King's Grace, above all creatures living. And I do not doubt but the daily proofs of my deeds shall manifestly declare and affirm my writing to be true, and I do trust you to think the same. My Lord, I do assure you I do long to hear from you news of the Legate : for I do hope and they come from you they shall be very good, and I am sure you desire it as much as I, and more, and it were possible, as I know it is not : and thus remaining in a stedfast hope, I make an end of my letter written with the hand of her that is most bound to be.

"The writer of this letter would not cease till she had caused me likewise to set to my hand ; desiring you, though it be short, to take it in good part. I ensure you there is

A Postscript of the King's to him. neither of us but that greatly desireth to see you, and much more joyous to hear that you have scaped this Plague so well, trusting the fury thereof to be passed, specially with them that keepeth good diet, as I trust you do. The not hearing

of the Legate's Arrival in France causeth us somewhat to muse ; notwithstanding we trust by your diligence and vigilancy (with the assistance of Almighty God) shortly to be eased out of that trouble. No more to you at this time ; but that I pray God send you as good health and prosperity as the Writer would.

"By Your Loving Sovereign and Friend, HENRY K.

"Your Humble Servant,

ANNE BOLEYN."

"My Lord, In my most humblest wise that my poor heart can think, I do thank your Grace for your kind Letter, and for your rich and goodly Present, the which I shall never be able to deserve without your help : of the which I have hitherto had so great plenty, that all the days of my life I am most bound of all creatures, next the king's grace, to love and serve your Grace : of the which I beseech you never to doubt that ever I shall vary from this thought as long as any breath is in my body. And as touching your Grace's trouble with the sweat, I thank our Lord that them that I desired and prayed for are scaped, and that is the king and you ; not doubting but that God has preserved you both for great causes known alonly of his high wisdom. And as for the coming of the Legate, I desire that much ; and if it be God's pleasure, I pray him to send this matter shortly to a good end, and then I trust, My Lord, to recompence part of your great pains. In the which I must require you in the mean time to accept my good-will in the stead of the power, the which must proceed partly from you, as our Lord knoweth ; to whom I beseech to send you long life, with continuance in honour. Written with the hand of her that is most bound to be,

"Your Humble and Obedient Servant,

ANNE BOLEYN."

The cardinal hearing that Campegio had the decretal bull committed to his trust, to be showed only to the king and himself, wrote to the ambassador that it was Collect. Numb. 14th. necessary it should be also showed to some of the king's council ; not to make any use of it, but that thereby they might understand how to manage the process better by it. This he begged might be trusted to his care and fidelity, and he undertook to manage it so that no kind of danger could arise out of it.

At this time the cardinal having finished his foundations at Oxford and Ipswich, and finding they were very acceptable both to the king and to the clergy, resolved to go on, and suppress more monasteries, and erect new bishoprics, turning some The Cardinal's Colleges finished. abbeys to cathedrals. This was proposed in the consistory, and granted, as October 30. appears by a despatch of Cassali's. He also spoke to the pope about a general visitation of all monasteries. And on the 4th of November, the bull for suppressing some was expected, a copy whereof is yet extant, but written in such a hand that I could not read three words together in any place of it ; and though I tried others that were good at reading all hands, yet they could not do it. But I find by the despatch that the pope did

it with some aversion ; and when Gardiner told him plainly it was necessary and it must be done, he paused a little, and seemed unwilling to give any further offence to religious orders. But since he found it so uneasy to gratify the king in so great a point as the matter of his divorce, he judged it the more necessary
More Monasteries were to be suppressed.

to mollify him by a compliance in all other things. So there was a power given to the two legates to examine the state of the monasteries, and to suppress such as they thought fit, and convert them into bishoprics and cathedrals.

While matters went thus between Rome and England, the queen was as active as she could be to engage her two nephews, the emperor and his brother, to appear for her. She

The Emperor complained to them much of the king, but more of the cardinal. She also gave them notice of all the exceptions that were made to the bull, and desired both their advice and assistance. They having a mind to perplex the king's affairs, advised her by no means to yield, nor to be induced to enter into a religious life; and gave her assurance, that by their interest at Rome, they would support her, and maintain her daughter's title, if it went to extremities. And as they employed all their agents at Rome to serve her concerns, so they consulted with the canonists about the force of the exceptions to the bull, the issue of which was, that a breve was found out, or forged, that supplied some of the most material defects in the bull. For whereas in the bull the preamble bore that the king and queen had desired the pope's dispensation to marry, that the peace might

A Breve found out in Spain. Collect. Numb. 15th. continue between the two crowns, without any other cause given; in the preamble of this breve mention is made of their desire to marry, "because otherwise it was not likely that the peace would be continued between the two crowns. And for that and divers other reasons they asked the dispensation," which in the body of the breve is granted, bearing date the 26th of December 1503. Upon this they pretended that the dispensation was granted upon good reasons, since by this petition it appeared that there were fears of a breach between the crowns; and that there were also other reasons made use of, though they were not named. But there was one fatal thing in it. In the bull it is only said, that the queen's petition bore, "that perhaps she had consummated her marriage with prince Arthur by the *carnalis copula*." But in this "perhaps" is left out, and it is plainly said "that they had consummated their marriage." This the king's council, who suspected that the breve was forged, made great use of when the question was argued whether prince Arthur knew her or not—though at this time it was said the Spaniards did put it in on design, knowing it was like to be proved that the former marriage was consummated; which they intended to throw out of the debate, since by this it appeared that the pope did certainly know that, and yet granted the breve, and that therefore there was to be no more inquiry to be made into that, which was already confessed, so that all that was now to be debated was the pope's power of granting such a dispensation, in which they had good reason to expect a favourable decision at Rome.

But there appeared great grounds to reject this breve as a forged writing. It was neither in the records of England nor Spain, but said to be found among the papers of D. de Puebla,

Presumptions of its being forged. that had been the Spanish ambassador in England at the time of concluding the match. So that if he only had it, it must have been cassated, otherwise the parties concerned would have got it into their hands; or else it was forged since.

Many of the names were written false, which was a presumption that it was lately made by some Spaniards, who knew not how to write the names true. For Sigismund, who was secretary when it was pretended to have been signed, was an exact man, and no such errors were found in breves at that time. But that which showed it a manifest forgery was, that it bore date the 26th of December, Anno 1503, on the same day that the bull was granted. It was not to be imagined that in the same day a bull and a breve should have been expedited in the same business, with such material differences in them. And the style of the court of Rome had this singularity in it, that in all their breves they reckon the beginning of the year from Christmas day, which being the nativity of our Lord, they count the year to begin then. But in their bulls they reckon the year to begin at the feast of the Annunciation. So that a breve dated the 26th of December 1503, was in the vulgar account in the year 1502, therefore it must be false; for neither was Julius II. who granted it then pope, nor was the treaty of the marriage so far advanced at that time as to admit of a breve so soon. But allowing the breve to be true, they had many of the same exceptions to it that they had to the bull, since it bore that the king desired the marriage, to avoid a breach

between the crowns, which was false. It likewise bore that the marriage had been consummated between the queen and prince Arthur, which the queen denied was ever done; so that the suggestion in her name being, as she said, false, it could have no force, though it were granted to be a true breve. And they said it was plain the imperialists were convinced the bull was of no force, since they betook themselves to such arts to fortify their cause.

When cardinal Campegio came to England, he was received with the public solemnities ordinary in such a case, and in his speech at his first audience, he called the king the deliverer of the pope and of the city of Rome, with the highest compliments that the occasion did require. But when he was admitted to a private conference with the king and the cardinal, he used many arguments to dissuade the king from prosecuting the matter any further. This the king took very ill, as if his errand had been rather to confirm than annul his marriage; and complained that the pope had broken his word to him. But the legate studied to qualify him, and showed the decretal bull, by which he might see that though the pope wished rather that the business might come to a more friendly conclusion; yet if the king could not be brought to that, he was empowered to grant him all that he desired. But he could not be brought to part with the decretal bull out of his hands, or to leave it for a minute, either with the king or the cardinal, saying that it was demanded on these terms, that no other person should see it; and that Gardiner and the ambassador had only moved to have it expedited, and sent by the legate to let the king see how well the pope was affected to him. With all this the king was much dissatisfied; but to encourage him again, the legate told him he was to speak to the queen in the pope's name, to induce her to enter into a religious life, and to make the vows. But when he proposed that to her, she answered him modestly, that she could not dispose of herself but by the advice of her nephews.

Of all this the cardinal of York advertised the Cassalis, and * ordered them to use all possible endeavours that the bull might be shown to some of the king's council. Upon that (sir Gregory being then out of Rome) the protonotary went to the pope, and complained that Campegio had dissuaded the divorce. The pope justified him in it, and said he did as he had ordered him. He next complained that the legate would not proceed to execute the legantine commission. The pope denied that he had any order from him to delay his proceedings, but that by virtue of his commission they might go on and pass sentence. Then the protonotary pressed him for leave to show the bull to some of the king's council, complaining of Campegio's stiffness in refusing it, and that he would not trust it to the cardinal of York, who was his equal in the commission. To this the pope answered in passion, that he could show the cardinal's letter, in which he assures him that the bull should only be showed to the king himself, and that if it were not granted he was ruined, therefore to preserve him he had sent it, but had ordered it to be burnt when it was once showed. He wished he had never sent it, saying he would gladly lose a finger to recover it again, and expressed great grief for granting it, and said they had got him to send it, and now would have it showed, to which he would never consent, for then he was undone for ever. Upon this the protonotary laid before him the danger of losing the king and the kingdom of England; of ruining the cardinal of York, and of the undoing of their family, whose hopes depended on the cardinal; and that by these means heresy would prevail in England, which, if it once had great footing there, would not be so easily rooted out: that all persons judged the king's cause right; but though it were not so, some things that were not good must be borne with to avoid greater evils. And at last he fell down at his feet, and in most passionate expressions begged him to be more compliant to the king's desires, and at least not to deny that small favour of showing the decretal to some few counsellors upon the assurance of absolute secrecy: but the pope interrupted him, and with great signs of an unusual grief told him these sad effects could not be charged on him, he had kept his word, and done what he had promised, but upon no consideration would he do anything that might wound his conscience or blemish his integrity. Therefore let

them proceed as they would in England, he should be free of all blame, but should confirm their sentence. And he protested he had given Campegio no commands to make any delays, but only to give him notice of their proceedings. If the king, who had maintained the apostolic see, had written for the faith, and was the defender of it, would overturn it, it would end in his own disgrace. But at last the secret came out, for the pope confessed there was a league in treaty between the emperor and himself; but denied that he had bound himself up by it, as to the king's business.

The pope consulted with the cardinals Sanctorem Quatuor and Simoneta (not mentioning the decretal to them, which he had granted without communicating it to anybody, or entering it in any register), and they were of opinion that the process should be carried on in England, without demanding anything further from Rome. But the imperial cardinals spake against it, and were moving presently for an inhibition, and an avocation of the cause, to be tried at the court of Rome. The pope also took notice, that the intercession of England and France had not prevailed with the Venetians to restore Servia and Ravenna, which they had taken from him; and that he could not think that republic durst do so if these kings were in earnest. It had been promised that they should be restored as soon as his legate was sent to England, but it was not yet done. The protonotary told him it should most certainly be done. Thus ended that conversation. But the more earnest the cardinal was to have the bull seen by some of the privy council, the pope was the more confirmed in his resolutions never to consent to it. For he could not imagine the desire of seeing it was a bare curiosity, or only to direct the king's counsellors; since the king and the cardinal could inform them of all the material clauses that were in it. Therefore he judged the desire of seeing it was only that they might have so many witnesses to prove that it was once granted, whereby they had the pope in their power; and this he judged too dangerous for him to submit to.

But the pope, finding the king and the cardinal so ill satisfied with him, resolved to send Francisco Campana, one of his bed-chamber, to England, to remove all mistakes, and to feed the king with fresh hopes. In England, Campegio found still means by new delays to put off the business, and amused the king with new and subtle motions for ending the matter more dexterously. Upon which, in the beginning of December, sir Frances Brian and Peter Vannes, the king's secretary for the Latin tongue, were sent to Rome. They had it in commission to search all the records there for the breve that was now so much talked of in Spain. They were to propose several overtures. "Whether if the queen vowed religion, the pope would not dispense with the king's second marriage? or if the queen would not vow religion, unless the king also did it, whether in that case would the pope dispense with his vow? Or whether if the queen would hear of no such proposition, would not the pope dispense with the king's having two wives? For which there were divers precedents vouched from the Old Testament." They were to represent to the pope that the king had laid out much of his best treasure in his service, and therefore he expected the highest favours out of the deepest treasure of the church. And Peter Vannes was commanded to tell the pope as of himself, that if he did for partial respects and fears refuse the king's desires, he perceived it would not only alienate the king from him, but that many other princes his confederates, with their realms, would withdraw their devotion and obedience from the apostolic see.

By a despatch that followed them the cardinal tried a new project, which was an offer of 2000 men for a guard to the pope, to be maintained at the cost of the king and his confederates; and also proposed an interview of the pope, the emperor, the French king, and the ambassadors of other princes, to be either at Nice, Avignon, or in Savoy, and that himself would come thither from the king of England. But the pope resolved steadfastly to keep his ground, and not to engage himself too much to any prince; therefore the motion of a guard did not at all work upon him. To have guards about him upon another prince's pay, was to be their prisoner; and he was so weary of his late imprisonment that he would not put himself in hazard of it a second time. Besides, such a guard would give the emperor just cause of jealousy, and yet not secure him

The Pope
sends Campana to England.
Collect.

Numb. 18th.
New Ambassadors sent to Rome,

with other
overtures.

Collect.
Numb. 19th.

A Guard of
2000 men
offered to the
Pope.

against his power. He had been also so unsuccessful in his contests with the emperor, that he had no mind to give him any new provocation : and though the kings of England and France gave him good words, yet they did nothing, nor did the king make war upon the emperor, so that his armies lying in Italy he was still under his power. Therefore the pope resolved to unite himself firmly to the emperor ; and all the use he made of the king's earnestness in his divorce was only to bring the emperor to better terms. The Lutherans in Germany were like to make great use of any decision he might make against any of his predecessor's bulls. The cardinal elector of Mentz had written to him to consider well what he did in the king's divorce, for if it went on, nothing had ever fallen out since the beginning of Luther's sect that would so much strengthen it as that sentence. He was also threatened on the other side from Rome,

Being frightened with the threats of the Imperialists.

that the emperor would have a general council called, and whatsoever he did in this process should be examined there, and he proceeded against accordingly. Nor did they forget to put him in mind of his birth, that he was a bastard, and so by the canon incapable of that dignity, and that thereupon they would depose him. He having all these things in his prospect, and being naturally of a fearful temper, which was at this time more prevalent in him by reason of his late captivity, resolved not to run these hazards, which seemed unavoidable, if he proceeded further in the king's business. But his constant maxim being to promise and swear deepest when he intended least, he sent Campana to England with a letter of credence to the cardinal, the effects of which message will appear afterwards. And thus ended this year, in which it was believed that if the king had employed that money which was spent in a fruitless negotiation at Rome on a war in Flanders, it had so distracted the emperor's forces, and encouraged the pope, that he had sooner granted that which in a more fruitless way was sought of him.

In the beginning of the next year Cassali wrote to the cardinal that the pope was much inclined to unite himself with the emperor, and proposed to go in person to Spain to solicit a general peace ; but intended to go privately, and desired the cardinal would go with him thither as his friend and counsellor, and that they two should go as legates. But Cassali, by Salviati's means, who was in great favour with the pope, understood that the pope was never in greater fear of the emperor than at time ; for his ambassador had threatened the pope severely, if he would not recal the commission that he had sent to England ; so that the pope spoke oft to Salviati of the great repentance that he had inwardly in his heart for granting the decretal, and said he was undone for ever if it came to the emperor's knowledge. He also resolved, that though the legates gave sentence in England, it should never take effect, for he would not confirm it : of which, Gregory Cassali gave advertisement by an express messenger, who

Repents his granting the Decretal.

King's Letters to the Cardinal, Jan. 8th.

as he passed through Paris met secretary Knight and doctor Bennet, whom the king had despatched to Rome, to assist his other ambassadors there, and gave them an account of his message : and that it was the advice of the king's friends at Rome, that he and his confederates should follow the war more vigorously, and press the emperor harder, without which all their applications to the pope would signify nothing. Of this they gave the cardinal an account, and went on but faintly in their journey, judging that upon these advertisements they would be recalled, and other counsels taken.

At the same time the pope was with his usual arts cajoling the king's agents in Italy : for when Sir Francis Brian and Peter Vannes came to Bononia, the protonotary Cassali was surprised to hear that the business was not already ended in England : since (he said) he knew there were sufficient powers sent about it, and that the pope assured him he would confirm their sentence ; but that he made a great difference between the confirming their judgment, by which he had the legates between him and the envy or odium of it, and the granting a bull, by which the judgment should arise immediately from himself. This his best friends dissuaded, and he seemed apprehensive that in case he should do it a council would be called, and he should be deposed for it. And any such distraction in the papacy, considering the footing which heresy had already gotten, would ruin the ecclesiastical state, and the church : so dexterously did the pope govern himself between such contrary

tides. But all this dissimulation was short of what he acted by Campana in England, whose true errand thither was to order Campeggio to destroy the bull ; but he did so persuade the

king and the cardinal of the pope's sincerity, that by a despatch to sir Francis Jan. 15. Brian, and Peter Vannes, and sir Gregory Cassali, he chid the two former for

not making more haste to Rome ; for he believed it might have been a great advantage to the king's affairs if they had got thither before the general of the Observants (then cardinal Angelo). He ordered them to settle the business of the guard about the pope presently, and tells them that the secretary was recalled, and Dr. Stephens again sent to Rome : and in a letter to secretary Knight, who went no further than Lyons, he writ to him, "That

But feeds the King with high promises. Campana had assured the king and him, in the pope's name, that the pope was ready to do, not only all that of law, equity, or justice, could be desired of him, but whatever of the fulness of his power he could do or devise, for giving the king content : and that although there were three things which the pope had great reason to take care of—the calling a general council, the emperor's descent into Italy, and the restitution of his towns, which were offered to be put in his hands by the emperor's means ; yet neither these nor any other consideration should divert him from doing all that lay within his authority, or power, for the king : and that he had so deep a sense of the king's merits, and the obligations that he had laid on him, that if his resignation of the popedom might do him any service, he would readily consent to it : and therefore in the pope's name he encouraged the legates to proceed and end the business."

Upon these assurances the cardinal ordered the secretary to haste forward to Rome, and to thank the pope for that kind message to settle the guard about him, and to tell him, that for a council, none could be called but by himself, with the consent of the kings of England and France. And for any pretended council or meeting of bishops, which the emperor by the cardinals of his party might call, he needed not fear that. For his towns, they should be most certainly restored. Nor was the emperor's offering to put them in his hand to be much regarded ; for though he restored them, if the pope had not a better guarantee for them it would be easy for him to take them from him when he pleased. He was also to propose a firmer league between the pope, England, and France, in order to which he was to move the pope most earnestly to go to Nice ; and if the pope proposed the king's taking a second wife, with a legitimation of the issue which she might have, so the queen might be induced to enter into a state of religion, to which the pope inclined most, he was not to accept of that ; both because the thing would take up much time, and they found the queen resolved to do nothing but as she was advised by her nephews. Yet if the pope offered a decretal about it, he might take it to be made use of as the occasion might require. But by a postscript he is recalled, and it is signified to him, that Gardiner was sent to Rome to negotiate these affairs, who had returned to England with the legate, and his being so successful in his former message, made them think him the fittest minister they could employ in that court ; and to send him with the greater advantage, he was made a privy counsellor.

But an unlooked-for accident put a stop to all proceedings in the court of Rome. For on Epiphany-day the pope was taken extreme ill at mass, and a great sickness followed, of which it was generally believed he could not recover ; and though his distemper did soon abate so much that it was thought to be over, yet it returned again upon him, insomuch that the physicians did suspect he was poisoned. Then followed all the secret caballings and intrigues which are ordinary in that court upon such an occasion. The Colonnas and the other imperialists were very busy, but the cardinal of Mantua opposed them ; and Farnese, who was then at his house in the country, came to Rome and joined with Mantua ; and these of that faction resolved that, if the Spanish army marched from Naples toward them, they would dispense with that bull which provides that the succeeding pope should be chosen in the same place where the former died, and would retire to some safe place. Some of the cardinals spoke highly in favour of cardinal Wolsey,

whom (if the ambassadors did not flatter and lie grossly in their letters, from Jan. 27. which I draw these informations) they revered as a deity. And the cardinal of Mantua, it seems, proposing him as a pattern, would needs have a particular account of his whole course of life, and expressed great esteem for him. When Gardiner was come as

far as Lyons he wrote the cardinal word, that there went a prophecy that an angel should be the next pope, but should die soon after*. He also gave advice that if the pope died, the commission for the legates must needs expire with him, unless they made some step in their business by a citation of parties, which would keep it alive; but whether this was done or not I cannot find. The cardinal's ambition was now fermenting strongly, and he resolved to lay his project for the popedom better than he had done before. His letter about it to Gardiner, and the king's instructions to his ambassadors, are printed by Fox, and the originals from which they are taken are yet extant. He wrote also another letter to the ambassadors, which the reader will find in the collection. But because the instructions show what were the methods in choosing popes in those days, by which it may be easily gathered how such an election must needs recommend a man to infallibility, supremacy, and all the other appendages of Christ's vicar on earth, I shall give a short summary of them.

"By his letter to his confidant Gardiner, he commits the thing chiefly to his care, and orders him to employ all his parts to bring it to the desired issue; sparing neither presents nor promises; and that as he saw men's inclinations or affections led them, whether to

Cardinal
Wolsey's in-
trigues for the
Papacy.
Feb. 6.
Collect.
Numb. 20.

public or private concerns, so he should govern himself towards them accordingly. The instructions bear, that the king thought the cardinal the fittest person to succeed to the papacy (they being advertised that the pope was dead); that the French king did also of his own motion offer his assistance to him in it, and that, both for public and private ends, the cardinal was the fittest. Therefore the ambassadors are required, with all possible earnestness and vigour, to promote his election. A schedule of the cardinals' names is sent them with marks to every one, whether he was like to be present or absent, favourable, indifferent, or opposite to them. It was reckoned there

The King's
Instructions
for the Elec-
tion.
Numb. of
Electors.

could be but thirty-nine present, of which twenty-six were necessary to choose the pope. Of these the two kings thought themselves sure of twenty. So six was all the number that the ambassadors were to gain, and to that number they were first to offer them good reasons, to convince them of the cardinal's fitness for the papacy. But because human frailty was such that reason did not always take place, they were to promise promotions and sums of money, with other good rewards, which the king gave them commission to offer, and would certainly make them good: besides, all the great preferments which the cardinal had, that should be shared among those who did procure his election. The cardinals of their party were first to enter into a firm bond to exclude all others. They were also to have some creatures of theirs to go into the conclave to manage the business. Sir Gregory Cassali was thought fittest for that service. And if they saw the adverse party too strong in the conclave, so that they could carry nothing, then Gardiner was to draw a protestation, which should be made in name of the two crowns; and, that being made, all the cardinals of their faction were to leave the conclave. And, if the fear of the emperor's forces overawed them, the ambassadors were to offer a guard of two or three thousand men to secure the cardinals: and the French king ordered his armies to move, if the Spanish troops did move either from Naples or Milan. They were also to assure them, that the cardinal would presently upon his election come and live at Rome, and were to use all endeavours to gain the cardinal de Medici to their faction; but, at the same time, to assure the Florentines that Wolsey would assist them to exclude the Medici out of the government of their town and state. They were also to have a strict eye upon the motions of the French faction, lest, if the cardinal were excluded, they should consent to any other, and refuse to make the protestation as it was desired. But to oblige Campegio the more, it was added, that if they found all hopes of raising the cardinal of York to vanish, then they should try if Campegio could be elected: and in that case the cardinals of their faction were to make no protestation.

These were the apostolical methods then used for choosing a successor to St. Peter; for though a successor had been chosen to Judas by lot, yet more caution was to be used in

* This appears to be in allusion to the old pun of pope (Angli) exposed in the slave-market, and declared that Gregory, when he beheld the handsome young Saxons they were not "Angli sed Angeli."—Ed.

choosing one for the prince of the apostles. But when the cardinal heard that the pope was not dead, and that there was hope of his recovery, he wrote another long letter to the ambassadors (the original of which is yet extant) "to keep all their instructions about a new pope very secret, to be gaining as many cardinals as they could, and to take care that the cardinals should not go into the conclave, unless they were free, and safe from

Feb. 20. any fears of the imperial forces. But if the pope recovered, they were to
New Propo- press him to give such orders about the king's business, that it might be speedily
sitions about ended : and then the cardinal would come and wait on the pope over to Spain
the Divorce. as he had proposed. And for the apprehensions the pope had of the emperor
being highly offended with him if he granted the king's desire, or of his coming into Italy,
he needed not fear him. They knew whatever the emperor pretended about his obligation
to protect his aunt, it was only for reason of state : but if he were satisfied in other things,
that would be soon passed over. They knew also that his design of going into Italy was
laid aside for that year ; because he apprehended that France and England would make war
on him in other places. There were also many precedents found of dispensations granted
by popes in like cases : and lately there had been one granted by pope Alexander VI. to
the king of Hungary, against the opinion of his cardinals, which had never been questioned ;
and yet he could not pretend to such merits as the king had." And all that had ever been
Collect. said in the king's cause was summed up in a short breviary by Cassali, and
Numb. 21 offered to the pope ; a copy whereof taken from an original under his own hand,
the reader will find in the collection.

The king ordered his ambassadors to make as many cardinals sure for his cause as they could, who might bring the pope to consent to it, if he were still averse. But the pope was at this time possessed with a new jealousy, of which the French king was not free, as if the king had been tampering with the emperor, and had made him great offers, so he would consent to the divorce ; about which Francis wrote an anxious letter to Rome, the original of which I have seen. The pope was also surprised at it, and questioned the ambassadors about it ; but they denied it, and said the union between England and France was inseparable, and that these were only the practices of the emperor's agents to create distrust. The pope seemed satisfied with what they said, and added, "that in the present conjuncture a firm union between them was necessary." Of all this sir Francis Brian wrote a long account in cipher.

But the pope's relapse put a new stop to business, of which the cardinal being informed, as he ordered the king's agents to continue their care about his promotion, so he charged
The pope's relapse. them to see if it were "possible to get access to the pope, and though he were in
April 6. the very agony of death, to propose two things to him : the one, that he would
Another despatch to presently command all the princes of Christendom to agree to a cessation of arms,
Rome. under pain of the censures of the church, as pope Leo and other popes had done ;
Collect. and if he should die, he could not do a thing that would be more meritorious,
Numb. 22. and for the good of his soul, than to make that the last act of his life. The other
thing was concerning the king's business, which he presseth as a thing necessary
to be done, for the clearing and ease of the pope's conscience towards God : and withal, he
orders them to gain as many about the pope, and as many cardinals and officers in the rota
as they could, to promote the king's desires, whether in the pope's sickness or health. The
bishop of Verona had a great interest with the pope, so by that, and another despatch of the
same date (sent another way), they were ordered to gain him, promising him great rewards,
pressing him to remain still about the pope's person, to balance the ill offices which cardinal
Angelo and the archbishop of Capua did, who never stirred from the pope : and to assure
that bishop, that the king laid this matter more to heart than anything that ever befel him ;
and that it would trouble him as much to be overcome in this matter by these two friars, as
to loose both his crowns : and for my part," writes the cardinal, "I would expose anything
to my life, yea life itself, rather than see the inconveniences that may ensue upon disappoint-
ing of the king's desire." For promoting the business, the French king sent the bishop of
Bayonne to assist the English ambassadors in his name, who was first sent over to England
to be well instructed there. They were either to procure a decretal for the king's divorce,

or a new commission to the two legates, with ampler clauses in it than the former had; "to judge as if the pope were in person, and to emit compulsory letters against any, whether emperor, king, or of what degree soever, to produce all manner of evidences or records which might tend towards the clearing the matter, and to bring them before them." This was sought because the emperor would not send over the pretended original breve to England, and gave only an attested copy of it to the king's ambassadors; lest, therefore, from that breve, a new suit might be afterwards raised for annulling any sentence which the legates should give, they thought it needful to have the original brought before them. In the penning of that new commission, Dr. Gardiner was ordered to have special care that it should be done by the best advice he could get in Rome. It appears also from this despatch, that the pope's solicitation, to confirm the sentence which the legates should give, was then in Gardiner's hands; for he was ordered to take care that there might be no disagreement between the date of it and of the new commission. And when that was obtained, sir Francis Brian was commanded to bring them with him to England. Or if neither a decretal, nor a new commission could be obtained, then, if any other expedient were proposed, that upon good advice should be found sufficient and effectual, they were to accept of it, and send it away with all possible diligence. And the cardinal conjured them, "by the reverence of Almighty God, to bring them out of their perplexity, that this virtuous prince may have this thing sped, which would be the most joyous thing that could befall his heart upon earth. But if all things should be denied, then they were to make their protestations, not only to the pope, but to the cardinals, of the injustice that was done the king; and in the cardinal's name to let them know that not only the king and his realm would be lost, but also the French king and his realm, with their other confederates, would also withdraw their obedience from the see of Rome, which was more to be regarded than either the emperor's displeasure or the recovery of two cities. They were also to try what might be done in law by the cardinals in a vacancy, and they were to take good counsel upon some chapters of the canon law which related to that: and govern themselves accordingly, either to hinder an avocation or inhibition, or, if it could be done, to obtain such things as they could grant

The Cardinal's Bulls for the Bishopric of Winchester.

towards the conclusion of the king's business. At this time also the cardinal's bulls for the bishopric of Winchester were expedited: they were rated high at 15,000 ducats; for though the cardinal pleaded his great merits, to bring the composition lower, yet the cardinals at Rome said the apostolic chamber was very poor, and other bulls were then coming from France, to which the favour they should show the cardinal would be a precedent. But the cardinal sent word that he would not give past 5000 or 6000 ducats, because he was exchanging Winchester for Durham, and by the other they were to get a great composition. And if they held his bulls so high, he would not have them; for he needed them not, since he enjoyed already by the king's grant the temporalities of Winchester; which it is very likely was all that he considered in a bishopric. They were at last expedited, at what rates I cannot tell; but this I set down to show how severe the exactions of the court of Rome were.

As the pope recovered his health, so he inclined more to join himself to the emperor than ever, and was more alienated than formerly from the king and the cardinal; which perhaps was increased by the distaste he took at the cardinal's aspiring to the popedom. The first thing that the emperor did in the king's cause was to protest, in the queen of England's name, that she refused to submit to the legates. The one was the king's chief minister, and her mortal enemy: the other was also justly suspected, since he had a bishopric in England. The king's ambassador pressed the pope much not to admit the protestation; but it was pretended that it could not be denied, either in law or justice. But that this might not offend

The Pope inclines to join with the Emperor.

Who protests against the Legates' Commission. May 15.

the king, Salviati, that was the pope's favourite, wrote to Campeggio that the protestation could not be hindered, but that the pope did still most earnestly desire to satisfy the king, and that the ambassadors were much mistaken, who were so distrustful of the pope's good mind to the king's cause. But now good words could deceive the king no longer, who clearly discovered the pope's mind, and being out of all hopes of anything more from Rome, resolved to proceed in England before the legates: and therefore Gardiner was recalled, who was

thought the fittest person to manage the process in England, being esteemed the greatest canonist they had; and was so valued by the king, that he would not begin the process till he came. Sir Francis Brian was also recalled; and when they took leave of the

Numb. 23. pope, they were ordered to expostulate in the king's name—"Upon the partiality he expressed for the emperor, notwithstanding the many assurances that both the legates had given the king, that the pope would do all he could toward his satisfaction; which was now so ill performed, that he expected no more justice from him. They were also to say as much as they could devise, in the cardinal's name, to the same purpose; upon which they were to try, if it were possible, to obtain any enlargement of the commission with fuller power to the legates;" for they saw it was in vain to move for any new bulls or orders from

The Pope the pope about it. And though Gardiner had obtained a pollicitation from the promised not pope, by which he both bound himself not to recal the cause from the legates, and to recal, but also to confirm their sentence, and had sent it over, they found it was so conceived to confirm it. that the pope could go back from it when he pleased. So there was a new draught of a pollicitation formed with more binding clauses in it, which Gardiner was to try if he could obtain by the following pretence. "He was to tell the pope, that the courier to

whom he trusted it, had been so little careful of it, that it was all wet and defaced, and of no more use; so that he durst not deliver it. And this might turn much to Gardiner's prejudice, that a matter of such concern was, through his neglect, spoiled: upon which he was to see if the pope would renew it. If that could be obtained, he was to use all his industry to get as many pregnant and material words added, as might make it more binding. He was also to assure the pope, that though the emperor was gone to Barcelona, to give reputation to his affairs in Italy; yet he had neither army, nor fleet ready, so that they needed not fear him. And he was to inform the pope of the arts he was using both in the English and French court to make a separated treaty: but that all was to no purpose, the two kings being so firmly linked together." But the pope was so great a master in all the arts of dissimulation and policy, that he was not to be overreached easily; and when he understood that his pollicitation was defaced, he was in his heart glad at it, and could not be prevailed with to renew it. So they returned to England, and Dr. Bennet came in their

The Legates place. He carried with him one of the fullest and most important despatches wrote to the that I find in this whole matter, from the two legates to the pope, and the Pope. consistory, who wrote to them, "that they had in vain endeavoured to persuade Collect. either party to yield to the other; that the breve being showed to them by the Numb. 24. queen, they found great and evident presumptions of its being a mere forgery; and that they thought it was too much for them to sit and try the validity, or authenticity of the pope's bulls or breves, or to hear his power of dispensing in such cases disputed: therefore it was more expedient to advocate the cause, to which the king would consent if the pope obliged himself under his hand to pass sentence speedily in his favour; but they rather advised the granting a decretal bull which would put an end to the whole matter, in order to which the bearer was instructed to show very good precedents. But in the meanwhile, they advised the pope to press the queen most effectually to enter into a religious life, as that which would compose all these differences in the softest and easiest way. It pitied them to see the rack and torments of conscience under which the king had smarted so many years: and that the disputes of divines, and the decrees of fathers, had so disquieted him, that for clearing a matter thus perplexed there was not only need of learning, but of a more singular piety and illumination. To this were to be added the desire of issue, the settlement of the kingdom, with many other pressing reasons: that as the matter did admit of no further delays, so there was not anything in the opposite scale to balance these considerations. There were false suggestions surmised abroad, as if the hatred of the queen, or the desire of another wife (who was not perhaps yet known, much less designed), were the true causes of this suit. But though the queen was of a rough temper, and an unpleasant conversation, and was passed all hopes of children; yet who could imagine that the king who had spent his most youthful days with her so kindly, would now in the decline of his age be at all this trouble to be rid of her, if he had no other motives? But they, by searching his sore, found there was rooted in his heart both an awe of God and a respect to law and order; so that

though all his people pressed him to drive the matter to an issue, yet he would still wait for the decision of the apostolic see. Therefore they most pressingly desire the pope to grant the cure which his distemper required, and to consider that it was not fit to insist too much on the rigour of the law ; but since the soul and life of all the laws of the church was in the pope's breast ; in doubtful cases, where there was great hazard, he ought to mollify the severity of the laws, which if it were not done, other remedies would be found out to the vast prejudice of the ecclesiastical authority, to which many about the king advised him : there was reason to fear they should not only lose a king of England, but a defender of the faith. The nobility and gentry were already enraged at the delay of a matter, in which all their lives and interests were so nearly concerned : and said many things against the pope's proceedings, which they could not relate without horror. And they plainly complained, that whereas popes had made no scruple to make and change divine laws at their pleasure ; yet one pope sticks so much at the repealing what his predecessor did, as if that were more sacred, and not to be meddled with. The king betook himself to no ill arts, neither to the charms of magicians nor the forgeries of impostors, therefore they expected such an answer as should put an end to the whole matter."

But all these things were to no purpose : the pope had taken his measures, and was not to be moved by all the reasons or remonstrances the ambassador could lay before him. The king had absolutely gained Campeggio to do all he could for him without losing the pope's favour. He led at this time a very dissolute life in England, hunting and gaming all the day long, and following whores all the night : and brought a bastard* of his own over to England with him, whom the king knighted, so that if the king sought his pleasure, it was no strange thing : since he had such a copy set him by two legates, who representing his holiness so lively in their manners, it was no unusual thing if a king had a slight sense of such disorders. The king wrote to his ambassadors that he was satisfied of Campeggio's love and affection to him, and if ever he was gained by the emperor's agents, he had said something to him which did totally change that inclination.

The imperialists being alarmed at the recalling of some of the English ambassadors, and being informed by the queen's means that they were forming the process in England, put in a memorial for an avocation of the cause to Rome. The ambassadors answered, that there was no colour for asking it, since there was nothing yet done by the legates. For they had strict orders to deny that there was any process forming in England, even to the pope himself in private, unless he had a mind it should go on ; but were to use all their endeavours to hinder an avocation ; and plainly in the king's name to tell the pope, that if he granted that, the king would look on it as a formal decision against him. And it would also be a high affront to the two cardinals : and they were thereupon to protest, that the king would not obey, nor consider the pope any more, if he did an act of such high injustice ; as after he had granted a commission, upon no complaint of any illegality, or unjust proceedings of the legates, but only upon surmises and suspicions, to take it out of their hands. But the pope had not yet brought the emperor to his terms in other things, therefore

to draw him on the faster, he continued to give the English ambassador good words ; and in discourse with Peter Vannes did insinuate as if he had found a means to bring the whole matter to a good conclusion, and spoke it with an artificial smile, adding, In the name of the Father, &c. But would not speak it out, and seemed to keep it up as a secret, not yet ripe. But all this did afterwards appear to be the deepest dissimulation that ever was practised. And in the whole process, though the cardinal studied to make tricks pass upon him, yet he was always too hard for them all at it : and seemed as infallible in his arts of juggling, as he pretended to be in his decisions. He wrote a cajoling letter to the cardinal, but words went for nothing.

* Campeggio's son is by Hall, none of his flatterers, said to have been born in wedlock, i. e. before he took orders. This is also confirmed by Gauricus Genitur, 24, who says

he had by his wife three sons and two daughters.—FULMAN'S CORRECTIONS.

Soon after this, the pope complained much to sir Gregory Cassali of the ill usage he received from the French ambassador, and that their confederates, the Florentines, and the duke of Ferrara used him so ill that they would force him to throw himself into the emperor's hands; and he seemed inclined to grant an avocation of the cause, and complained that there was a treaty of peace going on at Cambray, in which he had no share. But the ambassador undertook that nothing should be done to give him just offence: yet the Florentines continued to put great affronts on him and his family: and the abbot of Farfa, their general, made excursions to the gates of Rome, so that the pope with great signs of fear said, "That the Florentines would some day seize on him and carry him with his hands bound behind his back in procession to Florence: and that all this while the kings of England and France did only entertain him with good words, and did not so much as restrain the insolences of their confederates. And whereas they used to say, that if he joined himself to the emperor he would treat him as his chaplain; he said with great commotion that he would not only choose rather to be his chaplain, but his horse-groom, than suffer such injuries from his own rebellious vassals and subjects." This was perhaps set on by the cardinal's arts to let the pope feel the weight of offending the king, and to oblige him to use him better: but it wrought a contrary effect, for the treaty between the emperor and him was the more advanced by it. And the pope reckoned that the emperor, being (as he was informed) ashamed and grieved for the taking and sacking of Rome, would study to repair that by better usage for the future.

The motion for the avocation was still driven on, and pressed the more earnestly, because they heard the legates were proceeding in the cause. But the ambassadors were instructed by a despatch from the king to obviate that carefully; for as it would reflect on the legates and defeat the commission, and be a gross violation of the pope's promise, which they had in writing; so it was more for the pope's interest to leave it in the legates' hands than to bring it before himself; for then, whatever sentence passed, the ill effects of it would lie on the pope without any interposition. And as the king had very just exceptions to Rome, where the emperor's forces lay so near that no safety could be expected there; so they were to tell the pope that by the laws of England the prerogative of the crown-royal was such that the pope could do nothing that was prejudicial to it: to which the citing the king to Rome, to have his cause decided there, was contrary in a high degree. And if the pope went on, notwithstanding all the diligence they could use to the contrary, they were by another despatch which Gardiner sent ordered to protest and appeal from the pope, as not the true vicar of Christ, to a true vicar. But the king upon second thoughts judged it not fit to proceed to this extremity so soon. They were also ordered to advertise the pope, that all the nobility had assured the king they would adhere to him in case he were so ill used by the pope, that he were constrained to withdraw his obedience from the apostolic see; and that the cardinal's ruin was unavoidable, if the pope granted the avocation. The emperor's agents had pretended they could not send the original breve into England, and said their master would send it to Rome, upon which the ambassadors had solicited for letters compulsory to require him to send it to England, yet lest that might now be made an argument by the imperialists for an avocation, they were ordered to speak no more of it, for the legates would proceed to sentence upon the attested copy that was sent from Spain.

The ambassadors had also orders to take the best counsel in Rome about the legal ways of hindering an avocation. But they found it was not fit to rely much on the lawyers in that matter. For as on the one hand there was no secrecy to be expected from any of them, they having such expectations of preferments from the pope (which were beyond all the fees that could be given them), that they discovered all secrets to him. So none of them would be earnest to hinder an avocation, it being their interest to bring all matters to Rome, by which they might hope for much greater fees. And Salviati, whom the ambassadors had gained, told them that Campana brought word out of England that the process was then in a good forwardness. They with many oaths denied there was any such thing, and Silvester Darius, who was sent express to Rome for opposing the

avocation, confirmed all that they swore. But nothing was believed, for by a secret conveyance, Campana had letters to the contrary. And when they objected to Salvati what was promised by Campana in the pope's name, that "he would do everything for the king that he could do out of the fulness of his power;" he answered, "that Campana swore he had never said any such thing." So hard is the case of ministers in such ticklish negotiations, that they must say and unsay, swear and forswear, as they are instructed, which goes of course as a part of their business.

But now the legates were proceeding in England: of the steps in which they went, though a great deal be already published, yet considerable things are passed over. On the 31st of May, the king by a warrant under the great seal gave the legates leave to execute their commission, upon which they sate that same day. The commission was presented by Longland, bishop of Lincoln, which was given to the prothonotary of the court, and he read it publicly; then the legates took it in their hands, and said they were resolved to execute it: and first gave the usual oaths to the clerks of the court, and ordered a peremptory citation of the king and queen to appear on the 18th of June, between nine and ten o'clock; and so the court adjourned. The next session was on the 18th of June, where the citations being returned duly executed; Richard Simpson, dean of the chapel, and Mr. John Bell, appeared as the king's proxies. But the queen appeared in person, and did protest against the legates as incompetent judges, alleging that the cause was already avocated by the pope, and desired a competent time in which she might prove it. The legates assigned her the 21st, and so adjourned the court till then.

About this time there was a severe complaint exhibited against the queen in council, of which there is an account given in a paper that has somewhat written at the charge against the Queen. conclusion of it with the cardinal's own hand. The substance of it is, "that they were informed some designed to kill the king, or the cardinal, in which, if she had any hand, she must not expect to be spared. That she had not showed such love to the king, neither in bed or out of bed, as she ought. And now that the king was very pensive, and in much grief, she showed great signs of joy, setting on all people to dancings, and other diversions. This it seemed she did out of spite to the king, since it was contrary to her temper and ordinary behaviour. And whereas she ought rather to pray to God to bring this matter to a good conclusion, she seemed not at all serious; and that she might corrupt the people's affections to the king, she showed herself much abroad, and by civilities and gracious bowing her head, which had not been her custom formerly, did study to work upon the people. And that having the pretended breve in their hands, she would not show it sooner. From all which the king concluded that she hated him, therefore his council did not think it advisable for him to be any more conversant with her, either in bed or at board. They also in their consciences thought his life was in such danger that he ought to withdraw himself from her company, and not suffer the princess to be with her." These things were to be told her to induce her to enter into a religious order, and to persuade her to submit to the king. To which paper the cardinal added in Latin, "that she played the fool if she contended with the king, that her children had not been blessed, and somewhat of the evident suspicions that were of the forgery of the breve*." But she had a constant mind, and was not to be threatened to anything. On the 21st of June the court sat, the king and queen were present in person. Campegio made a long speech of the errand they were come about†: "That it was a new, unheard-of, vile, and intolerable thing for the king and queen to live in adultery, or rather incest, which they must now try, and proceed as they saw just cause. And both the legates made deep protestations of the sincerity of their minds, and that they would proceed justly and fairly, without any favour or partiality.

As for the formal speeches which the king and queen made, Hall, who never failed in trifles, sets them down, which I incline to believe they really spoke; for with the journals of the court, I find those speeches written down, though not as a part of the journal.

* *Quod stulte facit si contendit cum Rege, quod male illi successit in fœtibus: de Brevis ac suspitione falsitatis.*

† *Fidelis servi infideli subdito Responsio.*

But here the lord Herbert's usual diligence fails him ; for he fancies the queen never appeared after the 18th, upon which, because the journal of the next sessions are lost, he infers against all the histories of that time, that the king and the queen were not in court together. And he seems to conclude, that the 25th of June was the next session after the 18th, but in that he was mistaken ; for by an original letter of the king's to his ambassadors,

it is plain that both the king and queen came in person into the court ; where they both sate, with their council standing about them ; the bishops of Rochester and St. Asaph, and Doctor Ridley, being the queen's counsel. When the king and queen were called on, the king answered, "Here ;" but the queen left her seat and went and kneeled down before him, and made a speech that had all the insinuations in it to raise pity and compassion in the court. She said, "she was a poor woman, and a stranger

in his dominions, where she could neither expect good counsel nor indifferent judges ; she had been long his wife, and desired to know wherein she had

offended him ; she had been his wife twenty years and more, and had borne him several children, and had ever studied to please him ; and protested he had found her a true maid, about which she appealed to his own conscience. If she had done anything amiss, she was willing to be put away with shame. Their parents were esteemed very wise princes, and no doubt had good counsellors and learned men about them when the match was agreed ; therefore she would not submit to the court, nor durst her lawyers, who were his subjects, and assigned by him, speak freely for her. So she desired to be excused till she heard from Spain." That said, she rose up and made the king a low reverence, and went out of the court ; and though they called after her, she made no answer, but went away, and would never again appear in court *.

She being gone, the king did publicly declare what a true and obedient wife she had always been, and commended her much for her excellent qualities. Then the cardinal of York desired the king would witness, whether he had been the first or chief mover of that matter to him, since he was suspected to have done it. In which the king did vindicate him, and said, that he had always rather opposed it, and protested it arose merely out of a scruple in his conscience, which was occasioned by the discourse of the French ambassador,—who, during the treaty of a match between his daughter and the duke of Orleans, did except to her being legitimate, as begotten in an unlawful marriage ; upon which he resolved to try the lawfulness of it, both for the quiet of his conscience and for clearing the succession of the crown ; and if it were found lawful, he was very well satisfied to live still with the queen. But upon that he had first moved it in confession to the bishop of Lincoln ; then he had desired the archbishop of Canterbury to gather the opinions of the bishops, who did all under their hands and seals declare against the marriage. This the archbishop confirmed, but the bishop of Rochester denied his hand was at it : and the archbishop pretended he had his consent to make another write his name to the judgment of the rest, which he positively denied.

The court adjourned to the 25th, ordering letters monitory to be issued out for citing the queen to appear under pain of contumacy. But on the 25th was brought in her appeal to the pope, the original of which is extant, every page being both subscribed, and superscribed by her. She excepted both to the place, to the judges, and to her counsel, in whom she could not confide ; and therefore appealed and desired her cause might be heard by the pope, with many things out of the canon-law, on

* The bishop in the third part of his History, on the authority of the original record of the proceedings before the legates, which did not come into his hands until after the publication of the first part, denies credit to the speeches related by Hall and other writers, since it appears by that document that Henry never came into court, and the queen but once, viz. on the 18th of June. But afterwards calling to mind Henry's own letter quoted above, he in the preface to the third part, evidently written after the work was finished, endeavours to reconcile the two apparently conflicting statements by the supposition that the scene between Henry and Catherine, on the 21st of June, took

place before the court was formally opened, and that both retiring before that ceremony was performed, the appearance of neither could be entered on the record. There is one passage in Henry's letter which seems to favour the bishop's interpretation of the apparent discrepancy. "They," the judges, "minding to proceed further in the cause, the queen would no longer make her abode," &c. which seems to intimate that she, at least, departed before proceedings were formally recommenced. These conflicting statements, occurring as they do in three different parts of the same work, have been the cause of considerable embarrassment to subsequent historians.—*Ec.*

which she grounded it. This being read, and she not appearing was declared contumax. Then the legates being to proceed, *ex officio*, drew up twelve articles, upon which they were

Articles to examine witnesses. The substance of them was, "That prince Arthur and
drawn by the the king were brothers ; that prince Arthur did marry the queen, and consum-
Legates. mated the marriage ; that upon his death the king, by virtue of a dispensation, had married her ; that this marrying his brother's wife was forbidden both by human and divine law ; and that upon the complaints which the pope had received, he had sent them now to try and judge in it." The king's counsel insisted most on prince Arthur's having consummated the marriage, and that led them to say many things that seemed indecent ; of which the bishop of Rochester complained, and said they were things detestable to be heard : but cardinal Wolsey checked him, and there passed some sharp words between them.

The legates proceeded to the examination of witnesses, of which I shall say little, the
Upon which substance of their depositions being fully set down, with all their names, by the
witnesses are lord Herbert. The sum of what was most material in them was, that many
examined. violent presumptions appeared by their testimonies that prince Arthur did carnally know the queen : and it cannot be imagined how greater proofs could be made twenty-seven years after their marriage. Thus the court went on several days examining witnesses ; but as the matter was going on to a conclusion, there came an avocation from Rome,—of which I shall now give an account.

The pro- The queen wrote most earnestly to her nephews to procure an avocation ;
ceedings at protesting she would suffer anything, and even death itself, rather than depart
Rome about from her marriage ; that she expected no justice from the legates, and therefore
an Avocation. looked for their assistance, that, her appeal being admitted by the pope, the cause might be taken out of the legates' hands. Campegio did also give the pope an account of their progress, and by all means advised an avocation ; for by this he thought to excuse himself to the king, to oblige the emperor much, and to
All this is have the reputation of a man of conscience.
drawn from
the original
Letters, June
28 and 30.
July 8 and 9.

The emperor and his brother Ferdinand sent their ambassadors at Rome orders to give the pope no rest till it were procured ; and the emperor said he would look on a sentence against his aunt as a dishonour to his family, and would lose all his kingdoms sooner than endure it. And they plied the pope so warmly, that between them and the English ambassadors he had for some days very little rest. To the one he was kind, and to the other he resolved to be civil. The English ambassadors met oft with Salviati, and studied to persuade him that the process went not on in England ; but he told them their intelligence was so good, that whatever they said on that head would not be believed. They next suggested, that it was visible Campegio's advising an avocation was only done to preserve himself from the envy of the sentence, and to throw it wholly on the pope ; for were the matter once called to Rome, the pope must give sentence one way or another, and so bear the whole burden of it. There were also secret surmises of deposing the pope if he went so far ; for, seeing that the emperor prevailed so much by the terrors of that, the cardinal resolved to try what operation such threatenings in the king's name might have : but they had no armies near the pope, so that big words did only provoke and alienate him the more.

The matter was such, that by the canon-law it could not be denied. For to grant an avocation of a cause upon good reason, from the delegate to the supreme court, was a thing which by the course of law was very usual : and it was no less apparent that the reasons of the

queen's appeal were just and good. But the secret and most convincing motives
The Pope that wrought more on the pope than all other things were, that the treaty between
agrees with him and the emperor was now concerted : therefore this being to be published
the Emperor. very speedily, the pope thought it necessary to avocate the matter to Rome before the publication for the peace, lest if he did it after it should be thought that it had been one of the secret articles of the treaty, which would have cast a foul blot upon him. Yet on the other hand he was not a little perplexed with the fears he had of losing the king of England ; he knew he was a man of a high spirit, and would resent what he did severely. " And

Collect. the cardinal now again ordered Dr. Bennet in name, and as with tears in his
Numb. 29. eyes, lying at the pope's feet, to assure him that the king and kingdom of

England were certainly lost, if the cause were avocated : therefore he besought him to leave it still in their hands ; and assured him, that for himself, he should rather be torn in pieces joint by joint, than do anything in that matter contrary to his conscience or to justice."

Yet is in These things had been oft said, and the pope did apprehend that ill effects would great perplex- follow ; for if the king fell from his obedience to the apostolic see, no doubt all ities.

the Lutheran princes, who were already bandying against the emperor, would join themselves with him ; and the interests of France would most certainly engage that king also into the union, which would distract the church, give encouragement to heresy, and end in the utter ruin of the popedom. But in all this the crafty pope comforted himself, that many times threatenings are not intended to be made good, but are used to terrify ; and that the king who had written for the faith against Luther, and had been so ill used by him, would never do a thing that would sound so ill, as because he could not obtain what he had a mind to, therefore to turn heretic : he also resolved to caress the French king much, and was in hopes of making peace between the emperor and him.

But that which went nearest the pope's heart of all other things, was the setting up of his family at Florence : and the emperor having given him assurance of that, it weighed down all other considerations. Therefore he resolved he would please the emperor, but do all he could not to lose the king : so on the 9th of July he sent for the king's ambassadors, and told them the process was now so far set on in England, and the avocation so earnestly pressed, that he could deny it no longer ; for all the lawyers in Rome had told him the thing could not be denied in the common course of justice. Upon this the ambassadors told him what they had in commission to say against it, both from the king and the cardinal, and pressed it with great vehemence : so that the pope by many sighs and tears showed how deep an impression that which they said made upon him ; he wished himself dead, that he might be delivered out of that martyrdom : and added these words, which because of their favouring so much of an apostolical spirit, I set down : " Woe is me ! nobody apprehends all those evils better than I do. But I am so between the hammer and the forge, that when I would comply with the king's desires, the whole storm then must fall on my head ; and which is worse, on the church of Christ." They did object the many promises he had made them, both by word of mouth, and under his hand. He answered, " He desired to do more for the king than he had promised ; but it was impossible to refuse what the emperor now demanded, whose forces did so surround him, that he could not only force him to grant him justice, but could dispose of him and all his concerns at his pleasure."

The ambassadors seeing the pope was resolved to grant the avocation, pressed against it no further, but studied to put it off for some time. And therefore proposed that the pope would himself write about it to the king, and not grant it till he received his answer. Of all this they gave advertisement to the king, and wrote to him, that he must either drive the matter to a sentence in great haste, or to prevent the affront of an avocation, suspend the process for some time. They also advised the searching all the packets that went or came by the way of Flanders ; and to keep up all Campegio's letters, and to take care that no bull

July 26. might come to England ; for they did much apprehend that the avocation would be granted within a very few days. Their next despatch bore, that the pope had

The Avoca- sent for them to let them know that he had signed the avocation the day before. tion is guar- But they understood another way, that the treaty between the emperor and ted. him was finished, and the peace was to be proclaimed on the 18th of July ; and that the pope did not only fear the emperor more than all other princes, but that he also trusted him more now. On the 19th of July, the pope sent a messenger with the avocation to England, with a letter to the cardinal. To the king he wrote afterwards.

Collect.
Numb. 30.

All this while Campegio, as he had orders from the pope to draw out the matter by delays, so did it very dexterously : and in this he pretended a fair excuse, that it would not be for the king's honour to precipitate the matter too much, lest great advantages might be taken from that by the queen's party. That therefore it was fit to proceed slowly, that the world might see with what moderation as well as justice the matter was handled. From the 25th of June the court adjourned to the 28th, ordering

The pro-
ceedings of
the Legates.

a second citation for the queen under the pains of contumacy, and of their proceeding to examine witnesses. And on the 28th they declared the queen contumacious the second time; and examined several witnesses upon the articles, and adjourned to the 5th of July. On that day the bull and breve were read in court, and the king's counsel argued long against the validity of the one, and the truth of the other; upon the grounds that have been already mentioned, in which Campegio was much disgusted to hear them argue against the pope's power of granting such a dispensation in a matter that was against a divine precept, alleging that his power did not extend so far. This the legates overruled, and said, that that was too high a point for them to judge in, or so much as to hear argued; and that the pope himself was the only proper judge in that: "And it was odds but he would judge favourably for himself." The court adjourned to the 12th, and from that to the 14th. On these days the depositions of the rest of the witnesses were taken, and some that were ancient persons were examined by a commission from the legates; and all the depositions were published on the 17th; other instruments relating to the process were also read and verified in court. On the 21st the court sate to conclude the matter as was expected, and the instrument that the king had signed when he came of age, protesting that he would not stand to the contract made when he was under age, was then read and verified. Upon which, the king's counsel (of whom Gardiner was the chief) closed their evidence, and summed up all that had been brought: and in the king's name, desired sentence might be given. But Campegio,

All things are ready for a Sentence. pretending that it was fit some interval should be between that and the sentence, put it off till the 23rd, being Friday; and in the whole process he presided, both being the ancients cardinal*, and chiefly to show great equity; since exceptions might have been taken, if the other had appeared much in it; so that he only sate by him for form: but all the orders of the court were still directed by Campegio. On Friday there Campegio was a great appearance, and a general expectation; but by a strange surprise, Campegio adjourned the court to the 1st of October, for which he pretended that Campegio adjourned the court. they sate there as a part of the consistory of Rome, and therefore must follow the rules of that court, which from that time till October was in a vacation, and heard no causes: and this he averred to be true on the word of a true prelate.

The king was in a chamber very near where he heard what passed, and was inexpressibly surprised at it. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were in court, and complained much of this delay; and pressed the legates to give sentence. Campegio answered, that, what they might then pronounce would be of no force, as being in vacation-time; but gave great hopes of a favourable sentence in the beginning of October. Upon which the lords spake very high. And the duke of Suffolk, with great commotion, swore by the mass, "that he saw it was true which had been commonly said, that never cardinal yet did good in England;" and so all the temporal lords went away in a fury, leaving the legates (Wolsey especially) in no small perplexity. Wolsey knew it would be suspected that he understood this beforehand, and that it would be to no purpose for him either to say he did not know or could not help it, all apologies being ill heard by an enraged prince. Campegio had not much to lose in England but his bishopric of Salisbury and the reward he expected from the king, which he knew the emperor and the pope would plentifully make up to him. But his colleague was in a worse condition, he had much to fear, because he had much to lose: for, as the king had severely chid him for the delays of the business, so he was now to expect a heavy storm from him; and after so long an administration of affairs by so insolent a favourite, it was not to be doubted, but as

Which gives great offence. many of his enemies were joining against him, so matter must needs be found to work his ruin with a prince that was alienated from him. Therefore he was under all the disorders which a fear that was heightened by ambition and covetousness could produce.

But the king governed himself upon this occasion with more temper than could have been

* Campegio might take upon him to direct the process, as being sent express from Rome, or to avoid the imputation that might have been cast on the proceedings if Wolsey had done it. But he was not the ancients cardinal, for

Wolsey was made alone Sept. 7, 1515, and Campegio with many more was advanced July 1, 1517.—FULMAN'S CORRECTIONS.

expected from a man of his humour : therefore as he made no great show of disturbance, so, to divert his uneasy thoughts, he went his progress. Soon after, he received his agents' letter from Rome, and made Gardiner (who was then secretary of state) write to the cardinal, to put Campegio to his oath, whether he had revealed the king's secrets to the pope or not ? And, if he swore he had not done it, to make him swear he should never do it. A little after that, the messenger came from Rome with a breve to the legates, requiring them to

Aug. 4. proceed no further, and with an avocation of the cause to Rome ; together with letters citatory to the king and queen to appear there in person, or by their proxies. Of which when the king was advertised, Gardiner wrote to the cardinal by his order,—that the king would not have the letters citatory executed, or the commission discharged by virtue of them ; but that upon the pope's breve to them, they should declare their commission void : for he would not suffer a thing so much to the prejudice of his crown as a citation be made to appear in another court, nor would he let his subjects imagine that he was to be cited out of his kingdom. This was the first step that he made for the lessening of the pope's power : upon which the two cardinals (for they were legates no longer) went to the king at Grafton. It was generally expected that Wolsey should have been disgraced then, for not only the king was offended with him, but he received new informations of his having juggled in the business, and that he secretly advised the pope to do what was done. This was set about by some of the queen's agents, as if there was certain knowledge had of it at Rome ; and it was said, that some letters of his to the pope were by a trick found and brought over to England. The emperor looked on the cardinal as his inveterate enemy, and designed to ruin him if it was possible ; nor was it hard to persuade the queen to concur with him to pull him down. But all this seems an artifice of theirs only to destroy him. For the earnestness the cardinal expressed in this matter was such, that either he was sincere in it or he was the best at dissembling that ever was. But these suggestions were easily infused in the king's angry mind, so strangely are men turned by their affections, that sometimes they will believe nothing, and, at other times, they believe everything. Yet when the cardinal, with his colleague, came to court, they were received by the king with very hearty expressions of kindness ; and Wolsey was often in private with him, sometimes in presence of the council, and sometimes alone : once he was many hours with the king alone, and when they took leave he sent them away very obligingly. But that which gave cardinal Wolsey the most assurance, was that all those who were admitted to the king's privacies did carry themselves towards him as they were wont to do ; both the duke of Suffolk, sir Thomas Boleyn, then made viscount of Rochford, sir Brian Tuke, and Gardiner : concluding that from the motions of such weathercocks the air of the prince's affections was best gathered.

Sept. 23, in
a Letter from
the Cardinal
to Secretary
Cromwell.

Anne Boleyn returns to Court. Anne Boleyn was now brought to the court again, out of which she had been dismissed for some time, for silencing the noise that her being at court during the process would have occasioned. It is said that she took her dismission so ill, that she resolved never again to return ; and that she was very hardly brought to it afterwards, not without threatenings from her father. But of that nothing appears to me ; only this I find, that all her former kindness to the cardinal was now turned to enmity, so that she was not wanting in her endeavours to pull him down.

But the king being reconciled to her, and, as it is ordinary after some intermission and disorder between lovers, his affection increasing, he was casting about for overtures how to compass what he so earnestly desired. Sometimes he thought of procuring a new commission ; but that was not advisable, for after a long dependence it might end as the former had done. Then he thought of breaking off with the pope ; but there was great danger in that, for besides that in his own persuasion he adhered to all the most important parts of the Roman religion, his subjects were so addicted to it, that any such a change could not but seem full of hazard. Sometime he inclined to confederate himself with the pope and emperor, for now there was no dividing of them, till he should thereby bring the emperor to yield to his desires. But that was against the interests of his kingdom, and the emperor had already proceeded so far in his opposition, that he could not be easily brought about.

While his thoughts were thus divided, a new proposition was made to him that seemed the most reasonable and feasible of them all. There was one Dr. Cranmer, who had been a fellow of Jesus' college in Cambridge; but, having married, forfeited his fellowship, yet continued his studies, and was a reader of divinity in Buckingham college. His wife dying, he was again chosen fellow of Jesus' college; and was much esteemed in the university for his learning, which appeared very eminently on all public occasions. But he was a man that neither courted preferment, nor did willingly accept of it when offered. And, therefore, though he was invited to be a reader of divinity in the Cardinals' college at Oxford, he declined it. He was at this time forced to fly out of Cambridge from a plague that was there; and, having the sons of one Mr. Cressy of Waltham-cross committed to his charge, he went with his pupils to their father's house at Waltham. There he was when the king returned from his progress, who took Waltham in his way, and lay a night there. The harbingers having appointed Gardiner and Fox, the king's secretary and almoner, to lie at Mr. Cressy's house, it so happened that Cranmer was with them at supper. The whole discourse of England being then about the divorce, these two courtiers, knowing Cranmer's learning and solid judgment, entertained him with it, and desired to hear his opinion concerning it. He modestly declined it; but told them, that he judged it would be a shorter and safer way once to clear it well, if the marriage was unlawful in itself by virtue of any divine precept: for, if that were proved, then it was certain that the pope's dispensation could be of no force to make that lawful which God had declared to be unlawful. Therefore, he thought that instead of a long fruitless negotiation at Rome it were better to consult all the learned men, and the universities of Christendom; for, if they once declared it in the king's favour, then the pope must needs give judgment, or, otherwise, the bull being of itself null and void, the marriage would be found sinful, notwithstanding the pope's dispensation. This seemed a very good motion, which they resolved to offer to the king; so, next night when he came to Greenwich, they proposed it to him; but with this difference, that Gardiner had a mind to make it pass for their own contrivance, but Fox, who was of a more ingenuous nature, told the king from whom they had it. He was much affected with it so soon as he heard it, and said, had he known it sooner, it would have saved him a vast expense and much trouble; and would needs have Cranmer sent for to court, saying, in his coarse way of speaking, "That he had the sow by the right ear." So he was sent for to court; and, being brought before the king, he carried himself so that the king conceived a high opinion of his judgment and candour, which he preserved to his death, and still paid a respect to him beyond all the other churchmen that were about him: and though he made more use of Gardiner in his business, whom he found a man of great dexterity and cunning, yet he never had any respect for him. But for Cranmer, though the king knew that in many things he differed from him, yet for all his being so impatient of contradiction, he always revered him.

He was soon looked on as a rising churchman, and the rather because the cardinal was now declining; for in the following Michaelmas-term the king sent for the great seal, which the cardinal at first was not willing to part with. But the next day the king wrote to him, and he presently delivered it to the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk. It was offered back again to Warham, archbishop of Canterbury; but he being very old, and foreseeing great difficulties in the keeping of it, excused himself. So it was given to sir Thomas More, who was not only eminent in his own profession but in all other learning: and was much esteemed for the strictness of his life, and his contempt of money. He was also the more fit to be made use of, having been in ill terms with the cardinal. Soon after, Hales, the attorney-general, put in an information against the cardinal in the King's Bench; bearing, "that notwithstanding the statute of Richard II., against the procuring bulls from Rome, under the pains of premunire, yet he had procured bulls for his legantine power, which he had for many years executed; and some particulars, for form, were named out of a great many more." To this he put in his answer by his attorney, and confessed the indictment, but pleaded his ignorance of the statute, and submitted himself to the king's mercy. Upon this it was declared, that he

Cranmer's
proposition a-
bout the
King's Di-
vorce.

Approved by
the King.

And he
much esteem-
ed by him.

The Cardi-
nal's fall.



Engraved by W. Hunt

CARDINAL WOLSEY.

OB. 1530.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION AT

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

Anne Boleyn.

All these things did so sink his proud mind, that a deep melancholy overcame his spirits.

To conclude his story all at once, he was in November the next year seized on by the earl of Northumberland, who attached him for high treason, and committed him to the keeping of the lieutenant of the tower, who was ordered to bring him up to London. And even then he had gracious messages from the king ; but these did not work much on him ; for whether it was that he knew himself guilty of some secret practices with the pope or with the emperor, which yet he denied to the last, or whether he could no longer stand under the king's displeasure and that change of condition, he was so cast down that on his way to London he sickened at Sheffield Park, in the earl of Shrewsbury's house, from whence by slow journeys he went as far as Leicester, where, after some days languishing, he died, and at the last made great protestations " of his having served the king faithfully, and that he had little regarded the service of God to do him pleasure ; but if he had served God as he had done him, he would not have given him over so, as he did in his grey hairs. And he desired the king to reflect on all his past services,

† Lord Herbert says the king gave him only the use of Richmond, which is most probable.—FULMAN'S CORRECTIONS.

and in particular in his weighty matter" (for by that phrase they usually spoke of the king's divorce), "and then he would find in his conscience whether he had offended him or not." He died the 29th of November, 1530, and was the greatest instance that several ages had shown of the variety and inconstancy of human things, both in his rise and fall; and by his temper in both, it appears he was unworthy of his greatness, and deserved what he suffered. But to conclude all that is to be said of him, I shall add what the writer of his life ends it with:—"Here is the end and fall of pride and arrogance; for I assure you in his time he was the haughtiest man in all his proceedings alive, having more respect to the honour of his person than he had to his spiritual profession, wherein should be showed all meekness and charity."

His Character.

But now, with the change of this great minister there followed a change of counsels, and therefore the king resolved to hold a parliament, that he might meet his people, and establish such a good understanding between himself and them, that he might have all secure at home; and then he resolved to proceed more confidently abroad. There had been no parliament for seven years, but the blame of that, and of every other miscarriage, falling naturally on the disgraced minister, he did not doubt that he should be able to give his people full satisfaction in that, and in everything else. So a parliament was summoned to meet the 3rd of November. And there, among several other laws that were made for the public good of the kingdom, there were bills sent up by the House of Commons against some of the most exorbitant abuses of the clergy: one was against the exactions for the probates of wills; another was for the regulating of mortuaries; a third was about the plurality of benefices and non-residence, and churchmen being farmers of lands. In the passing of these bills there were severe reflections made on the vices and corruptions of the clergy of that time, which were believed to flow from men that favoured Luther's doctrine in their hearts.

When these bills were brought up to the House of Lords, the bishop of Rochester speaking to them, did reflect on the House of Commons, saying that they were resolved to bring down the church, and he desired they would consider the miserable state of the kingdom of Bohemia, to which it was reduced by heresy, and ended that all this was for lack of faith. But this being afterwards known to the House of Commons, they sent their

speaker, sir Thomas Audley, with thirty of their members, to complain to the king of the bishop of Rochester for saying that their acts flowed from the want of faith, which was a high imputation on the whole nation, when the representative of the Commons was so charged, as if they had been infidels and heathens. This was set on by the court to mortify that bishop, who was unacceptable to them, for his adhering so firmly to the queen's cause. The king sent for the archbishop of Canterbury, and six other bishops, and before them told the complaint of the Commons. But the bishop of Rochester excused himself, and said he only meant of the kingdom of Bohemia, when he said, all flowed from the want of faith, and did not at all intend the House of Commons. This explanation the king sent by the treasurer of his household, sir William Fitzwilliams. But though the matter was passed over, yet they were not at all satisfied with it, so that they went on, laying open the abuses of the clergy.

In the House of Peers great opposition was made to the bills, and the clergy both within and without doors did defame them, and said these were the ordinary beginnings of heresy to complain of abuses and pretend reformation, on purpose to disgrace the clergy, from which heresy took its chief strength. And the spiritual lords did generally oppose them, the temporal lords being no less earnest to have them passed. The cardinal was admitted to sit in the House, where he showed himself as submissive in his fawning as he had formerly done in his scorn and contempt of all who durst oppose him. But the king set the bills forward, and in the end they were agreed to by the lords, and had the royal assent.

The king intended by this to let the pope see what he could do if he went on to offend him, and how willingly his parliament would concur with him, if it went to extremities. He did also endear himself much to the people, by relieving them from the oppressions of the clergy. But the clergy lost much by this means, for these acts did not only lessen their

A Parliament called.

The House of Commons complains of the Bishop of Rochester.

Some Bills passed reforming the abuses of the clergy.

present profits, but did open the way for other things that were more to their detriment afterward. Their opposing of this and all other motions for reformation did very much increase the prejudices that were conceived against them: whereas if such motions had either risen from themselves, or had at least been cherished by them, their adversaries had not perhaps been so favourably heard; so fatally did they mistake their true interest, when they thought they were concerned, to link with it all abuses and corruptions.

But there passed another bill in this parliament, which because of its singular nature, and that it was not printed with the other statutes, shall be found in the collection of instruments at the end*. The bill bore in a preamble the highest flattery that could be put in paper, of the great things the king had done for the church and nation, in which he had been at vast charges; and that divers of the subjects had lent great sums of money, which had been all well employed in the public service: and whereas they had security for their payment, the parliament did offer all these sums so lent to the king; and discharged him of all the obligations or assignations made for their payment, and of all suits that might arise thereupon.

This was brought into the house by the king's servants, who enlarged much on the wealth and peace of the nation, notwithstanding the wars, the king always making his enemies' country the scene of them; and showed, that for fourteen years the king had but one subsidy from his people; that now he asked nothing for any other purpose, but only to be discharged of a debt contracted for the public, the accounts whereof were shown, by which they might see to what uses the money so raised had been applied. But there were several ends in passing this bill: those of the court did not only intend to deliver the king from a charge by it, but also to ruin all the cardinal's friends and creatures, whom he had caused everywhere to advance great sums, for an example to others. Others in the house that were convinced that the act was unjust in itself, yet did easily give way to it, that they might effectually for the future discredit that way of raising money by loans, as judging it to be the public interest of the kingdom that no sums of money should be raised but by parliament. So this act passed, and occasioned great murmuring among all them that suffered by it. But to qualify the general discontent, the king gave a free pardon to his subjects for all offences, some capital ones only excepted, as is usual in such cases; and to keep the clergy under the lash, all transgressions against the statutes of provisors and premunire were excepted, in which they were all involved, as will afterwards appear. There are two other exceptions in this pardon not fit to be omitted, the one is of the pulling or digging down crosses on the highways, which shows what a spirit was then stirring among the people; the other is of the forfeitures that accrued to the king, by the prosecution against cardinal Wolsey, that is, the cardinal's college in Oxford, with the lands belonging to it, which are excepted, upon which the dean and canons resigned their lands to the king, the original of which is yet extant: but the king founded the college anew soon after. All this was done both to keep the clergy quiet, and to engage them to use what interest they had in the court of Rome, to dispose the pope to use the king better in his great suit. After those acts were passed, on the 17th of December, the parliament was prorogued till April following; yet it did not sit till January after that, being continued by several prorogations.

There had been great industry used in carrying elections for the parliament, and they were so successful, that the king was resolved to continue it for some time. This great business being happily over, the king's thoughts turned next to affairs beyond sea. The whole world was now at peace. The pope and the emperor (as was said before) had made an alliance on terms of such advantage to the pope, that as the emperor did fully repair all past injuries, so he laid new and great obligations on him: for he engaged that he would assist him in the recovery of his towns, and that he would restore his family to the government of Florence, and invest his nephew in it, with the title of duke, to whose son he would marry his own natural daughter;

* The author of the Anonymous Corrections observes that this bill was not of a singular nature, since a similar one is printed in the book of statutes, An. 1544, (35 H.

VIII. c. 12,) for the remission of the loan in that year. But the present appears to be the first instance of the kind, and may therefore with propriety be termed singular.—Ed.

and that he would hold the kingdom of Naples of the papacy. These were the motives that directed the pope's conscience so infallibly in the king's business. Not long after that, in August, another peace was made in Cambray, between the emperor and the French king, and lady Margaret the emperor's aunt, and regent of Flanders, where the king first found the hollowness of the French friendship and alliance; for he was not so much

The Women's Peace.

Aug. 5. considered in it as he expected, and he clearly perceived that Francis would not embroil his own affairs to carry on his divorce.

The emperor went over into Italy, and met the pope at Bononia, where he was crowned with great magnificence. The pope and he lodged together in the same palace,

1530.

The Emperor's Coronation at Bononia.

holding out

Florence taken.

Aug. 9.

Pope's Nephew made Duke of it.

July 17, 1531.

Siege of Vienna raised.

Oct. 13, 1529.

Emperor crowned King of Lombardy.

Feb. 22,

1530.

Rom. Emp.

Feb. 24.

him. When the pope and he first met, the ceremony of kissing the pope's foot was much looked for, and the emperor very gently kneeled to pay that submission; but the pope (whether it was that he thought it was no more seasonable to expect such compliments, or more signally to oblige the emperor,) did humble himself so far as to draw in his foot, and kiss his cheek.

But now the divorce was to be managed in another method; and therefore Cranmer, after he had discoursed with the king about that proposition which was formerly

The King consults his Universities about his Divorce.

mentioned, was commanded by him to write a book for his opinion, and confirm it with as much authority as he could; and was recommended to the care of the earl of Wiltshire and Ormond (to which honour the king had advanced sir

Thomas Boleyn in the right of his mother), and in the beginning of the next year he published his book about it*. Richard Crook (who was tutor to the duke of Richmond) was sent into Italy, and others were sent to France and Germany, to consult the divines, canonists, and other learned men in the universities, about the king's business. How the rest managed the matter, I have not yet been able to discover; but from a great number of original letters of doctor Crook's, I shall give a full account of his negotiation. It was thought best to begin at home, and therefore the king wrote to the two universities in England to send him their conclusions about it. The matters went at Oxford thus:—The

Lord Herbert out of the Record.

April 4, 1530.

bishop of Lincoln being sent thither with the king's letters for their resolution, it was by the major vote of the convocation of all the doctors and masters, as well regents as non-regents, committed to thirty-three doctors and bachelors of divinity (who were named by their own faculty), or to the greater number of them, to determine the questions that were sent with the king's letters, and to set the common seal of the university to their conclusions: and by virtue of that warrant, they did on the eighth

* This book is in the end of it said to be printed 1530, in April; but it seems an error for 1531: for the censures of the universities, which are printed in and mentioned in

several places of it, do all bear date after that April, except those made by those of Oxford and Orleans.—FURNAN'S CORRECTIONS.

of April put the common seal of the university to an instrument, declaring the marriage of the brother's wife to be both contrary to the laws of God and nature. The collector v. Wood, p. 8. of the Antiquities of Oxford * informs us of the uneasiness that was in the university in this matter, and of the several messages the king sent, before that instrument could be procured; so that from the 12th of February to the 8th of April, the matter was in agitation, the masters of arts generally opposing it, though the doctors and heads were (for the greater part) for it. But after he has set down the instrument, he gives some reasons (upon what design I cannot easily imagine) to show that this was extorted by force; and being done without the consent of the masters of arts, was of itself void, and of no force: and as if it had been an ill thing, he takes pains to purge the university of it, and lays it upon the fears and corruptions of some aspiring men of the university; and without any proof, gives credit to a lying story set down by Sanders, of an assembly called in the night, in which the seal of the university was set to the determination. But it appears that he had never seen or considered the other instrument, to which the university set their seal, that was agreed on in a convocation of all the doctors and masters, as well regents as non-regents; giving power to these doctors and bachelors of divinity to determine the matter, and to set the seal of the university to their conclusion. The original whereof the lord Herbert saw, upon which the persons so deputed had full authority to set the university seal to that conclusion without a new convocation. Perhaps that instrument was not so carefully preserved among their records, or was in queen Mary's days taken away, which might occasion these mistakes in their historian.

There seems to be also another mistake in the relation he gives: for he says, those of Paris had determined in this matter before it was agreed to at Oxford. The printed decision of the Sorbonne contradicts this; for it bears date the 2nd of July, 1530, whereas this was done the 8th of April 1530. But what passed at Cambridge I shall set down more fully from an original letter written by Gardiner and Fox to the king in February (but the day is not marked). When they came to Cambridge, they spake to the vice-chancellor, whom they found very ready to serve the king; so was also doctor Edmonds †, and several others; but there was a contrary party that met together, and resolved to oppose them. A meeting of the doctors, bachelors of divinity, and masters of arts, in all about two hundred, was held. There the king's letters were read; and the vice-chancellor calling upon several of them to deliver their opinions about it, they answered as their affections led them, and were in some disorder. But it being proposed, that the answering the king's letter, and the questions in it, should be referred to some indifferent men; great exceptions were made to doctor Salcot, doctor Reps, and Cromie, and all others who had approved doctor Cranmer's book, as having already declared themselves partial. But to that it was answered, that after a thing was so much discoursed of, as the king's matter had been, it could not be imagined that any number of men could be found who had not declared their judgment about it one way or another. Much time was spent in the debate, but when it grew late, the vice-chancellor commanded every man to take his place, and to give his voice, whether they would agree to the motion of referring it to a select body of men: but that night they would not agree to it.

* Wood's justification of his history, with a running commentary by the bishop, will be found in the Appendix at the end of the work, No. 3. With reference to the means used to procure the required instrument from the university, Burnet contends that no "frightening threatenings" were employed, and that "none appeared in the king's letters." To these, which will be found in the Collection of Records, part 3, book 2, No. 17, we refer our readers. The first contains a plain intimation that if the university gave not a decision pleasing to their "liege lord," "it should not be to their quietness and ease thereafter;" and in the second he warns the "youth of the university," meaning probably the masters of arts, who had interfered in the affair, that "*non bonum est irritare crabrones*,"—"it is not safe to put your hand in a wasp's nest. These are not very pacific demonstrations on the

part of the sovereign, and seem to justify Wood when he says, "It was an ill thing for a prince by his letters to frighten people out of their conscience, and by menaces force them to say what must please him." See also Herbert's Life, Collier, and Hallam's Constitutional History of England.—Ed.

† Dr. John Edmonds, Master of Peterhouse, and, says Granger, "of great note in the university," as we may guess from the frequency of his being vice-chancellor, viz. in the years 1521, 1526, 1527, and 1540. Burnet mistook him for Bonner, who, it seems, was sometimes called Dr. Edmonds, from his christian name, a sort of incognito made use of also by Gardiner, who, as we have seen before, visited Rome as Dr. Stephens. Collier mentions Dr. Edmonds as vice-chancellor in this year (1530), but that is a mistake; Dr. Buckmaster then filled that office.—Ed.

The congregation being adjourned till next day, the vice-chancellor offered a grace (or order) to refer the matter to twenty-nine persons (himself, ten doctors, and sixteen bachelors, and the two proctors), that (the questions being publicly disputed) what two parts of three agreed to should be read in a congregation, and without any further debate the common seal of the university should be set to it. Yet it was at first denied; then being put to the vote, it was carried equally on both sides. But being a third time proposed, it was carried for the divorce. Of which an account was presently sent to the king, with a schedule of their names to whom it was committed, and what was to be expected from them, so that it was at length determined, though not without opposition, that the king's marriage was against the law of God.

It is thought strange that the king, who was otherwise so absolute in England, should have met with more difficulty in this matter at home than he did abroad. But the most reasonable account I can give of it is, that at this time there were many in the universities (particularly at Cambridge) who were addicted to Luther's doctrine. And of those Cranmer was looked on as the most learned: so that Crome, Shaxton, Latimer, and others of that society, favoured the king's cause; besides that, Anne Boleyn had in the duchess of Alençon's court (who inclined to the reformation) received such impressions as made them fear, that her greatness and Cranmer's preferment would encourage heresy; to which the universities were furiously averse, and therefore they did resist all conclusions that might promote the divorce.

But as for Crooke in Italy, he being very learned in the Greek tongue, was first sent to Venice to search the Greek manuscripts that lay in the library of St. Mark, and to examine the decrees of the ancient councils: he went incognito without any character from the king, only he had a letter recommending him to the care of John Cassali, then ambassador at Venice, to procure him an admittance into the libraries there. But in all his letters he complained mightily of his poverty, that he had scarce whereby to live and pay the copiers whom he employed to transcribe passages out of MSS. He stayed some time at Venice, from whence he went to Padua, Bononia, and other towns, where he only talked with divines and canonists about these questions: Whether the precepts in Leviticus, of the degrees of marriage, do still oblige Christians? And whether the pope's dispensation could have any force against the law of God? These he proposed in discourse, without mentioning the king of England, or giving the least intimation that he was sent by him, till he once discovered their opinions. But finding them generally inclining to the king's cause, he took more courage and went to Rome; where he sought to be made a penitentiary priest, that he might have the freer access into libraries, and be looked on as one of the pope's servants. But at this time the earl of Wiltshire and Stokesley (who was made bishop of London, Tonstall being translated to Durham) were sent by the king into Italy, ambassadors both to the pope and emperor. Cranmer went with them, to justify his book in both these courts. Stokesley brought full instructions to Crooke to search the writings of most of the fathers on a great many passages of the Scripture; and in particular to try, what they wrote on that law in Deuteronomy, which provided, that when one died without children, his brother should marry his wife to raise up children to him. This was most pressed against the king by all that were for the queen, as either an abrogation of the other law in Leviticus, or at least a dispensation with it in that particular case. He was also to consult the Jews about it; and was to copy out everything that he found in any manuscript of the Greek or Latin fathers, relating to the degrees of marriage. Of this labour he complained heavily, and said, that though he had a great task laid on him, yet his allowance was so small, that he was often in great straits. This I take notice of, because it is said by others, that all the subscriptions that he procured were bought. At this time there were great animosities between the ministers whom the king employed in Italy; the two families of the Cassali and the Ghinucci hating one another. Of the former family were the ambassadors at Rome, and at Venice. Of the other Hierome was bishop of Worcester, and had been in several embassies into Spain. His brother Peter was also employed in some of the little courts of Italy as the king's agent. Whether the king out of policy kept this hatred up to make

them spies one on another, I know not. To the Ghinucci was Croke gained, so that in all his letters he complained of the Cassalis as men that betrayed the king's affairs; and said that John, then ambassador at Venice, not only gave him no assistance, but used him ill; and publicly discovered that he was employed by the king; which made many who had formerly spoken their minds freely be more reserved to him. But as he wrote this to the king, he begged of him that it might not be known, otherwise he expected either to be killed or poisoned by them: yet they had their correspondents about the king, by whose means they understood what Croke had informed against them. But they wrote to the king, that he was so morose and ill-natured that nothing could please him; and to lessen his credit, they did all they could to stop his bills. All this is more fully set down than perhaps was necessary, if it were not to show that he was not in a condition to corrupt so many divines, and whole universities, as some have given out. He got into the acquaintance of a friar at Venice, Franciscus Georgius, who had lived forty-nine years in a religious order, and was esteemed the most learned man in the republic, not only in the vulgar learning but in the Greek and Hebrew, and was so much accounted of by the pope that he called him the hammer of heretics. He was also of the senatorian quality, and his brother was governor of Padua, and paid all the readers there. This friar had a great opinion of the king; and

Many in Italy having studied the case, wrote for the king's cause, and endeavoured to satisfy write for the all the other divines of the republic, among whom he had much credit. Thomas King's cause. Omnibonus a Dominican, Philippus de Cremis a doctor of the law, Valerius of Bergamo, and some others, wrote for the king's cause. Many of the Jewish rabbins did give it under their hands in Hebrew, that the laws of Leviticus and Deuteronomy were thus to be reconciled. That law of marrying the brother's wife when he died without children did only bind in the land of Judea, to preserve families and maintain their successions in the land as it had been divided by lot. But that in all other places of the world, the law of Leviticus of not marrying the brother's wife was obligatory. He also searched all the Greek MSS. of councils, and Nazianzen's and Chrysostom's works. After that he ran over Macarius, Acacius, Apollinaris, Origen, Gregory Nyssen, Cyril, Severian, and Gennadius, and copied out of them all that which was pertinent to his purpose. He procured several hands to the Conclusions before it was known that it was the king's business in which he was employed. But the government of Venice was so strict, that when it was known whose agent he was, he found it not easy to procure subscriptions: therefore he advised the king to order his minister to procure a licence from the senate, for their divines to declare their opinions in that matter: which being proposed to the senate, all the answer

Feb. 18.

he could obtain was, that they would be neutrals; and when the ambassador pressed, as an evidence of neutrality, that the senate would leave it free to their divines to declare of either side as their consciences led them, he could procure no other answer, the former being again repeated. Yet the senate making no prohibition, many of their divines put their hands to the Conclusions. And Croke had that success, that he wrote to the king he had never met with a divine that did not favour his cause: but the Conclusions touching the pope's power his agents did everywhere discourage, and threaten those who subscribed them. And the emperor's ambassador at Venice did threaten Omnibonus for writing in prejudice of the Pope's authority, and asserting conclusions which would make most of the princes of Europe bastards.

Though the Pope and Emperor discouraged them.

July 4.

He answered, he did not consider things as a statesman, but as a divine. Yet to take off this fear, Croke suggested to the king to order his minister at the court of Rome to procure a breve, "that divines or canonists might without fear or hazard deliver their opinions according to their consciences; requiring them, under the pain of excommunication, that they should write nothing for gain or partial affections, but say the pure and simple truth, without any artifice, as they would answer to God in the great day of judgment." This seemed so fair, that it might have been expected the successor of St. Peter would not deny it; yet it was not easily obtained, though the king wrote a very earnest letter to the bishop of

Aug. 7.

Verona, to assist his minister in procuring it. And I find by another despatch,

Sept. 16.

that the breve was at length gained, not without much opposition made to it by the emperor's ambassadors: for at Rome, though they knew not well how to

oppose this method, because it seemed so very reasonable, yet they had great apprehensions of it, because they thought it was designed to force the pope to determine as the king pleased : and they abhorred the precedent, that a company of poor friars should

July 23.

dictate to them in matters of this nature. Crooke reports out of a letter of Cranmer's to him from Rome these words : "As for our successes here, they be very little, nor dare we attempt to know any man's mind, because of the pope, nor is he content with what you have done ; and he says, no friars shall discuss his power : and as for any favour in this court, I look for none, but to have the pope with all his cardinals declare against us." But Crooke, as he went up and down procuring hands, told those he came to, "he desired they would write their Conclusions, according to learning and

Aug. 5.

No Money
nor Bribes
given for sub-
scriptions.
Sept. 7.

conscience, without any respect or favour, as they would answer it at the last day ; and protested he never gave nor promised any divine anything till he had first freely written his mind, and that what he then gave was rather an honourable present than a reward." And in another letter to the king he writes : "Upon pain of my head if the contrary be proved, I never gave any man one halfpenny, before I had his conclusion to your highness, without former prayer or promise of reward for the same." From whence it appears, that he not only had no orders from the king to corrupt divines, but that his orders were express to the contrary.

As for the money he gave, the reader will be best able to judge by the following account,

Feb. 8.

Only some
small ac-
knowledge-
ments.

whether it was such as could work much on any man. There is an original bill of his accounts yet extant, audited and signed by Peter a Ghinucis, out of which I have extracted these particulars : "Item, to a Servite friar when he subscribed, one crown : to a Jew, one crown : to the doctors of the Servites, two crowns : to the Observant friars, two crowns : to the prior of St. John and St. Paul's, who wrote for the king's cause, fifteen crowns : to that convent, four crowns. Item, given to John Maria for his expense of going to Milan from Venice, and for rewarding the doctors there, thirty crowns. Item, to John Marino, minister of the Franciscans, who wrote a book for the king's cause, twenty crowns." This shows that they must have had very prostituted

Feb. 22.

consciences, if they could be hired so cheap. It is true Crooke in many of his letters says, "that if he had money enough, he did not doubt but he should get the hands of all the divines in Italy, for he found the greatest part of them all mercenary."

Feb. 9.

But the bishop of Worcester, in his letters to him, ordered him only to promise rewards to those who expected them and lived by them, that is, to the canonists, who did not use to give their opinion without a fee.

But at the same time, the emperor did reward and fee divines at another rate ; for Crook

Sept. 16.

informed the king, that one friar Felix having written for the validity of the marriage against the king, there was a benefice of 500 ducats a year given him in reward. And the emperor's ambassador offered a thousand ducats to the provincial of the Grey-friars in Venice, if he would inhibit all within his province to write or subscribe for the king's cause. But the provincial refused it, and said, he neither could nor yet would do it. And another that wrote for the

Sept. 29.

queen had a benefice of 600 crowns. So that it was openly said at Ferrara, that they who wrote for the king had but a few crowns a-piece, but they who wrote on the other side had good benefices. They also tried what could be done at Padua, both by threatenings, entreaties, and rewards, to induce them to reverse the determination they had made in the

Feb. 18.

matter ; but with no success. And though Francis Georgius, the Venitian friar, did greatly promote the king's cause, both by his writings and authority, yet Crooke wrote "that he could not prevail to make either him or his nephew accept one farthing of him." By such fair means it was that Crooke procured so many subscriptions.

First, of particular divines, many Franciscans, Dominicans, and Servites, set their hands to the Conclusions ; though even in that there was opposition made by the pope's agents.

March 29.

Campeggio was now engaged in the emperor's faction, and did everywhere misrepresent the king's cause. Being at Venice, he so wrought on the minister of the Franciscans, that though he had declared for the king, and engaged to bring the hands of

twenty-four doctors and learned men of his order for it, and had received a small present of ten crowns, yet after he had kept the money three weeks, he sent it back, and said, he would not meddle more in it: but they procured most of these hands without his help. At Milan, a suffragan bishop and sixteen divines subscribed. Nine doctors subscribed at Vicenza, but the pope's nuncio took the writing out of his hands that had it, and suppressed it. At Padua all the Franciscans, both Observants and Conventuals, subscribed, and so did the Dominicans, and all the canonists; and though the pope's and emperor's emissaries did threaten all that subscribed, yet there were got eighty hands at Padua. Next the universities determined.

At Bononia, though it was the pope's town, many subscribed. The governor of the town did at first oppose the granting of any determination; but the pope's breve being brought thither, he, not without great difficulty, gave way to it. So on the 10th of June, the matter being publicly debated, and all Cajetan's arguments being examined, who was of opinion, "that the laws of marriage in Leviticus did not bind the Christian church;" they determined, "that these laws are still in force, and that they bind all both Christians and Infidels, being parts of the law of nature, as well as of the law of God; and that therefore they judged marriages in these degrees unlawful, and that the pope had no authority to dispense with them."

The university of Padua, after some days' public dispute, on the 1st of July, determined to the same purpose; about which Crooke's letter will be found among the instruments at the end of this book.

At Ferrara, the divines did also confirm the same conclusion, and set their seal to it, but it was taken away violently by some of the other faction; yet the duke made it be restored. The profession of the canon law was then in great credit there, and in a congregation of seventy-two of that profession it was determined for the king; but they asked one hundred and fifty crowns for setting the seal to it, and Crooke would not give more than a hundred; the next day he came and offered the money, but then it was told him they would not meddle in it, and he could not afterwards obtain it.

In all, Crooke sent over by Stokesley a hundred several books, papers, and subscriptions, and there were many hands subscribed to many of those papers. But I hope the reader will forgive my insisting so much on this negotiation; for it seemed necessary to give full and convincing evidences of the sincerity of the king's proceedings in it, since it is so confidently given out that these were but mercenary subscriptions.

What difficulties or opposition those who were employed in France found, does not yet appear to me; but the seals of the chief universities there were procured. The university of Orleans determined it on the 7th of April. The faculty of the canon law at Paris did also conclude that the pope had no power to dispense in that case, on the 25th of May. But the great and celebrated faculty of the Sorbonne (whose conclusions had been looked on for some ages as little inferior to the decrees of councils) made their decision with all possible solemnity and decency. They first met at the church of St. Mathurin, where there was a mass of the Holy Ghost, and every one took an oath to study the question, and resolve it according to his conscience, and from the 8th of June to the 2nd of July they continued searching the matter with all possible diligence, both out of the Scriptures, the fathers, and the councils; and had many disputes about it. After which, the greater part of the faculty did determine, "that the king of England's marriage was unlawful, and that the pope had no power to dispense in it;" and they set their common seal to it, at St. Mathurin's, the 2nd of July 1530. To the same purpose did both the faculties of law civil and canon at Angiers determine the 7th of May. On the 10th of June, the faculty of divinity at Bourges made the same determination. And on the 1st of October the whole university of Toulouse did all with one consent give their judgment, agreeing with the former conclusions. More of the decisions of universities were not printed, though many more were obtained to the same effect. In Germany, Spain, and Flanders, the emperor's authority was so great, that much could not be expected except from the Lutherans, with whom Cranmer conversed, and

chiefly with Osiander, whose niece he then married. Osiander* upon that wrote a book about incestuous marriages, which was published; but was called in by a prohibition printed at Augsburg, because it determined in the king's cause, and on his side.

But now I find the king did likewise deal among those in Switzerland that had set up the Reformation. The duke of Suffolk did most set him on to this, so one who was employed in that time writes, for he often asked him, "how he could so humble himself as to submit his cause to such a vile, vicious, stranger priest, as Campeggio was?" To which the king answered, "he could give no other reason but that it seemed to him spiritual men should judge spiritual things; yet, he said, he would search the matter further, but he had no great mind to seem more curious than other princes." But the duke desired him to discuss the matter secretly amongst learned men, to which he consented; and wrote to some foreign writers that were then in great estimation. Erasmus was much in his favour, but he would not appear in it. He had no mind to provoke the emperor, and live uneasily in his own country. But Simon Grineus was sent for, whom the king esteemed much for his learning. The king informed him about his process, and sent him back to Basil, to try what his friends in Germany and Switzerland thought of it. He wrote about it to Bucer, Ecolampadius, Zuinglius, and Paulus Phrygion.

Pelerine Inglese.
Grineus employed amongst the reformed in Switzerland.
Whose Letters are in a MS. in R. Smith's Libr.
The Opinions of Ecolampadius.

Ecolampadius, as it appears by three letters, one dated the 10th of August 1531, another the last of the same month, another to Bucer the 10th of September, was positively of opinion, "that the law in Leviticus bid bind all mankind," and says, "That law of a brother's marrying his sister-in-law was a dispensation given by God to his own law, which belonged only to the Jews; and therefore he thought that the king might without any scruple put away the queen." But Bucer was of another mind, and thought the law in Leviticus did not bind, and could not be moral, because God had dispensed with it in one case, of raising up seed to his brother: therefore, he thought these laws belonged only to that dispensation, and did no more bind Christians than the other ceremonial or judiciary precepts; and that to marry in some of these degrees was no more a sin than it was a sin in the disciples to pluck ears of corn on the Sabbath-day. There are none of Bucer's letters remaining on this head, but by the answers that Grineus wrote to him, one on the 29th of August, another of the 10th of September, I gather his opinion, and the reasons for it. But they all agreed that the pope's dispensation was of no force to alter the nature of the thing. Paulus Phrygion was of opinion, that the laws in Leviticus did bind all nations, because it is said in the text, that the Canaanites were punished for doing contrary to them, which did not consist with the justice of God, if those prohibitions had not been parts of the law of nature. Dated Basil, the 10th of September. In Grineus's letter to Bucer, he tells him, that the king had said to him, that now for seven years he had perpetual trouble upon him about this marriage. Zuinglius' letter is very full. First, he largely proves that neither the pope nor any other power could dispense with the law of God: then, that the apostles had made no new laws about marriage, but had left it as they found it: that the marrying within near degrees was hated by the Greeks and other heathen nations. But whereas Grineus seemed to be of opinion, that though the marriage was ill made, yet it ought not to be dissolved, and inclined rather to advise that the king should take another wife, keeping the queen still; Zuinglius confutes that, and says, If the marriage be against the law of God, it ought to be dissolved: but concludes the queen should be put away honourably, and still used as a queen; and the marriage should only be dissolved for the future, without illegitimizing the issue begotten in it, since it had gone on in a public way,

Phrygion.

Bucer.
Zuinglius.

* Andrew Osiander was a divine of considerable eminence among the leaders of the Reformation. He was a native of Bavaria, and was born in 1498. He studied at Wittenberg and Nuremberg, and in 1522 began to preach at the latter place, where Cranmer became acquainted with him. He was opposed to the Lutheran divines on some points of belief, and displayed great want of moderation

in maintaining his opinions, particularly in a controversy with the excellent Melancthon, who bore his insolence with a truly Christian spirit. He was a studious and acute divine, but disposed to adopt novel and mystical opinions, and much disliked on account of his pride and arrogance. He died suddenly in 1552 at Konigsberg, where he was minister and professor.—Ed.

upon a received error. But advises, that the king should proceed in a judiciary way, and not establish so ill a precedent as to put away his queen and take another without due form of law. Dated Basil, 17th of Aug. There is a second letter of his to the same purpose from Zurich, the 1st of September. There is also with these letters a long paper of Osiander's, in the form of a direction how the process should be managed.

There is also an epistle of Calvin's, published among the rest of his. Neither the date nor the person to whom it was directed are named. Yet I fancy it was written to Grineus upon this occasion : Calvin was clear in his judgment that the marriage was null, and that the king ought to put away the queen, upon the law of Leviticus. And whereas it was objected, that the law is only meant of marrying the brother's wife while he is yet alive ; he shows that could not be admitted, for all the prohibited degrees being forbidden in the same style, they were all to be understood in one sense : therefore since it is confessed that it is unlawful to marry in the other degrees, after the death of the father, son, uncle, or nephew, so it must be also a sin to marry the brother's wife after his death. And for the law in Deuteronomy of marrying the brother's wife to raise up seed to him ; he thought that by brother there, is to be understood a near kinsman, according to the usual phrase of the Hebrew tongue : and by that he reconciles the two laws which otherwise seem to differ, illustrating his exposition by the history of Ruth and Boaz. It is given out that Melancthon advised the king's taking another wife, justifying polygamy from the Old Testament ; but I cannot believe it. It is true the lawfulness of polygamy was much controverted at this time. And, as in all controversies newly started, many crude things are said ; so some of the Helvetian and German divines seem not so fierce against it ;

though none of them went so far as the pope did, who did plainly offer to grant the king licence to have two wives : and it was a motion the imperialists consented to, and promoted, though upon what reason the ambassador Cassali, who wrote the account of it to the king, could not learn. The pope forbade him to write about it to the king, perhaps as whisperers enjoin silence as the most effectual way to make a thing public. But for Melancthon's being of that mind, great evidences appear to the contrary ; for there is a letter of Osiander's to him, giving him many reasons to persuade him to approve of the king's putting away the queen and marrying another : the letter also shows he was then of opinion, that the law in Leviticus was dispensable.

And after the thing was done, when the king desired the Lutheran divines to approve his second marriage, they begged his excuse in a writing which they sent over to him ; so that Melancthon not allowing the thing when it was done, cannot be imagined to have advised polygamy beforehand. And to open at once all that may clear the sense of the protestants in the question, when, some years after this, Fox being made bishop of Hereford, and much inclined to their doctrine, was sent over to get the divines of Germany to approve of the divorce, and the subsequent marriage of Anne Boleyn ; he found that Melancthon and others had no mind to enter much into the dispute about it, both for fear of the emperor and because they judged the king was led in it by dishonest affections : they also thought the laws in Leviticus were not moral, and did not oblige Christians, and since there were no rules made about the degrees of marriage in the gospel, they thought princes and states might make what laws they pleased about it : yet after much disputing they were induced to change their minds, but could not be brought to think that a marriage once made might be annulled, and therefore demurred upon that, as will appear by the conclusion they passed upon it, to be found at the end of this volume. All this I have set together here, to give a right representation of the judgments of the several parties of Christendom about this matter.

It cannot be denied that the protestants did express great sincerity in this matter ; such as became men of conscience who were acted by true principles, and not by maxims of policy. For if these had governed them, they had struck in more compliantly with so great a prince, who was then alienated from the pope and in very ill terms with the emperor : so that to have gained him by a full compliance to have protected them, was the wisest thing they

And Calvin.
Epist. 384.

Lord Herb.
from an Orig.
Lect. Sept. 18,
1530.

The opinion
of the Lu-
theran Di-
vines.

Instructions
sent by Dr.
Barns to
Cromwell,
Cott. Lib.
Vitel. B. 13.

They con-
demn the
King's first
marriage, but
are against a
second.
Collect.
Numb. 35.

could do ; and their being so cold in the matter of his marriage, in which he had engaged so deeply, was a thing which would very much provoke him against them. But such measures as these, though they very well became the apostolic see, yet they were unworthy of men who designed to restore an apostolic religion.

The earl of Wiltshire, with the other ambassadors, when they had their audience of the pope at Bononia, refused to pay him the submission of kissing his foot, though Fox. he graciously stretched it out to them, but went to their business, and expostulated in the king's name, and in high words : and in conclusion told the pope that the prerogative of the crown of England was such that their master would not suffer any citation to be made of him to any foreign court ; and that therefore the king would not have his cause tried at Rome. The pope answered, that though the queen's solicitor had pressed him to proceed in the citation, both that her marriage, being further examined, might receive a new confirmation for silencing the disputes about it, and because the king had withdrawn himself from her ; yet if the king did not go further, and did not innovate in religion, the pope was willing to let the matter rest. They went next to the emperor, to justify the king's proceedings in the suit of the divorce. But he told them he was bound in honour and justice to support his aunt, and that he would not abandon her.

Cranmer offers to maintain the king's cause. Cranmer offered to maintain what he had written in his book, but whether they went so far as to make their divines enter into any discourse with him about it I do not know. This appears, that the pope, to put a compliment on the king, declared Cranmer his penitentiary in England. He having staid some months at Rome after the ambassadors were gone, went into Germany, where he became acquainted with Cornelius Agrippa*, a man very famous for great and curious learning, and so satisfied him in the king's cause that he gave it out that the thing was clear and indisputable ; for which he was afterwards hardly used by the emperor, and died in prison.

But when the king received the determinations and conclusions of the universities, and other learned men beyond sea, he resolved to do two things.—First, to make a new attempt upon the pope, and then to publish those conclusions to the world, with the arguments upon which they were grounded. But to make his address to the pope carry more terror with it, he got a letter to be signed by a great many members of parliament, to the pope. The lord Herbert saith it was done by his parliament, but in that he had not applied his ordinary diligence : the letter bears date the 13th of July. Now, by the records of parliament, it appears there could be no session at that time, for there was a prorogation from the 21st of June till the 1st of October that year : but the letter was sent about to the chief members for their hands ; and Cavendish tells how it was brought to the cardinal, and with what

* Henry Cornelius Agrippa was born at Cologne, on the 14th of September, 1486, of the noble family of Nettesheim. He very early entered into the service of the emperor Maximilian, and acted at first as his secretary ; but afterwards embracing the profession of arms, he served some years with the army in Italy, where he distinguished himself in several engagements and was knighted for his gallantry. Turning from arms to letters, he took the degrees of doctor of laws and physic. He was a man of extensive genius, well skilled in many parts of knowledge, and master of a variety of languages ; but his insatiable curiosity, the freedom of his pen, and the inconstancy of his temper, involved him in so many vicissitudes, that his life became a series of adventures. After a changeful career, acting sometimes as a public lecturer in universities, sometimes as the trusted servant of princes, and sometimes being in want of bread ; he ended his days at Grenoble, in 1535, but not in prison as Burnet supposed. He was a bitter enemy of the monks, whom he satirized without mercy ; and by them he was accused of Lutheranism, though apparently without reason.

His fame chiefly rests upon the magical skill imputed to him ; he in fact prided himself upon his knowledge of the occult sciences, on which he wrote a treatise, and he pro-

noted the establishment of secret societies for its study, one of which he founded in London, where he was sent in 1510, on some commission probably relative to the treaty between Henry VIII. and the French king.

Bayle disproves Burnet's assertion that he was an advocate for the divorce of Henry VIII. He says that the ambassador of the emperor at London wrote to Agrippa, desiring him to support the interests of the queen : Agrippa replied, that he would readily engage if the emperor would give him orders for that purpose ; and declares that he detested the base compliance of those divines who approved of the divorce : and with regard to the Sorbonne, " I am not ignorant," says he, " by what arts this affair was carried on in the Sorbonne at Paris, who, by their rashness, have given sanction to an example of such wickedness. When I consider it, I can scarce contain myself from exclaiming, in imitation of Persius, ' Say, ye Sorbonnists, what has gold to do with divinity ? ' What piety and faith shall we imagine to be in their breasts, whose consciences are more venal than sincere, and who have sold their judgments and decisions, which ought to be revered by all the Christian world, and have now sullied the reputation they had established for faith and sincerity, by infamous avarice."—Ed.

cheerfulness he set his hand to it. It was subscribed by the cardinal and the archbishop of Canterbury, four bishops, two dukes, two marquesses, thirteen earls, two viscounts, twenty-three barons, twenty-two abbots, and eleven commoners, most of these being the king's servants.

The contents of the letters were, "that their near relation to the king made them address thus to the pope. The king's cause was now, in the opinion of the learned men and universities, both in England, France, and Italy, found just, which ought to prevail so far with the pope, that though none moved in it, and notwithstanding any contradiction, he ought to confirm their judgment; especially it touching a king and kingdom, to whom he was so much obliged. But since neither the justice of the cause, nor the king's most earnest desires, had prevailed with him, they were all forced to complain of that strange usage of their king; who both by his authority and with his pen had supported the apostolic see and the catholic faith, and yet was now denied justice. From which they apprehended great mischief and civil wars, which could only be prevented by the king's marrying another wife, of whom he might have issue. This could not be done till his present marriage were annulled. And if the pope would still refuse to do this, they must conclude that they were abandoned by him, and so seek for other remedies. This they most earnestly prayed him to prevent, since they did not desire to go to extremities till there was no more to be hoped for at his hands."

To this the pope made answer, the twenty-seventh of September.—"He took notice of the vehemency of their letter, which he forgave them, imputing it to their great affection to their king. They had charged him with ingratitude and injustice, two grievous imputations. He acknowledged all they wrote of the obligations he owed to their king, which were far greater than they called them, both on the apostolic see, and himself in particular. But in the king's cause he had been so far from denying justice, that he was oft charged as having been too partial to him. He had granted a commission to two legates to hear it, rather out of favour than in rigour of law; upon which the queen had appealed: he had delayed the admitting of it as long as was possible; but when he saw it could not be any longer denied to be heard, it was brought before the consistory, where all the cardinals, with one consent, found that the appeal, and an avocation of the cause, must be granted. That since that time the king had never desired to put it to a trial, but on the contrary, by his ambassadors at Bononia, moved for a delay: and in that posture it was still, nor could he give sentence in a thing of such consequence, when it was not so much as sought for. For the conclusions of universities and learned men, he had seen none of them from any of the king's ambassadors. It was true, some of them had been brought to him another way; but in them there were no reasons given, but only bare conclusions, and he had also seen very important things for the other side; and therefore he must not precipitate a sentence in a cause of such high importance till all things were fully heard and considered. He wished their king might have male issue, but he was not in God's stead to give it. And for their threatenings of seeking other remedies, they were neither agreeable to their wisdom nor to their religion. Therefore he admonished them to abstain from such counsels; but minded them that it is not the physician's fault if the patient will do himself hurt. He knew the king would never like such courses; and though he had a just value for their intercession, yet he considered the king much more, to whom as he had never denied anything that he could grant with his honour, so he was very desirous to examine this matter, and to put it to a speedy issue, and would do everything that he could without offending God."

But the king either seeing the pope resolved to grant nothing, or apprehending that some bull might be brought into England in behalf of the queen or the disgraced cardinal, did, on the nineteenth of September, put forth a proclamation against any "who purchased anything from Rome or elsewhere, contrary to his royal prerogative and authority, or should publish or divulge any such thing; requiring them not to do it, under the pains of incurring his indignation, imprisonment, and other punishments on their persons." This was founded on the statutes of Provisors and Premunires. But that being done, he resolved next to publish to the world, and to his subjects, the justice of his cause: therefore some learned men were appointed to compare

This Letter
and the An-
swer are print-
ed by the
Lord Her-
bert.

The Pope's
Answer.

A Proclama-
tion against
Bulls from
Rome.
Lord Herbert.

all that had been written on it, and out of all the transcripts of the manuscripts, of fathers and councils, to gather together whatsoever did strengthen it. Several of these manuscripts I have seen ; one is in Mr. Smith's library, where are the quotations of the fathers, councils, schoolmen, and canonists, written out at length. There are three other such MSS. in the Cotton Library, of which one contains a large vindication of these authorities, from some exceptions made to them ; another is an answer to the bishop of Rochester's book for the queen's cause. A third digests the matter into twelve articles, which the reader will find in my Appendix ; and these are there enlarged on and proved. But all these, and many more, were summed up in a short book, and printed first in Latin, then in English, with the determinations of the universities before it. These are of such weight and importance, and give so great a light to the whole matter, that I hope the reader will not be ill pleased to have a short abstract of them laid before him.

An Abstract of those things which were written for the Divorce.

"The law of marriage was originally given by God to Adam in the state of innocence, with this declaration,—that man and wife were one flesh ; but being afterwards corrupted by the incestuous commixtures of those which were of kin in the nearest degrees, the primitive law was again revived by Moses. And he gives many rules and prohibitions about the degrees of kindred and affinity, which are not to be looked on as new laws and judiciary precepts, but as a restoring of the law of nature originally given by God, but then much corrupted. For as the preface, which is so oft repeated before these laws, 'I am the Lord,' insinuates that they were conform to the divine nature ; so the consequences of them show they were moral and natural. For the breaches of them are called 'wickedness' and 'abomination,' and are said 'to defile the land ;' and the violation of them is charged on the Canaanites, by which the land was polluted, and for which it did vomit out the inhabitants. From whence it must be concluded, that these were not positive precepts which did only bind the Jews, but were parts of the law of mankind and nature ; otherwise those nations could contract no guilt by their violating them. Among the forbidden degrees, one is, 'Thou shalt not discover the nakedness of thy brother's wife, it is thy brother's nakedness.' And it is again repeated, 'If a man shall take his brother's wife, it is an unclean thing, he hath uncovered his brother's nakedness, they shall be childless.' These are clear and express laws of God, which therefore must needs oblige all persons of what rank soever, without exception.

"In the New Testament, St. John Baptist said to Herod, 'It is not lawful for thee to take thy brother's wife,' which shows that these laws of Moses were still obligatory. St. Paul also, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, condemns the incestuous person for having his father's wife, which is one of the degrees forbidden by the law of Moses, and calls it 'a fornication not so much as named among the Gentiles.' From whence it is inferred, that these forbidden degrees are excluded by the law of nature, since the Gentiles did not admit them. St. Paul also, calling it by the common name of fornication, within which, according to that place, all undue commixtures of men and women are included ; therefore those places in the New Testament that condemn fornication, do also condemn marriages in forbidden degrees : our Saviour did also assert the foundation of affinity, by saying, 'that man and wife are one flesh.'

"But in all controverted things the sense of the Scriptures must be taken from the tradition of the church, which no good catholic can deny : and that is to be found in the decrees of popes and councils, and in the writings of the fathers and doctors of the church : against which, if any argue from their private understanding of the Scriptures, it is the way of heresy, and savours of Lutheranism. The first of the fathers, who had occasion to write of this matter, was Tertullian, who lived within an age after the apostles. He in express words says, that the law of not marrying the brother's wife did still oblige Christians.

“The first pope, whose decision was sought in this matter, was Gregory the Great, to whom Austin, the apostle of England, wrote for his resolution of some things in which he desired direction; and one of these is, ‘Whether a man may marry his brother’s wife?’ (who in the language of that time was called his kinswoman). The pope answered negatively, and proved it by the law of Moses; and therefore defined, ‘that if any of the English nation, who had married within that degree, were converted to the faith, he must be admonished to abstain from his wife, and to look on such a marriage as a most grievous sin.’ From which it appears, that that good pope did judge it a thing which by no means could be dispensed with, otherwise he had not pressed it so much under such circumstances; since, in the first conversion of a nation to the Christian faith, the insisting too much upon it might have kept back many from receiving the Christian religion, who were otherwise well inclined to it. Calixtus*, Zacarius†, and Innocent III.‡, have plainly asserted the obligation of these precepts in the law of Moses, the last particularly, who treats about it with great vehemency: so that the apostolic see has already judged the matter.

“Several provincial councils have also declared the obligation of the precepts about the degrees of marriage in Leviticus, by the council at Neocæsaria: ‘If a woman had been married to two brothers, she was to be cast out of the communion of the church till her death, and the man that married his brother’s wife was to be anathematised§,’ which was also confirmed in a council held by pope Gregory II.||. In the council of Agde, where the degrees that make a marriage incestuous are reckoned, this of marrying the brother’s wife is one of them: and there it was decreed, ‘that all marriages within these degrees were null, and the parties so contracting were to be cast out of the communion of the church, and put among the catechumens till they separated themselves from one another¶.’ And, in the second council of Toledo**, the authority of the Mosaical prohibitions about the degrees of marriage is acknowledged. It was one of Wickliff’s errors, that the prohibition of marriage within such degrees was without any foundation in the law of God; for which, and other points, he was condemned first in a convocation at London, then at Oxford, and, last of all, at the general council of Constance these condemnations were confirmed. So formally had the church in many provincial councils, and in one that was general, decided this matter.

“Next to these the opinions of the fathers were to be considered. In the Greek church Origen†† first had occasion to treat about it, writing on Leviticus; and Chrysostom†† after him; but most fully St. Basil the Great§§, who do expressly assert the obligations of these precepts. The last particularly, refuting at great length the opinion of some who thought the marrying two sisters was not unlawful, lays it down as a foundation, that the laws in Leviticus about marriage were still in force. Hesyehius||| also, writing upon Leviticus, proves that these prohibitions were universally obligatory, because both the Egyptians and Canaanites are taxed for marrying within these degrees; from whence, he infers, they are of moral and eternal obligation.

“From the Greek they went to the Latin Fathers, and alleged, as was already observed, that Tertullian held the same opinion, and with him agreed the three great doctors of the Latin church, Ambrose¶¶, Jerome***, and St. Austin†††, who do plainly deliver the tradition of the church about the obligation of those laws, and answer the objections that were made either from Abraham’s marrying his sister or from Jacob’s marrying two sisters, or the law in Deuteronomy for the brother’s marrying his brother’s wife, if he died without children.

“They observed that the same doctrine was also taught by the fathers and doctors in the latter ages. Anselm††† held it, and pleads much for marrying in remote degrees, and answers the objection from the decision in the case of the

* Ad omnes Gallie Episcopos.

† 30. Quest. 3. cap. Pitamum.

‡ De Pres. cap. cum in Juventutem.

§ Can. 2. || Chap. 5. ¶ Can. 61. ** Chap. 5.

†† In 20. Levit. ‡‡ Homil. 71. on 22 Mat.

§§ Epist. ad Diodor.

¶¶ Lib. 8. Ep. 66.

*** Cont. Helvidium.

††† Cont. Faust. chap. 8, 9, 10, et Quest. 64. in Lev. Ad Bonfac. lib. 3. chap. 4. lib. 15. de Civ. Dei, chap. 16. ‡‡‡ In Epist. ad Pium Præstem.

|| On Levit. 18. and 20.

daughters of Zelophehad. Hugo Cardinalis*, Radulphus Flaviacensis, and Rupertus Tuitiensis, do agree that these precepts are moral, and of perpetual obligation; as also Hugo† de Sto. Victore. Hildebert‡, bishop of Mans, being consulted in a case of the same nature with what is now controverted, plainly determines, ‘that a man may not marry his brother’s wife;’ and by many authorities shows, that by no means it can be allowed. And Ivo Carnotensis§ being desired to give his opinion in a case of the same circumstances,—of a king’s marrying his brother’s wife,—says, ‘Such a marriage is null, as inconsistent with the law of God, and that the king was not to be admitted to the communion of the church till he put away his wife, since there was no dispensing with the law of God, and no sacrifice could be offered for those that continued willingly in sin.’ Passages also to the same purpose are in other places of his epistles.

“From these doctors and fathers the inquiry descended to the schoolmen, who had with more niceness and subtlety examined things. They do all agree in asserting the obligation of these Levitical prohibitions. Thomas Aquinas does it in many places, and confirms it with many arguments. Altisiodorensis says, they are moral laws, and part of the law of nature. Petrus de Palude is of the same mind, and says, that a man’s marrying his brother’s wife was a dispensation granted by God, but could not be now allowed, because it was contrary to the law of nature. St. Antonine of Florence, Joannes de Turre Cremata, Joannes de Tabia, Jacobus de Lausania, and Astexanus, were also cited for the same opinion. And those who wrote against Wickliff, namely, Wydeford¶, Cotton**, and Waldensis††, charged him with heresy, for denying that those prohibitions did oblige Christians. And asserted that they were moral laws which obliged all mankind. And the books of Waldensis were approved by pope Martin I. There were also many quotations brought out of Petrus de Tarantasia, Durandus, Stephanus Brulifer, Richardus de Media Villa, Guido Briancon, Gerson, Paulus Ritus, and many others, to confirm the same opinion, who did all unanimously assert, that those laws in Leviticus are parts of the law of nature, which oblige all mankind, and that marriages contracted in these degrees are null and void. All the canonists were also of the same mind, Joannes Andreas, Joannes de Imola, Abbas Panormitanus, Mattheus Neru, Vincentius, Innocentius, and Ostiensis, all concluded that these laws were still in force, and could not be dispensed with.

There was also a great deal alleged to prove that “a marriage is completed by the marriage contract, though it be never consummated. Many authorities were brought to prove that Adonijah could not marry Abishag, because she was his father’s wife, though never known by him. And by the law of Moses a woman espoused to a man, if she admitted another to her bed, was to be stoned as an adulteress; from whence it appears, that the validity of marriage is from the mutual covenant. And though Joseph never knew the blessed virgin, yet he was so much her husband by the espousals, that he could not put her away, but by a bill of divorce: and was afterwards called her husband, and Christ’s father. Affinity had been also defined by all writers, ‘a relation arising out of marriage,’ and since marriage was a sacrament of the church, its essence could only consist in the contract; and therefore as a man in orders has the character, though he never consecrated any sacrament: so marriage is complete, though its effect never follow. And it was showed that the canonists had only brought in the consummation of marriage as essential to it by ecclesiastical law. But that as Adam and Eve were perfectly married before they knew one another, so marriage was complete upon the contract; and what followed was only an effect done in the right of the marriage. And there was a great deal of filly stuff brought together, of the different opinions of the canonists concerning consummation, to what degree it must go, to show that it could not be essential to the marriage contract, which in modesty were suppressed. Both Hildebert of Mans, Ivo

* On 18 Lev.

† Lib. 2 de Sacram. p. 2, chap. 4, art. 2.

‡ Epist. ad Arch. Rotomag. et Epis. Sug.

§ Epist. 240.

¶ Cont. Wickl. art. 3.

** De licitis et illicitis Conjugiis.

†† Lib. de Sacram. tom. 2. C. 134.

Carnotensis, and Hugo de Sto. Victoire, had delivered this opinion, and proved it out of St. Chrysostom, Ambrose, Austin, and Isidore. Pope Nicolas, and the council of Tribur, defined, that marriage was completed by the consent and the benediction. From all which they concluded, that although it could not be proved that Prince Arthur knew the queen, yet that she being once lawfully married to him the king could not afterwards marry her.

It was also said, “that violent presumptions were sufficient, in the opinion of the canonists, to prove consummation. Formal proofs could not be expected; and for persons that were of age, and in good health, to be in bed together, was in all trials about consummation all that the canonists sought for. And yet this was not all in this case, for it appeared that, upon her husband’s death, she was kept with great care by some ladies ‘who did think her with child; and she never said anything against it. And in the petition offered to the pope in her name, (repeated in the bull that was procured for the second marriage,) it is said, she was perhaps known by prince Arthur; and in the breve, it is plainly said, she was known by prince Arthur, and though the queen offered to purge herself by oath that prince Arthur never knew her, it was proved by many authorities out of the canon law, that a party’s oath ought not to be taken when there were violent presumptions to the contrary.

“As for the validity of the pope’s dispensation, it was said, that though the schoolmen and canonists did generally raise the pope’s power very high, and stretch it as far as it was possible; yet they all agreed that it could not reach the king’s case: upon this received maxim, ‘that only the laws of the church are subject to the pope, and may be dispensed with by him; but that laws of God are above him, and that he cannot dispense with them in any case.’ This Aquinas delivers in many places of his works. Petrus de Palude says, the pope cannot dispense with marriage in these degrees, because it is against nature. But Joannes de Turre Cremata reports a singular case, which fell out when he was a cardinal. A king of France desired a dispensation to marry his wife’s sister. The matter was long considered of, and debated in the Rota, himself being there, and bearing a share in the debate; but it was concluded, that if any pope either out of ignorance, or being corrupted, had ever granted such a dispensation, that could be no precedent or warrant for doing the like any more, since the church ought to be governed by laws, and not by such examples. Antonin, and Joannes de Tabia, held the same. And one Bacon an Englishman, who had taught the contrary, was censured for it even at Rome, and he did retract his opinion, and acknowledged, that the pope could not dispense with the degrees of marriage forbidden by the law of God.

“The canonists agree also to this; both Joannes Andreas, Joannes de Imola, and Abbas Panormitanus assert it, saying, that the precepts in Leviticus oblige for ever, and therefore cannot be dispensed with. And Panormitan says, ‘these things are to be observed in practice, because great princes do often desire dispensations from popes.’ Pope Alexander III. would not suffer a citizen of Pavia to marry his younger son to the widow of his eldest son, though he had sworn to do it. For the pope said, it was against the law of God, therefore it might not be done, and he was to repent of his unlawful oath.

“And for the power of dispensing even with the laws of the church by popes, it was brought in in the latter ages. All the fathers with one consent believed, that the laws of God could not be dispensed with by the church, for which many places were cited out of St. Cyprian, Basil, Ambrose, Isidore, Bernard, and Urban, Fabian, Marcellus, and Innocent, that were popes; besides an infinite number of later writers. And also the popes Zosimus, Damasus, Leo, and Hilarius did freely acknowledge they could not change the decrees of the church, nor go against the opinions or practices of the fathers. And since the apostles confessed, ‘they could do nothing against the truth, but for the truth;’ the pope being Christ’s vicar, cannot be supposed to have so great a power as to abrogate the law of God: and though it is acknowledged, that he is vested with a fulness of power, yet the phrase must be restrained to the matter of it, which is the pastoral care of souls. And though there

Violent pre-
sumptions of
the consum-
mation of
Prince Ar-
thur’s Mar-
riage.

The Pope’s
Dispensation
of no force.

In Quodlib.
lib. 4. art.
13. et in 4^{ta}.
dist. 15. Q.
3. art. 2.
Sup. Cap.
Conjunctionis
35. Q. 2.
et 3.

Sup. Cap.
Litteras de
Rest. Spons.
Cap. ad Au-
dien. Spousal.

was no court superior to the pope's, yet as St. Paul had withstood St. Peter to his face; so in all ages upon several occasions, holy bishops have refused to comply with, or submit to orders sent from Rome, when they thought the matter of them unlawful.

"Laurence that succeeded Austin the monk in the see of Canterbury, having excommunicated king Edbald * for an incestuous marriage, would not absolve him till he put away his wife; though the pope plied him earnestly both by entreaties and threatenings to let it alone, and absolve him. Dunstan did the like to count Edwin for another incestuous marriage; nor did all the pope's interposition make him give over. They found many other such instances which occurred in the ecclesiastical history, of bishops proceeding by censures and other methods to stop the course of sin, notwithstanding any encouragement the parties had from popes.

"And it is certain, that every man when he finds himself engaged in any course, which is clearly sinful, ought presently to forsake it, according to the opinion of all divines. And therefore the king upon these evidences of the unlawfulness of his marriage ought to abstain from the queen; and the archbishop of Canterbury, with the other bishops, ought to require him to do it, otherwise they must proceed to church censures. Many things were also brought from reason (or at least the maxims of the school philosophy, which passed for true reason in those days,) to prove marriage in the degrees forbidden by Moses to be contrary to the law of nature; and much was alleged out of profane authors, to show what an abhorrence some heathen nations had of incestuous marriages.

"And whereas the chief strength of the arguments for the contrary opinion rested in this, that these laws of Moses were not confirmed by Christ or his apostles in the New Testament. To that they answered, that if the laws about marriage were moral, as had been proved, then there was no need of a particular confirmation, since those words of our Saviour, 'I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it,' do confirm the whole moral law. Christ had also expressly asserted the relation of affinity, saying, 'that man and wife are one flesh.' St. Paul also condemned a match as incestuous for affinity. But though it were not expressly set down in the gospel, yet the traditions of the church are received with equal authority to written verities. This the court of Rome, and all the learned writers for the catholic faith, lay down as a fundamental truth. And without it, how could the seven sacraments (some of which are not mentioned in the New Testament), with many other articles of catholic belief, be maintained against the heretics? The tradition of the church being so full and formal in this particular, must take place: and if any corruptions have been brought in by some popes within an age or two, which have never had any other authority from the decrees of the church, or the opinions of learned men, they are not to be maintained in opposition to the evidence that is brought on the other side."

This I have summed up in as short and comprehensive words as I could, being the substance of what I gathered out of the printed books and manuscripts for the king's cause. But the fidelity of an historian leads me next to open the arguments that were brought against it by those who wrote on the other side for the queen's cause, to prove the validity of the marriage, and the pope's power of dispensing with a marriage in that degree of affinity.

I could never, by all the search I have made, see either MSS. or printed books that defended their cause, except Cajetan's and Victoria's, books that are printed in their works†. But from an answer that was written to the bishop of Rochester's book, and from some other writings on the other side, I gather the substance of their arguments to have been what follows:—

"Cardinal Cajetan had by many arguments endeavoured to prove that the prohibitions

* Laurence did not excommunicate Edbald, nor could he; Edbald being yet a heathen; and upon his conversion he put away his wife. Bed. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 5. 6. Malms. lib. 1.—ANON. CORRECT.

† There was a book printed at Lunenburg. anno 1532, dedicated to the emperor's ambassador in England, Eusta-

thius Chapnysius, &c. It is against the divorce, and charges very indirect practices on the other side by moneys and bribes, &c. Cochleus likewise wrote against the divorce *ad Paulum Tertium*; but whether his book was printed before the year 1535, I do not know. It was then printed in 4to.—ANON. CORRECT.

in Leviticus were not parts of the moral law. They were not observed before the law, no not by the holy seed. Adam's children married one another:—Abraham married his sister, Jacob married two sisters, Judah gave his two sons to Tamar, and promised to give her the third for her husband. By the law of Moses a dispensation was granted in one case for marrying the brother's wife, which shows the law was not moral, otherwise it could not be dispensed with; and if Moses dispensed with it, why might not the pope as well do it? nor was there any force in the places cited from the New Testament. As for that of Herod, both Josephus and Eusebius witness that his brother Philip was alive when he took his wife, and so his sin was adultery, and not incest. We must also think that the incestuous person in Corinth took his father's wife when he was yet living, otherwise, if he had been dead, St. Paul could not say it was 'a fornication not named among the Gentiles,' for we not only find both among the Persians and other nations the marriage of step-mothers allowed, but even among the Jews, Adonijah desired Abisha in marriage, who had been his father's concubine."

From all which they concluded, "that the laws about the degrees of marriage were only judiciary precepts, and so there was no other obligation on Christians to obey them than what flowed from the laws of the church, with which the pope might dispense. They also said that the law in Leviticus, of not taking the brother's wife, must be understood of not taking her while he was alive; for after he was dead, by another law, a man might marry his brother's wife.

"They also pleaded that the pope's power of dispensing did reach further than the laws of the church, even to the law of God, for he daily dispensed with the breaking of oaths and vows, though that was expressly contrary to the second commandment; and though the fifth command, 'Thou shalt do no murder,' be against killing, yet the pope dispensed with the putting thieves to death, and in some cases, where the reason of the commandment does not at all times hold, he is the only judge, according to *Summa Angelica*. They concluded the pope's power of dispensing was as necessary as his power of expounding the Scriptures; and since there was a question made concerning the obligation of these Levitical prohibitions, whether they were moral, and did oblige Christians or not, the pope must be the only judge. There were also some late precedents found, one of pope Martin, who in the case of a man's having married his own sister*, who had lived long with her, upon a consultation with divines and lawyers, confirmed it, to prevent the scandal which the dissolving of it would have given. Upon which St. Antonin of Florence says, that since the thing was dispensed with, it was to be referred to the judgment of God, and not to be condemned.

"The pope had granted his dispensation upon a very weighty consideration, to keep peace between two great crowns; it had now stood above twenty years: it would therefore raise a high scandal to bring it under debate, besides that it would do much hurt, and bring the titles to most crowns into controversy.

"But they concluded that whatever informalities or nullities were pretended to be in the bulls or breves, the pope was the only competent judge of it, and that it was too high a presumption for inferior prelates to take upon them to examine or discuss it."

But to these arguments it was answered by the writers for the king's cause, "that it was strange to see men who pretended to be such enemies to all heretical novelties, yet be guilty of that which Catholic doctors hold to be the foundation of all heresy; which was the setting up of private senses of Scripture, and reasonings from them, against the doctrine and tradition of the church. It was fully made out that the fathers and doctors of the church did universally agree in this, that the Levitical prohibitions of the degrees of marriage are moral, and do oblige all Christians. Against this authority Cajetan was the first that presumed to write, opposing his private conceits to the tradition of the church, which is the same thing for which Luther and his followers are so severely condemned. May it not then be justly said of such men, that they plead much for tradition when it makes for them, but reject it when it is against them? Therefore all these exceptions are overthrown with this one maxim of Catholic doctrine, 'That they are novelties against

The Answers made to these.

* Not his own sister, but his wife's own sister; or the sister of one whom he had carnally known.—Antonin. Flor. par. 3. tit. 1. cap. 11.—ANON. CORRECT.

the constant tradition of the Christian church, in all ages.' But if the force of them be also examined, they will be found as weak as they are new. That before the law these degrees were not observed, proves only that they are not evidently contrary to the common sense of all men ; but as there are some moral precepts which have that natural evidence in them, that all men must discern it, so there are others that are drawn from public inconvenience and dishonesty, which are also parts of the law of nature. These prohibitions are not of the first, but of the second sort, since the immorality of them appears in this, that the familiarities and freedoms among near relations are such, that if a horror were not struck in men at conjunctures in these degrees, families would be much defiled. This is the foundation of the prohibitions of marriages in these degrees, therefore it is not strange if men did not apprehend it, before God made a law concerning it. Therefore all examples before the law show only the thing is not so evident as to be easily collected by the light of nature. And for the story of Judah and Tamar, there is so much wickedness in all the parts of it, that it will be very hard to make a precedent out of any part of it. As for the provision about marrying the brother's wife, that only proves the ground of the law is not of its own nature immutable, but may be dispensed with by God in some cases. And all these moral laws, that are founded on public conveniency and honesty, are dispensable by God in some cases ; but because Moses did it by divine revelation, it does not follow that the pope can do it by his ordinary authority.

"For that about Herod, it is not clear from Josephus that Philip was alive when Herod married his wife. For all that Josephus says is, that she separated from her husband, when he was yet alive, and divorced herself from him. But he does not say, that he lived still after she married his brother. And by the law of divorce marriage was at an end, and broken by it as much as if the party had been dead ; so that, in that case, she might have married any other : therefore Herod's sin in taking her was from the relation of having been his brother's wife. And for the incestuous person in Corinth, it is as certain, that though some few instances of a king of Syria and some others may be brought of sons marrying their stepmothers, yet these things were generally ill looked on, even where they were practised by some princes, who made their pleasure their law. Nor could the laws of Leviticus be understood, of not marrying the brother's wife when he was alive ; for it was not lawful to take any man's wife from him living. Therefore that cannot be the meaning. And all those prohibitions of marriage in other degrees, excluding those marriages simply, whether during the life, or after the death of the father, son, uncle, and other such relations, there is no ground to disjoint this so much from the rest, as to make it only extend to a marriage before the husband's death. And for any precedents that were brought, they were all in the latter ages, and were never confirmed by any public authority. Nor must the practices of later popes be laid in the balance against the decisions of former popes, and the doctrine of the whole church ; and as to the power that was ascribed to the pope, that began now to be inquired into with great freedom, as shall appear afterwards."

These reasons on both sides being thus opened, the censures of them, it is like, will be as different now as they were then : for they prevailed very little on the queen, who still persisted to justify her marriage, and to stand to her appeal. And though the king carried it very kindly to her in all outward appearance, and employed everybody that had credit with her to bring her to submit to him, and to pass from her appeal, remitting the decision of the matter to any four prelates, and four secular men in England, she was still unmovable, and would hearken to no proposition. In the judgments that people passed, the sexes were divided ; the men generally approved the king's cause, and the women favoured the queen. But now the session of parliament came on the 16th of January, and there the king first brought in to the House of Lords the determination of the universities, and the books that were written for his cause by foreigners. After they were read and considered there, the lord chancellor did on the 20th of March, with twelve lords both of the spirituality and temporality, go down to the House of Commons, and showed them what the universities and learned men beyond sea had written for the divorce, and produced twelve original papers, with the seals of the universities to them, which sir Brian Tuke took out of his hand, and

read openly in the house, translating the Latin into English. Then about a hundred books written by foreign divines, for the divorce, were also showed them; none of which were read, but put off to another time, it being late. When that was done, the lord chancellor desired they would report in their countries, "what they had heard and seen, and then all men should clearly perceive that the king hath not attempted this matter of will and pleasure, as strangers say, but only for the discharge of his conscience, and the security of the succession to the crown." Having said that, he left the house. The matter was also brought before the convocation; and they having weighed all that was said on both sides, seemed satisfied that the marriage was unlawful, and that the bull was of no force, more not being required at that time.

But it is not strange that this matter went so easily in the convocation, when another of far greater consequence passed there, which will require a full and distinct account. Cardinal Wolsey by exercising his legantine authority had fallen into a premunire, as hath been already shown; and now those who had appeared in his courts, and had suits there, were found to be likewise in the same guilt by the law; and this matter, being excepted out of the pardon that was granted in the former parliament, was at this time set on foot: therefore an indictment was brought into the King's Bench, against all the clergy of England, for breaking the statutes against provisions or provisors. But to open this more clearly,

It is to be considered, that the kings of England having claimed in all ages a power in ecclesiastical matters equal to what the Roman emperors had in that empire, they exercised this authority both over the clergy and laity, and did at first erect bishoprics, grant investitures in them, call synods, make laws about sacred as well as civil concerns, and, in a word, they governed their whole kingdom. Yet when the bishops of Rome did stretch their power beyond either the limits of it in the primitive church, or what was afterward granted them by the Roman emperors, and came to assume an authority in all the churches of Europe, as they found some resistance everywhere, so they met with a great deal in this kingdom; and it was with much difficulty that they gained the power of giving investitures, receiving appeals to Rome, and of sending legates to England, with several other things, which were long contested, but were delivered up at length, either by feeble princes, or when kings were so engaged at home or abroad, that it was not safe for them to offend the clergy. For in the first contest between the kings and the popes, the clergy were generally on the pope's side, because of the immunity and protection they enjoyed from that see; but when popes became ambitious and warlike princes, then new projects and taxes were everywhere set on foot, to raise a great treasure.

The pall, with many bulls and high compositions for them, annates, or first-fruits, and tenths, were the standing taxes of the clergy, besides many new ones upon emergent occasions. So that they finding themselves thus oppressed by the popes, fled again back to the crown for protection, which their predecessors had abandoned.

From the days of Edward the First, many statutes were made to restrain the exactions of Rome. For then the popes, not satisfied with their other oppressions, (which a monk of that time lays open fully, and from a deep sense of them), did by provisions, bulls, and other arts of that see, dispose of bishoprics, abbeys, and lesser benefices to foreigners, cardinals, and others that did not live in England. Upon which the commonalty of the realm did represent to the king in parliament, "that the bishoprics, abbeys, and other benefices were founded by the kings and people of England to inform the people of the law of God, and to make hospitality, alms, and other works of charity, for which end they were endowed by the king and people of England; and that the king, and his other subjects who endowed them, had, upon voidances, the presentment and collations of them, which now the pope had usurped and given to aliens, by which the crown would be disinherited, and the ends of their endowments destroyed, with other great inconveniences:" therefore it was ordained, "that these oppressions should not be suffered in any manner." But notwithstanding this, the abuse went on, and there was no effectual way laid down in the act to punish these transgressions. The court of Rome was not so easily driven out of anything

that either increased their power or their profits ; therefore by another act in his grandchild Edward III.'s time, the Commons complained, " that these abuses did abound, and that the pope did daily reserve to his collation, church-preferments in England, and raised the first-fruits, with other great profits, by which the treasure of the realm was carried out of it, and many clerks advanced in the realm were put out of their benefices by those provisors ; therefore the king, being bound by oath to see the laws kept, did with the assent of all the great men and the commonalty of the realm, ordain that the free elections, presentments, and collations of benefices should stand in the right of the crown, or of any of his subjects as they had formerly enjoyed them, notwithstanding any provisions from Rome. And if any did disturb the incumbents by virtue of such provisions, those provisors, or others employed by them, were to be put in prison till they made fine and ransom to the king at his will ; or if they could not be apprehended, writs were to be issued out to seize them, and all benefices possessed by them were to fall into the king's hands, except they were abbeys or priories, that fell to the canons or colleges." By another act, " the provisors were put out of the king's protection ; and if any man offended against them, in person or goods, he was excused, and was never to be impeached for it." And two years after that, upon another complaint of their suing the king's subjects in other courts, or beyond sea, it was ordained, " that any who sued either beyond sea, or in any other court, for things that had been sued, and about which judgment had been given in former times in the king's courts, were to be cited to answer for it in the king's courts within two months ; and if they came not, they were to be put out of the king's protection, and to forfeit their lands, goods, and chattels to the king, and to be imprisoned and ransomed at the king's will." Both these statutes received a new confirmation eleven years after that. But those statutes proved ineffectual, and in the beginning of the reign of Richard II., the former acts were confirmed by another statute, and appointed to be executed ; and not only the provisors themselves, but all such as took procuratories, letters of attorney, or farms from them, were involved in the same guilt. And in the seventh year of that king, provision was made against aliens having benefices without the king's licence, and the king promised to abstain from granting them licences : for this was another artifice of the Roman court, to get the king of their side, by accepting his licence, which by this act was restrained. This failing, they betook themselves to another course, which was to prevail with the incumbents that were presented in England according to law, to take provisions for their benefices from Rome to confirm their titles. This was also forbidden under the former pains. As for the rights of presentations, by the law they were tried and judged in the king's courts ; and the bishops were to give institution according to the title declared in these judgments : this the popes had a mind to draw to themselves, and to have all titles to advowsons tried in their courts, and bishops were excommunicated who proceeded in this matter according to the law. Of which great complaint was made in the sixteenth year of the reign of Richard II. And it was added to that, that the pope intended to make many translations of bishops, some to be within, and some out of the realm, which, among other inconveniences reckoned in the statute, would produce this effect : " that the crown of England, which had been so free at all times, should be subjected to the bishop of Rome, and the laws and statutes of the realm by him defeated and destroyed at his will. They also found those things to be against the king's crown and regality, used and approved in the time of his progenitors : therefore all the Commons resolved to live and die with him and his crown, and they required him by way of justice to examine all the lords, spiritual and temporal, what they thought of those things, and whether they would be with the crown to uphold the regality of it ? To which all the temporal lords answered, they would be with the crown. But the spiritual lords being asked, said, they would neither deny nor affirm that the bishop of Rome might or might not excommunicate bishops, or make translations of prelates : but upon that protestation, they said, that if such things were done, they thought it was against the crown, and said they would be with the king, as they were bound by their leageance ;" whereupon it was ordained, " that if any did purchase translations, sentences of excommunication, bulls or other instruments from the court of Rome,

against the king or his crown, or whosoever brought them to England, or did receive or execute them, they were out of the king's protection, and that they should forfeit their goods and chattels to the king, and their persons should be imprisoned." And because the proceedings were to be upon a writ called, from the most material words of it, *premunire facies*, this was called the statute of Premunire.

When Henry IV. had treasonably usurped the crown, all the bishops (Carlisle only excepted) did assist him in it, and he did very gratefully oblige them again in other things; yet he kept up the force of the former statutes. For the Cistercian order having procured bulls, discharging them of paying tithes, and forbidding them to let their farms to any, but to possess them themselves, this was complained of in parliament in the 2d year of his reign, and those bulls were declared to be of no force; and if any did put them in execution, or procured other such bulls, they were to be proceeded against, upon the statutes made in the 13th year of the former king's reign, against provisors.

2 Hen. 4,
cap. 1.

But all this while, though they made laws for the future, yet they had not the courage to put them in execution. And this feebleness in the government made them so much despised, and so oft broken; whereas the severe execution of one law in one instance would more effectually have prevented the mischief, than all these laws did without execution.

6 Henry 4,
cap. 1.

In the 6th year of his reign, complaints being made of the excessive rates of compositions for archbishoprics and bishoprics in the pope's chamber, which were raised to the treble of what had been formerly paid, it was enacted, "that they should pay no more than had been formerly wont to be paid."

7 Hen. 4,
cap. 6. 8.

In the 7th year of his reign, the statute made in the 2d year was confirmed; and by another act, the licences which the king had granted for the executing any of the pope's bulls are declared of no force to prejudice any incumbent in his right.

17 Hen. 4,
cap. 3.

Yet the abuses and encroachments of the court of Rome still increasing, all former statutes against provisors were confirmed again, and all elections declared free, and not to be interrupted either by the pope or the king.

4 Hen. 5,
cap. 4.

But at the same time, the king pardoned all the former transgressions against these statutes. By those pardons the court of Rome was more encouraged than terrified by the laws; therefore there was a necessity of making another law in the reign of Henry V. against provisors, "that the incumbents lawfully invested in their livings should not be molested by them, though they had the king's pardon; and both bulls and licences were declared void and of no value, and those who did upon such grounds molest them should incur the pains of the statutes against provisors."

Our kings took the best opportunity that ever could have been found to depress the papal power; for, from the beginning of Richard II.'s reign till the fourth year of Henry V., the popedom was broken by a long and great schism, and the kingdoms of Europe were divided in their obedience, some holding for those that sat at Rome, and others for the popes of Avignon: England, in opposition to France, that chiefly supported the Avignon popes, did adhere to the Roman popes. The papacy being thus divided, the popes were as much at the mercy of kings for their protection, as kings had formerly been at theirs; so that they durst not thunder as they were wont to do, otherwise this kingdom had certainly been put under excommunications and interdicts for these statutes, as had been done formerly upon less provocations.

But now that the schism was healed, pope Martin the Fifth began to reassume the spirit of his predecessors, and sent over threatening messages to England in the beginning of Henry VI.'s reign. None of our books have taken any notice of this piece of our history: the manuscript out of which I draw it had been written near that time, and contains many of the letters that passed between Rome and England upon this occasion.

Ex MSS. D.
Petyt.

The first letter is to Henry Chichely, then archbishop of Canterbury, who had been promoted to that see by the pope, but had made no opposition to the statute against provisions in the fourth year of Henry V.; and afterwards in the eighth year of his reign, when the pope had granted a provision of the archbishop of York to the bishop of Lincoln, the chapter of York rejected it, and, pursuant to the former statute, made a canonical election. Henry V. being then the greatest king in Chris-

Reg. Chichel.
Fol. 39.

tendom, the pope durst not offend him : so the law took place without any further contradiction, till the sixth year of his son's reign, that England was both under an infant king, and had fallen from its former greatness : therefore the pope, who waited for a good conjuncture, laid hold on this, and first expostulated severely with the archbishop for his remissness, that he had not stood up more for the right of St. Peter and the see of Rome, that had bestowed on him the primacy of England ; and then says many things against the statute of premunire, and exhorts him to imitate the example of his predecessor St. Thomas of Canterbury the martyr, in asserting the rights of the church ; requiring him, under the pain of excommunication, to declare at the next parliament to both houses the unlawfulness of that statute, and that all were under excommunication who obeyed it. But to make sure work among the people, he also commands him to give orders, under the same pains, that all the

clergy of England should preach the same doctrine to the people. This bears
 Collect. date the 5th day of December, 1426, and will be found in the Collection of
 Numb. 37. Papers.

But it seems the pope was not satisfied with his answer, for the next letter in that MS. is yet more severe, and in it his legantine power is suspended. It has no date added to it ; but the paper that follows, bearing date the 6th of April, 1427, leads us pretty near the date of it. It contains an appeal of the archbishop's from the pope's sentence, to the next general council ; or, if none met, to the tribunal of God and Jesus Christ*.

There is also another letter, dated the 6th of May, directed to the archbishop, and makes mention of letters written to the whole clergy to the same purpose, requiring him to use all his endeavours for repealing the statute ; and chides him severely because he had said, "that the pope's zeal in this matter was only that he might raise much money out of England," which he resents as a high injury, and protests that he designed only to maintain these rights that Christ himself had granted to his see, which the holy fathers, the councils, and the catholic church has always acknowledged. If this does not look like teaching *ex cathedra*, it is left to the reader's judgment.

But the next letter is of a higher strain. It is directed to the two archbishops only, and it seems, in despite to Chicheley, the archbishop of York is named before Canterbury. By it the pope annuls the statutes made by Edward III. and Richard II., and commands them to do no act in pursuance of them ; and declares, if they or any other gave obedience to them, they were *ipso facto* excommunicated, and not to be relaxed, unless at the point of death, by any but the pope. He charges them also to intimate that, his monitory letter, to the whole nation, and cause it to be affixed in the several places where there might be occasion for it. This is dated the 8th of December, the tenth year of his popedom. Then follow letters from the university of Oxford, the archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Durham, and Lincoln, to the pope, all to mitigate his displeasure against the archbishop of Canterbury, in which they gave him the highest testimony possible, bearing date the 10th and the 25th days of July. These the archbishop sent by an express to Rome, and wrote the humblest submission possible to the pope, protesting that he had done and would do all that was in his power for repealing these statutes. One thing in this letter is remarkable : he says, "he hears the pope had proceeded to a sentence against him, which had never been done from the days of St. Austin to that time : but he knew that only by report, for he had not opened, much less read, the bulls in which it was contained ; being commanded by the king to bring them with the seals entire, and lay them up in the paper-office till the parliament was brought together."

There are two other letters to the king, and one to the parliament, for the repeal of the statute. In those to the king, the pope writes, that he had often pressed both
 And to the king and parliament to it ; and that the king had answered, that he could not
 King and Par- repeal it without the parliament. But he excepts to that, as a delaying the
 liament. business, and shows it is of itself unlawful, and that the king was under excom-
 Collect. munication as long as he kept it ; therefore he expects that at the furthest, in
 Numb. 38.

* The power of appealing was a point much controverted. Pope Pius the Second condemned it in 1549 ; yet it was used by the Venetians, 1509, and by the University of Paris, March 27, 1517.—FULMAN'S CORRECT.

the next parliament, it should be repealed. It bears date the 13th of October, in the tenth year of his popedom. In his letter to the parliament, he tells them that no man can be saved who is for the observation of that statute; therefore he requires them, under pain of damnation, to repeal it, and offers to secure them from any abuses which might have crept in formerly with these provisions. This is dated the third of October, *Decimo Pontificat.*; but I believe it is an error of the transcriber, and that its true date was the 13th of October.

The parliament sat in January 1427, being the sixth year of king Henry VI., during which, on the 30th of January, the archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied by the archbishop of York, the bishops of London, St. David's, Ely, and Norwich, and the abbots of Westminster and Reading, went from the House of Lords to the place where the House of Commons ordinarily sat, which was the refectory of the abbey of Westminster, where the archbishop made a long speech, in the form of a sermon, upon that text, "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." He began with a protestation that he and his brethren intended not to say anything that might derogate from the king, the crown, or the people of England. Then he alleged many things for the pope's power in granting provisions, to prove it was of divine right, and admonished and required them to give the pope satisfaction in it; otherwise, he laid out to them with tears, what mischiefs might follow if he proceeded to censures; which will appear more fully from the instrument that will be found in the Collection at the end. But it seems the parliament would do nothing for all this, for no act neither of repeal nor explanation was passed.

Yet it appears the pope was satisfied with the archbishop's carriage in this matter, for he soon after restored him to the exercise of his legantine power, as Godwin has it; only he by a mistake says, he was made legate anno 1428, whereas it was only a restitution after a censure.

Thus stood the law of England in that matter, which was neither repealed nor well executed; for the pope's usurpations still increasing, those statutes lay dead among the records, and several cardinals had procured and executed a legantine power, which was clearly contrary to them. And as cardinal Wolsey was already brought under the lash for it, so it was now made use of, partly to give the court of Rome apprehensions of what they were to expect from the king if they went on to use him ill; and partly to proceed severely against all those of the clergy who adhered obstinately to the interests of that court; and to make the rest compound the matter, both by a full submission and a considerable subsidy. It was in vain to pretend it was a public and allowed error, and that the king had not only connived at the cardinal's proceedings, but had made him all that while his chief minister: that therefore they were excusable in submitting to an authority to which the king gave so great encouragement, and that if they had done otherwise they had been unavoidably ruined. For to all this it was answered, that the laws were still in force, and that their ignorance could not excuse them, since they ought to have known the law; yet since the violation of it was so public, though the court proceeded to a sentence, that they were all out of the king's protection and were liable to the pains in the statutes, the king was willing, upon a reasonable composition, and a full submission, to pardon them.

So in the convocation of Canterbury, a petition was brought in to be offered to the king. In the king's title he was called, "The protector and supreme head of the church and clergy of England." To this some opposition was made, and it was put off to another day; but by the interposition of Cromwell, and others of the king's council, who came to the convocation, and used arguments to persuade them to it, they were prevailed with to pass it with that title, at least none speaking against it: for when Warham archbishop of Canterbury said, "that to be taken for consent," one cried out, "they were then all silent:" yet it was moved by some to add these words to the title, "in so far as is lawful by the law of Christ." But Parker says, the king disliked that clause, since it left his power still disputable; therefore it was cast out, and the petition passed simply

But to no purpose.
Collect.
Numb. 40.

The Clergy excuse themselves.

Yet they compound.

And acknowledge the King Supreme Head of the Church of England.
Lord Herbert.

Antiquit. Britannia, in Vita Warham.

as it was first brought in. Yet in that he was certainly misinformed, for when the convocation of the province of York demurred about the same petition, and sent their reasons to the king why they could not acknowledge him supreme head, which (as appears by the king's answer to them,) were chiefly founded on this, that the term "head" was improper, and did not agree to any under Christ; the king wrote a long and sharp answer to them, and showed them that words were not always to be understood in their strict sense, but according to the common acceptance. And among other things he showed what an explanation was made in the convocation of Canterbury,—that it was in so far as was agreeable to the law of Christ; by which it appears that at that time the king was satisfied to have it pass any way, and so it was agreed to by nine bishops (the bishop of Rochester being one) and sixty-two abbots and priors, and the major part of the lower house of convocation in the province of Canterbury; of which number it is very probable Reginald Pole was; for in his book to the king he says he was then in England, and adds, that the king would not accept of the sum the clergy offered, unless they acknowledged him supreme head: he being then dean of Exeter, was of the lower house of convocation; and it is not likely the king would have continued the pensions and other church preferments he had, if he had refused to sign that petition and submission. By it they prayed the king to accept 100,000*l.* in lieu of all punishments which they had incurred by going against the statutes of Provisors, and did promise for the future neither to make nor execute any constitution without the king's licence; upon which he granted them a general pardon; and the convocation of the province of York offering 18,840*l.* with another submission of the same nature afterwards, though that met with more opposition, they were also pardoned.

When the king's pardon for the clergy was brought into the House of Commons, they were much troubled to find themselves not included within it; for by the statutes of Provisors, many of them were also liable, and they apprehended, that either they might be brought in trouble, or at least it might be made use of to draw a subsidy from them; so they sent their speaker with some of their members to represent to the king the great grief of his commons to find themselves out of his favour, which they concluded from the pardon of the pains of premunire to his spiritual subjects, in which they were not included, and therefore prayed the king that they might be comprehended within it. But the king answered them, that they must not restrain his mercy, nor yet force it; it was free to him either to execute or mitigate the severity of the law; that he might well grant his pardon by his great seal without their assent, but he would be well advised before he pardoned them, because he would not seem to be compelled to it. So they went away, and the house was in some trouble: many blamed Cromwell, who was growing in favour, for this rough answer; yet the king's pardon was passed.

But his other concerns made him judge it very unfit to send away his parliament discontented, and since he was so easy to them as to ask no subsidy, he had no mind to offend them; and therefore, when the thing was over, and they out of hopes of it, he of his own accord sent another pardon to all his temporal subjects, of their transgressions of the statutes of Provisors and Premunire, which they received with great joy, and acknowledged there was a just temperature of majesty and clemency in the king's proceedings.

During this session of parliament an unheard-of crime was committed by one Richard Rouse, a cook, who on the 16th of February poisoned a vessel of yeast that was to be used in porridge, in the bishop of Rochester's kitchen, with which seventeen persons of his family were mortally infected, and one of the gentlemen died of it; and some poor people that were charitably fed with the remainder of it were also infected, one woman dying. The person was apprehended, and by act of parliament, poisoning was declared treason, and Rouse was attainted, and sentenced to be boiled to death, which was to be the punishment of poisoning for all times to come, that the terror of this unheard-of punishment might strike a horror in all persons at such an unexampled crime; and the sentence was executed in Smithfield soon after.

Of this I take notice, the rather because of Sanders' malice, who says this Rouse was set on by Anne Boleyn, to make away the bishop of Rochester, of which there is nothing on

Printed in
the Cabala.

The Com-
mons desire
to be included
in the King's
Pardon.

Hall.

Which the
King after-
wards grants.

One Attain-
ed for Poison-
ing.

22 Hen. 8,
Act. 16.

Hall.

record ; nor does any writer of that time so much as insinuate it. But persons that are set on to commit such crimes are usually either conveyed out of the way or secretly despatched, that they may not be brought to an open trial. And it is not to be imagined that a man that was employed by them that might have preferred him, and found himself given up and adjudged to such a death, would not have published their names who set him on, to have lessened his own guilt by casting the load upon them that had both employed and deserted him. But this must pass among the many other vile calumnies of which Sanders has been the inventor or publisher, and for which he has already answered to his judge.

When the session of parliament was over, the king continued to ply the queen with all Lord Herbert. the applications he could think of, to depart from her appeal. He grew very

The King melancholy, and used no sort of diversion, but was observed to be very pensive. Yet nothing could prevail with the queen. She answered the lords of the council Queen. when they pressed her much to it, "that she prayed God to send the king a

quiet conscience, but that she was his lawful wife, and would abide by it, till the court of Rome declared the contrary." Upon which the king forbore to see her, or to receive any tokens from her, and sent her word to choose where she had a mind to live in any of his manors. She answered, "that to which place soever she were removed, nothing could remove her from being his wife." Upon this answer the king left her at Windsor, the 14th of July, and never saw her more. She removed first to Moor, then to Easthamstead, and at last to Ampthill, where she staid longer.

The clergy went now about the raising of the 100,000*l.* which they were to pay in five

A disorder among the Clergy of London about the Subsidy. Hall. years ; and to make it easier to themselves, the prelates had a great mind to draw in the inferior clergy to bear a part of the burden. The bishop of London called a meeting of some priests about London, on the 1st of September, to the chapter-house at St. Paul's. He designed to have had at first only a small number, among whom he hoped it would easily pass ; and that being done by a few,

others would more willingly follow. But the matter was not so secretly carried but that all the clergy about the city hearing of it, went thither. They were not a little encouraged by many of the laity, who thought it no unpleasant diversion to see the clergy fall out among themselves. So when they came to the chapter-house on the day appointed, the bishop's officers would only admit some few to enter ; but the rest forced the door and rushed in, and the bishop's servants were beaten and ill used. But the bishop seeing the tumult was such that it could not be easily quieted, told them all, "that as the state of men in this life was frail, so the clergy, through frailty and want of wisdom, had misdemeaned themselves towards the king, and had fallen in a premunire, for which the king of his great clemency was pleased to pardon them, and to accept of a little instead of the whole of their benefices, which by the law had fallen into his hand : therefore he desired they would patiently bear their share in this burden." But they answered, "they had never meddled with any of the cardinal's faculties, and so had not fallen in the premunire ; and that their livings were so small, that they could hardly subsist by them. Therefore, since the bishops and abbots were only guilty, and had good preferments, they only ought to be punished and pay the tax ; but that for themselves they needed not the king's pardon, and so would pay nothing for it." Upon which the bishops' officers threatened them ; but they, on the other hand (being encouraged by some laymen that came along with them), persisted in their denial to pay anything ; so that from high words the matter came to blows, and several of the bishop's servants were ill-handled by them. But he, to prevent a further tumult, apprehending it might end upon himself, gave them good words, and dismissed the meeting with his blessing, and promised that nothing should be brought in question that was then done. Yet he was not so good as his word, for he complained of it to the lord chancellor, who was always a great favourer of the clergy, by whose order fifteen priests and five laymen were committed to several prisons ; but whether the inferior clergy paid their proportion of the tax or not, I have not been able to discover.

The Pope falls off to the French faction. This year the state of affairs beyond sea changed very considerably. The pope expected not only to recover Florence to his family by the emperor's means, but also to wrest Modena and Reggio from the duke of Ferrara, to which

he pretended, as being fiefs of the papacy; and the emperor had engaged by the former treaty to restore them to him. But now that the pope's pretensions were appointed to be examined by some judges delegated by the emperor, they determined against the pope for the duke of Ferrara: which so disgusted the pope, that he fell totally from the emperor, and did unite with the king of France; a match being also projected between the duke of Orleans (afterwards Henry II.) and his niece Catharine de' Medici; which did work much on the pope's ambition, to have his family allied to so mighty a monarch. So that now he became wholly French.

The French king was also, on account of this marriage, to resign all the pretensions he had to any territory in Italy to his younger son; which as it would give less umbrage to the other princes of Italy, who liked rather to have a king's younger son among them than either the emperor or the French king, so the pope was wonderfully pleased to raise another great prince in Italy out of his own family. On these grounds was the match at this time designed which afterwards took effect; but with this difference, that by the dauphin's death, the duke of Orleans became king of France, and his queen made the greatest figure that any queen of France had done for many ages.

This change in the pope's mind might have produced another in the king's affairs, if he had not already gone so far that he was less in fear of the pope than formerly. He found the credit of his clergy was so low, that to preserve themselves from the contempt and fury of the people, they were forced to depend wholly on the crown. For Lutheranism was then making a great progress in England, of which I shall say nothing here, being resolved at the end of this book to give an account of the whole course of it in those years that fall within this time. But, what by the means of the new preachers, what by the scandals cast on the clergy, they were all at the king's mercy; so he did not fear much from them, especially in the southern parts, which were the richest and best-peopled. Therefore the king went on resolutely. The pope, on the other hand, was in great perplexity; he saw England ready to be lost, and knew not what to do to rescue or preserve it. If he gave way to what was lately done in the business of the *premunire*, he must thereby lose the greatest advantages he drew from that nation; and it was not likely that after the king had gone so far he would undo what was done.

The emperor was more remiss in prosecuting the queen's appeal at Rome, for at that time the Turk, with a most numerous and powerful army, was making an impression on Hungary, (which, to the great scandal of the most Christian king, was imputed to his counsels and presents at the Porte,) and all the emperor's thoughts were taken up with this. Therefore, as he gave the protestant princes of Germany some present satisfaction in religion and other matters, so he sent over to England and desired the king's assistance against that vast army of three hundred thousand men that was falling in upon Christendom. To this the king made a general answer, that gave some hopes of assisting him. But, at the same time, the protestant princes, resolving to draw some advantage from that conjuncture of affairs, and being courted by the French king, entered into a league with him, for the defence of the rights of the empire. And, to make this firmer, the king was invited by the French king to join in it; to which he consented, and sent over to France a sum of money to be employed for the safety of the empire. And this provoked the emperor to renew his endeavours in the court of Rome for prosecuting the queen's appeal.

The French king encouraged the king to go on with his divorce, that he might totally alienate him from the emperor. The French writers also add another consideration, which seems unworthy of so great a king, that he himself, being at that time so public a courtier of ladies, was not ill pleased to set forward a thing of that nature. "But though princes allow themselves their pleasures, yet they seldom govern their affairs by such maxims."

1532.—Parliament complains of the Ecclesiastical Courts. In the beginning of the next year a new session of parliament was held, in which the House of Commons went on to complain of many other grievances they lay under from the clergy, which they put in a writing, and presented it to the king. In it they complained of the proceedings in the spiritual courts, and

especially their calling men before them *ex officio*, and laying articles to their charge without any accuser; and then admitting no purgation, but causing the party accused either to abjure or to be burnt; which they found very grievous and intolerable. This was occasioned by some violent proceeding against some reputed heretics, of which an account shall be given afterwards. But those complaints were stifled, and great misunderstandings arose between the king and the House of Commons upon this following occasion.

There was a common practice in England of men's making such settlements of their estates by their last wills, or other deeds, that the king and some great lords were thereby defrauded of the advantages they made by wards, marriages, and *primer seisin*. For regulating which a bill was brought into the House of Peers, and assented to there; but when it was sent down to the House of Commons it was rejected by them, and they would neither pass the bill nor any other qualification of that abuse. This gave the king great offence; and the House, when they addressed to him about the proceedings of the clergy, also prayed, "that he would consider what cost, charge, and pains, they had been at since the beginning of the parliament, and that it would please his grace of his princely benignity to dissolve his court of parliament, and that his subjects might return into their countries." To which the king answered, "that for their complaints of the clergy, he must hear them also before he could give judgment, since in justice he ought to hear both parties; but that their desiring the redress of such abuses was contrary to the other part of their petition; for if the parliament were dissolved, how could those things they complained of be amended? And as they complained of their long attendance, so the king had staid as long as they had done, and yet he had still patience and so they must have, otherwise their grievances would be without redress. But he did expostulate severely upon their rejecting the bill about deeds in prejudice of the rights of the crown. He said, he had offered them a great mitigation of what by the rigour of the law he might pretend to; and if they would not accept of it, he would try the utmost severity that the law allowed, and would not offer them such a favour again." Yet all this did not prevail, for the act was rejected, and their complaint against the clergy was also laid aside, and the parliament was prorogued till April next.

In this parliament the foundation of the breach that afterwards followed with Rome was laid, by an act for restraining the payment of annates to that court, which since it is not printed with the other statutes, shall be found in the end of this volume. The substance of it is as follows:—

"That great sums of money had been conveyed out of the kingdom, under the title of annates or first fruits, to the court of Rome, which they extorted by restraint of bulls and other writs; that it happened often, by the frequent deaths of archbishops and bishops, to turn to the utter undoing of their friends, who had advanced those sums for them. These annates were founded on no law, for they had no other way of obliging the incumbents of sees to pay them but by restraining their bulls. The parliament therefore, considering that these were first begun to be paid to defend Christendom against infidels, but were now turned to a duty claimed by that court against all right and conscience, and that vast sums were carried away upon that account, which from the second year of king Henry VII. to that present time amounted to 800,000 ducats, besides many other heavy exactions of that court, did declare that the king was bound by his duty to Almighty God as a good Christian prince to hinder these oppressions: and that the rather, because many of the prelates were then very aged, and like to die in a short time, whereby vast sums of money should be carried out of England, to the great impoverishing of the kingdom: and therefore all payments of first fruits to the court of Rome were put down, and for ever restrained, under the pains of the forfeiture of the lands, goods, and chattels of him that should pay them any more, together with the profits of his see, during the time that he was vested with it. And in case bulls were restrained in the court of Rome, any person presented to a bishopric should be notwithstanding consecrated by the archbishop of the province; or if he were presented to an archbishopric, by any two

But reject a
bill about
Wards.

The Com-
mons Peti-
tion that they
may be dis-
solved.

The King's
Answer.

An Act
against An-
nates.
Collect.
Numb. 41.

bishops in the kingdom whom the king should appoint for that end; and that being so consecrated they should be invested, and enjoy all the rights of their sees in full and ample manner; yet that the pope and court of Rome might have no just cause of complaint, the persons presented to bishoprics are allowed to pay them five lib. for the hundred of the clear profits and revenues of their several sees. But the parliament, not willing to go to extremities, remitted the final ordering of that act to the king, that if the pope would either charitably and reasonably put down the payment of annates, or so moderate them that they might be a tolerable burden, the king might at any time before Easter 1533, or before the next session of parliament, declare by his letters patent whether the premises or any part of them should be observed or not, which should give them the full force and authority of a law. And that if upon this act the pope should vex the king or any of his subjects by excommunications or other censures, these notwithstanding the king should cause the sacraments and other rites of the church to be administered, and that none of these censures might be published or executed."

This bill began in the House of Lords, from thence it was sent to the Commons, and being agreed to by them, received the royal assent, but had not that final confirmation mentioned in the act before the 9th of July 1533, and then by letters patent (in which the act is at length recited) it was confirmed.

But now I come to open the final conclusion of the king's suit at Rome. On the 25th of January "the pope wrote to the king, that he heard reports, which he very unwillingly believed, that he had put away his queen, and kept one Anne about him as his wife; which, as it gave much scandal, so it was in high contempt of the apostolic see, to do such a thing while his suit was still depending, notwithstanding a prohibition to the contrary. Therefore the pope, remembering his former merits, which were now like to be clouded with his present carriage, did exhort him to take home his queen, and to put Anne away; and not to continue to provoke the emperor and his brother by so high an indignity, nor to break the general peace of Christendom, which was its only security against the power of the Turk." What answer the king made to this I do not find, but instead of that I shall set down the substance of a despatch which the king sent to Rome about this time, drawn from a copy of it, to which the date is not added. But it being an answer to a letter he received from the pope the 7th of October, it seems to have been written about this time, and it concluding with a credence to an ambassador, I judge it was sent by doctor Bennet, who was despatched to Rome in January 1532, to show the pope the opinions of learned men, and of the universities, with their reasons. The letter will be found in the end of this volume.

The contents of it are to this purpose:—

"The pope had writ to the king, in order to the clearing all his scruples, and to give him quiet in his conscience; of which the king takes notice, and is sorry that both the pope and himself were so deceived in that matter; the pope, by trusting to the judgments of others, and writing whatever they suggested, and the king by depending so much on the pope, and in vain expecting remedy from him so long. He imputes the mistakes that were in the pope's letters (which he says had things in them contrary both to God's law and man's law) to the ignorance and rashness of his counsellors; for which himself was much to be blamed, since he rested on their advice, and that he had not carried himself as became Christ's vicar, but had dealt both unconstantly and deceitfully: for when the king's cause was first opened to him, and all things that related to it were explained, he had granted a commission, with a promise not to recal it, but to confirm the sentence which the legates should give, and a decretal was sent over defining the cause. If these were justly granted, it was injustice to revoke them, but if they were justly revoked, it was unjust to grant them: so he presses the pope, that either he could grant these things, or he could not. If he could do it, where was the faith which became a friend, much more a pope, since he had broke these promises; but if he said he could not do them, had he not then just cause to distrust all that came from him, when at one time he condemned what he had allowed at another? So that the king saw clearly he did not consider the ease of his conscience, but other worldly respects, that had put him on consulting so many learned men,

whose judgments differed much from those few that were about the pope, who thought the prohibition of such marriages was only positive, and might be dispensed with by the pope; whereas all other learned men thought the law was moral and indispensable. He perceived the apostolic see was destitute of that learning by which it should be directed; and the pope had oft professed his own ignorance, and that he spake by other men's mouths; but many universities in England, France, and Italy, had declared the marriage unlawful, and the dispensation null. None honoured the apostolic see more than he had done, and therefore he was sorry to write such things if he could have been silent. If he should obey the pope's letters, he would offend God and his own conscience, and give scandal to those who condemned his marriage: he did not willingly dissent from him without a very urgent cause, that he might not seem to despise the apostolic see; therefore he desired the pope would forgive the freedom that he used, since it was the truth that drew it from him: and he added, that he intended not to impugn the pope's authority further, except he compelled him; and what he did was only to bring it within its first and ancient limits, to which it was better to reduce it than to let it always run on headlong and do amiss; therefore he desired the pope would conform himself to the opinions of so many learned men, and do his duty and office." The letter ends with a credence to the ambassador.

The pope seeing his authority was declining in England, resolved now to do all he could to recover it, either by force or treaty: and so ordered a citation to be made of the king to appear in person or by proxy at Rome, to answer to the queen's appeal; upon which sir Edward Karne was sent to Rome, with a new character of excusatour. His instructions were "to take the best counsel for pleading an excuse of the king's appearance at Rome. First, upon the grounds that might be found in the canon law; and these not being sufficient, he was to insist on the prerogatives of the crown of England." Doctor Bonner went with him, who had expressed much zeal in the king's cause, though his great zeal was for preferment, which by the most servile ways he always courted. He was a forward bold man, and since there were many threatenings to be used to the pope and cardinals, he was thought fittest for the employment, but was neither learned nor discreet.

They came to Rome in February, where they found great heats in the consistory about the king's business. The imperialists pressed the pope to proceed, but all the wise and indifferent cardinals were of another mind. And when they understood what an act was passed about annates, they saw clearly that the parliament was resolved to adhere to the king in everything he intended to do against their interests. The pope expostulated with the ambassadors about it, but they told him the act was still in the king's power; and except he provoked him, he did not intend to put it in execution. The ambassadors finding the cardinal of Ravenna of so great reputation, both for learning and virtue, that in all matters of that kind his opinion was heard as an oracle, and gave law to the whole consistory, they resolved to gain him by all means possible. And doctor Bennet made a secret address to him, and offered him what bishopric either in France or England he would desire, if he would bring the king's matter to a good issue. He was at first very shy; at length he said he had been oft deceived by many princes, who had made him great promises, but when their business was ended, never thought of performing them; therefore he would be sure: and so drave a bargain, and got under doctor Bennet's hand a promise (of which a copy being sent to the king, written by Bennet himself, will be found at the end of this volume), bearing, that he having powers from the king for that effect, dated the 29th of December last, did promise the cardinal, for his help in the king's affair, monasteries or other benefices in France, to the value of six thousand ducats a-year: and the first bishopric that fell vacant in England; and if it were not Ely, that whenever that see was vacant, upon his resigning the other he should be provided with the bishopric of Ely; dated at Rome the 7th of February 1532. This I set down as one of the most considerable arguments that could be used to satisfy the cardinal's conscience about the justice of the king's cause. This cardinal was the fittest to work secretly for the king, for he had appeared visibly against him. I find also by other letters, that both the cardinals of

His Negotiation there, taken from the Original Letters. Cott. lib. Vitel. B. 13.

The Cardinal of Ravenna corrupted by Bribes. Collect. Numb. 43.

Ancona and Monte (afterwards pope Julius the Third) were prevailed with by arguments of the same nature, though I cannot find out what the bargains were. Providellus, that was accounted the greatest canonist in Italy, was brought from Bononia, and entertained by the ambassadors, to give counsel in the king's cause, and to plead his excuse from appearing at Rome. The plea was summed up in twenty-seven articles, which were offered to the pope; and he admitted them to be examined in the consistory, appointing three of them to be opened at a session. But the imperialists opposed that; and after fifteen of them had been heard, procured a new order that they should be heard in a congregation of cardinals before the pope; pretending that a consistory sitting but once a week, and having a great deal of other business, it would be long before the matter could be brought to any issue. So Karne was served with a new order to appear in the congregation the 3rd of April, with this certification, — that if he appeared not, they would proceed. Upon which he protested, that he would adhere to the former order: yet being warned the second time, he went first and protested against it, which he got entered in the datary. This being considered in the congregation, they renewed the order of hearing it in the consistory on the 10th of April, and then Providellus opened three conclusions. Two of them related to Karne's powers; the third was concerning the safety of the place to both parties. But the imperialists and the queen's council, being dissatisfied with this order, would not appear. Upon which Karne complained of their contumacy, and said, by that it was visible they were distrustful of their cause. On the 14th of April, a new intimation was made to Karne to appear on the 17th with his advocates, to open all the rest of the conclusions; but he, according to the first order, would only plead to three of them, and selected the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first (what these related to I find not). Upon which Providellus pleaded and answered the objections that did seem to militate against them, but neither would the imperialists appear that session.

In June, news were brought to Rome which gave the pope great offence. A priest had preached for the pope's authority in England, and was for that cast into prison. And another priest, being put in prison by the archbishop of Canterbury upon suspicion of heresy, had appealed to the king as the supreme head: upon which he was taken out of the archbishop's hands, and being examined in the king's courts was set at liberty. This the pope resented much; but the ambassadors said all such things might have been prevented, if the king had got justice at the pope's hands.

The king also at this time desired a bull for a commission to erect six new bishoprics, to be endowed by monasteries that were to be suppressed. This was expedited and sent away at this time: and the old cardinal of Ravenna was so jealous, that the ambassadors were forced to promise him the bishopric of Chester (one of the new bishoprics), with which he was well satisfied, having seen by a particular state of the endowment that was designed for it what advantage it would yield him. But he had declared himself so openly before against the reasons for the excuse, that he could not serve the king in that matter; but in the main cause he undertook to do great service, and so did the cardinals De Monte and Ancona.

Upon the 27th of June the debate was brought to a conclusion about the plea excusatory; and when it was expected that the pope should have given sentence against the articles, he admitted them all *si et prout de jure*. Upon which the imperialists made great complaints: the cardinals grew weary of the length of the debate, since it took up all their time; but it was told them the matter was of great importance, and it had been better for them not to have proceeded so precipitately at first, which had now brought them into this trouble, and that the king had been at much pains and trouble on their account; therefore it was unreasonable for them to complain, who were put to no other trouble but to sit in their chairs two or three hours in a week to hear the king's defences. The imperialists had also occasioned the delays, though they complained of them, by their cavils and allegations of laws and decisions that never were made, by which much time was spent. But it was objected, that the king's excuse for not coming to Rome, because it was too remote from his kingdom, and not safe, was of no force, since the place was safe to his proxy. And the cardinal of

Ravenna pressed the ambassadors much to move the king, instead of the excusatory process, to send a proxy, for examining and discussing the merits of the cause, in which it would be much easier to advance the king's matter; and that he having appeared against the king in this process, would be the less suspected in the other.

The business being further considered in three sessions of the consistory, it was resolved, that since the vacation was coming on, they would neither allow of, nor reject, the king's excusatory plea; but the pope and college of cardinals would write to the king entreating him to send a proxy for judging the cause, against the winter. And with this Bonner was sent over, with instructions from the cardinals that were gained to the king, to represent to him that his excusatory plea could not be admitted; for since the debate was to be, whether the pope could grant the dispensation or not, it could not be committed to legates, but must be judged by the pope and the consistory. He was also ordered to assure the king, that the pope did now lean so much to the French faction that he needed not fear to refer the matter to him.

But while these things were in debate at Rome, there was another session of parliament in April; and then the king sent for the speaker of the House of Commons, and gave him the answer which the clergy had drawn to the addresses they made in the former session about their courts. The king himself seemed not at all pleased with it; but what the house did in it does not appear, further than that they were no way satisfied with it. But there happened another thing that offended the king much: one

Temse, of the House of Commons, moved, that they should address to the king to bring the queen back to the court, and ran out upon the inconveniences that were like to follow if the queen were put away, particularly the ill consequence of the illegitimation of the princess. Upon this the king took occasion (when he gave them the clergy's answer) to tell them, that he wondered at that motion made in their house, for the matter was not to be determined there. It touched

his soul; he wished his marriage were good; but the doctors and learned men had determined it to be null and detestable; and therefore he was obliged in conscience to abstain from her, which he assured them flowed from no lust nor foolish appetite. He was then forty-one years old, and at that age those heats abate. But except in Spain or Portugal, it had not been heard of, that a man married two sisters; and that he never heard that any christian man before himself had married his brother's wife: therefore he assured them his conscience was troubled, which he desired them to report to the house. In this session, the lord chancellor came down to the commons, with many of the nobility about him, and told them the king had considered the marches between England and Scotland, which were uninhabited on the English side, but well peopled on the Scottish; and that laid England open to the incursion of the Scots; therefore the king intended to build houses there, for planting the English side. This the lords liked very well, and thought it convenient to give the king some aids for the charges of so necessary a work, and therefore desired the commons to consult about it. Upon which the house voted a subsidy of a fifteenth; but

before the bill could be finished the plague broke out in London, and the parliament was prorogued till February following. On the 11th of May (three days before the prorogation) the king sent for the speaker of the House of Commons, and told him, "that he found upon inquiry, that all the prelates, whom he had looked on as wholly his subjects, were but half-subjects; for at their consecration they swore an oath quite contrary to the oath they swore to the crown; so that it seemed they were the pope's subjects rather than his. Which he referred to their care, that such order might be taken in it that the king might not be deluded." Upon which the two oaths that the clergy swore to the king and the pope were read in the House of Commons, but the consequence of them will be better understood by setting them down.

The Oath to the Pope.

"I John, bishop or abbot of A, from this hour forward shall be faithful and obedient to St. Peter and to the holy church of Rome, and to my lord the pope and his successors canonically entering. I shall not be of counsel nor consent that they

shall lose either life or member, or shall be taken or suffer any violence or any wrong by any means. Their counsel to me credited by them, their messengers or letters, I shall not willingly discover to any person. The papacy of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and the regality of St. Peter, I shall help, and maintain, and defend against all men. The legate of the see apostolic going and coming I shall honourably entreat. The rights, honours, privileges, authorities of the church of Rome, and of the pope and his successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, augmented, and promoted. I shall not be in counsel, treaty, or any act in the which anything shall be imagined against him or the church of Rome, their rights, seats, honours, or powers. And if I know any such to be moved or compassed, I shall resist it to my power, and as soon as I can I shall advertise him, or such as may give him knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, provisions, and commandments apostolic, to my power I shall keep and cause to be kept of others. Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our holy father and his successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power. I shall come to the synod when I am called, except I be letted by a canonical impediment. The thresholds of the apostles I shall visit yearly personally, or by my deputy. I shall not alienate or sell my possessions without the pope's counsel. So God help me and the holy evangelists."

The Oath to the King.

"I John, bishop of A, utterly renounce and clearly forsake all such clauses, words, sentences, and grants, which I have or shall have hereafter of the pope's holiness, of and for the bishopric of A, that in anywise hath been, is, or hereafter may be hurtful or prejudicial to your highness, your heirs, successors, dignity, privilege, or estate royal. And also I do swear that I shall be faithful and true, and faith and truth I shall bear to you my sovereign lord, and to your heirs kings of the same, of life and limb, and yearly worship above all creatures, for to live and die with you and yours against all people. And diligently I shall be attendant to all your needs and business after my wit and power, and your counsel I shall keep and hold, knowledging myself to hold my bishopric of you only, beseeching you of restitution of the temporalities of the same; promising as before that I shall be a faithful, true and obedient subject to your said highness, heirs, and successors during my life; and the services and other things due to your highness for the restitution of the temporalities of the same bishopric, I shall truly do and obediently perform. So God me help and all saints."

The contradiction that was in these was so visible, that it had soon produced a severe censure from the house, if the plague had not hindered both that and the bill of subsidy. So on the 14th of May the parliament was prorogued. Two days after sir Thomas More laid down his office. More, lord chancellor, having oft desired leave to deliver up the great seal, and be discharged of his office, obtained it; and sir Thomas Audley was made lord chancellor. More had carried that dignity with great temper, and lost it with much joy. He saw now how far the king's designs went; and though he was for cutting off all the illegal jurisdiction which the popes exercised in England, and therefore went cheerfully along with the suit of premunire; yet when he saw a total rupture like to follow, he excused himself, and retired from business with a greatness of mind that was equal to what the ancient philosophers pretended in such cases. He also disliked Anne Boleyn, and was prosecuted by her father, who studied to fasten some criminal imputations on him about the discharge of his employment; but his integrity had been such that nothing could be found to blemish his reputation.

In September following the king created Anne Boleyn marchioness of Pembroke, to bring her by degrees up to the height for which he had designed her. And in October he passed An Inter-view with the French King. the seas, and had an interview with the French king; where all the most obliging compliments that were possible passed on both sides with great magnificence, and a firm union was concerted about all their affairs. They published a league that they made to raise a mighty army next year against the Turk; but this was not much considered, it being generally believed that the French king and the Turk were in a good correspondence. As for the matter of the king's divorce, Francis encouraged him to

go on in it, and in his intended marriage with Anne Boleyn, promising if it were questioned to assist him in it; and as for his appearance at Rome, as it was certain he could not go thither in person, so it was not fit to trust the secrets of his conscience to a proxy. The French king seemed also resolved to stop the payments of annates and other exactions of the court of Rome, and said he would send an ambassador to the pope, to ask redress of these, and to protest that if it were not granted, they would seek other remedies by provincial councils: and since there was an interview designed between the pope and the emperor at Bononia in December, the French king was to send two cardinals thither to procure judges for ending the business in England. There was also an interview proposed between the pope and the French king at Nice or Avignon. To this the king of England had some inclinations to go for ending all differences, if the pope were well disposed to it.

Upon this sir Thomas Eliot was sent to Rome with answer to a message the pope had sent to the king, from whose instructions both the substance of the message and of the answer may be gathered. "The pope had offered to the king that if he would name any indifferent place out of his own kingdom, he would send a legate and two auditors of the Rota thither, to form the process, reserving only the sentence to himself. The pope also proposed a truce of three or four years, and promised in that time he would call a general council. For this message the king sent the pope thanks, but for the peace he could receive no propositions about it without the concurrence of the French king; and though he did not doubt the justice of the general council, yet considering the state of the emperor's affairs at that time, with the Lutherans, he did not think it was then seasonable to call one. That as for sending a proxy to Rome, if he were a private person he could do it, but it was a part of the prerogative of his crown, and of the privileges of his subjects, that all matrimonial causes should be originally judged within his kingdom by the English church, which was consonant to the general councils and customs of the ancient church, whereunto he hoped the pope would have regard: and that for keeping up his royal authority, to which he was bound by oath, he could not without the consent of the realm submit himself to a foreign jurisdiction; hoping the pope would not desire any violation of the immunities of the realm, or to bring these into public contention, which had been hitherto enjoyed without intrusion or molestation. The pope had confessed that without an urgent cause, the dispensation could not be granted. This the king laid hold on and ordered his ambassador to show him that there was no war nor appearance of any between England and Spain when it was granted. To verify that, he sent an attested copy of the treaty between his father and the crown of Spain at that time; by the words of which it appeared that it was then taken for granted, that prince Arthur had consummated the marriage, which was also proved by good witnesses. In fine, since the thing did so much concern the peace of the realm, it was fitter to judge it within the kingdom than anywhere else; therefore he desired the pope would remit the discussing of it to the church of England, and then confirm the sentence they should give. To the obtaining of this, the ambassador was to use all possible diligence, yet if he found real intentions in the pope to satisfy the king, he was not to insist on that as the king's final resolution: and to let the cardinal of Ravenna see, that the king intended to make good what was promised in his name, the bishopric of Coventry and Lichfield falling vacant, he sent him the offer of it, with a promise of the bishopric of Ely when it should be void."

The King married Anne Boleyn, Nov. 14. Cowper, Histories, and Sanders. Soon after this he married Anne Boleyn on the 14th of November, upon his landing in England, but Stow says that it was on the 25th of January. Rowland Lee (who afterward got the bishopric of Coventry and Lichfield) did officiate in the marriage. It was done secretly in the presence of the duke of Norfolk and her father, her mother, and brother, and Dr. Cranmer*. The grounds on which the king did this were, that his former marriage being of itself null, there

* Stow is in the right: for in a letter of Cranmer's to Hawkins, then the king's ambassador with the emperor, dated in June, from Croydon, he wrote, "Queen Anne was married much about St. Paul's day last; [viz. Jan. 25] as the condition thereof doth well appear, by reason she is now somewhat big with child." Cranmer was not

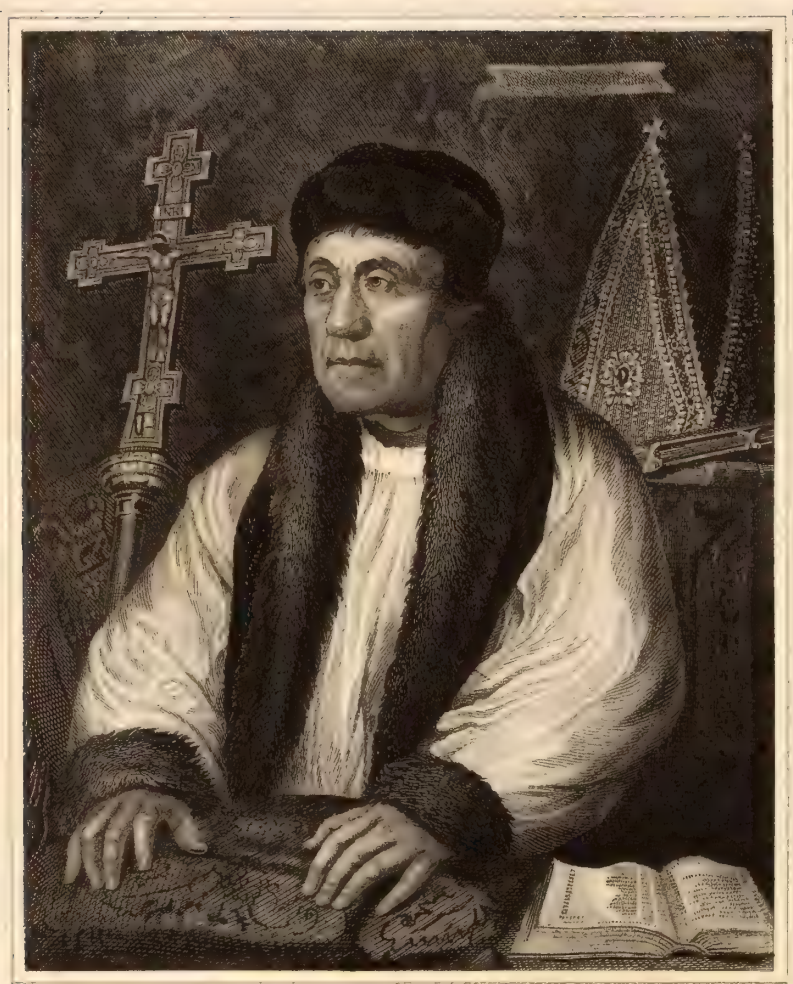
present at the marriage, for in the same letter he writes, "Notwithstanding it hath been reported throughout a great part of the realm, that I married her; which was plainly false: for I myself knew not thereof a fortnight after it was done. And many other things he reported of me, which be mere lies and tales."—STRYPE'S CORRECTIONS.

was no need of a declarative sentence after so many universities and doctors had given their judgments against it. Soon after the marriage she was with child, which was looked on as a signal evidence of her chastity, and that she had till then kept the king at a due distance.

But when the pope and king met at Bononia, the pope expressed great inclinations to favour the French king, from which the emperor could not remove him, nor engage him to accept of a match for his niece Catharine de' Medici, with Francis Sforza duke of Milan. But the pope promised him all that he desired as to the king of England, and so that matter was still carried on. Dr. Bennet made several propositions to end the matter, either that it should be judged in England, according to the decree of the council of Nice, and that the archbishop of Canterbury with the whole clergy of his province should determine it, or that the king should name one, either sir Thomas More or the bishop of London, the queen should name another, the French king should name a third, and the archbishop of Canterbury to be the fourth; or that the cause should be heard in England, and if the queen did appeal, it should be referred to three delegates,—one of England, another of France, and a third to be sent from Rome, who should sit and judge the appeal in some indifferent place. But the pope would hearken to none of these overtures, since they were all directly contrary to that height of authority which he resolved to maintain: therefore he ordered Capisucci, the dean of the Rota, to cite the king to answer the queen's appeal. Karne at Rome protested against the citation, since the emperor's power was so great about Rome that the king could not expect justice there; and therefore desired they would desist, otherwise the king would appeal to the learned men in universities; and said there was a nullity in all their proceedings, since the king was a sovereign prince, and the church of England a free church, over which the pope had no just authority.

But while this depended at Rome, another session of parliament was held in England, 1533. which began to sit on the 4th of February. In this the breach with Rome was much forwarded by the act they passed against all appeals to Rome. The preamble bears, "that the crown of England was imperial, and that the nation was a complete body within itself, with a full power to give justice in all cases spiritual as well as temporal; and that in the spirituality, as there had been at all times, so there were then men of that sufficiency and integrity, that they might declare and determine all doubts within the kingdom; and that several kings, as Edward I., Edward III., Richard II., and Henry IV., had by several laws preserved the liberties of the realm, both spiritual and temporal, from the annoyance of the see of Rome, and other foreign potentates; yet many inconveniences had arisen by appeals to the see of Rome in causes of matrimony, divorces, and other cases, which were not sufficiently provided against by these laws; by which not only the king and his subjects were put to great charges, but justice was much delayed by appeals, and Rome being at such a distance, evidences could not be brought thither nor witnesses so easily as within the kingdom: therefore it was enacted, that all such causes, whether relating to the king or any of his subjects, were to be determined within the kingdom in the several courts to which they belonged, notwithstanding any appeals to Rome, or inhibitions and bulls from Rome; whose sentences should take effect, and be fully executed by all inferior ministers; and if any spiritual persons refused to execute them because of censures from Rome, they were to suffer a year's imprisonment, and fine and ransom at the king's will; and if any persons in the king's dominions procured or executed any process or censures from Rome, they were declared liable to the pains in the statute of Provisors in the sixteenth of Richard II. But that appeals should only be from the archdeacon or his official to the bishop of the diocese, or his commissary, and from him to the archbishop of the province, or the dean of the arches, where the final determination was to be made without any further process; and in every process concerning the king or his heirs and successors, an appeal should lie to the upper house of convocation, where it should be finally determined, never to be again called in question."

As this bill passed, the sense of both houses of parliament about the king's marriage did



W. H. H. H. H. H.

WILLIAM WARHAM, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

OB. 1532.

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

HIS GRACE, THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

clearly appear, but in the convocation the business was more fully debated. The convocation of the province of Canterbury was at this time destitute of its head and principal member.

Warham's For Warham archbishop of Canterbury was dead since August last year. He
Death, Aug. was a great canonist, an able statesman, a dextrous courtier, and a favourite of
23. learned men. He always hated cardinal Wolsey, and would never stoop to him,

esteeming it below the dignity of his see. He was not so peevishly engaged to the learning of the schools as others were, but set up and encouraged a more generous way of knowledge; yet he was a severe persecutor of them whom he thought heretics, and inclined to believe idle and fanatical people, as will afterwards appear when the impostures of the maid of Kent shall be related.

The king saw well of how great importance it was to the designs he was then forming to fill that see with a learned, prudent, and resolute man; but finding none in the episcopal order that was qualified to his mind, and having observed a native simplicity joined with much courage, and tempered with a great deal of wisdom, in Dr. Cranmer, who was then negotiating his business among the learned men

of Germany, he of his own accord without any addresses from Cranmer designed to raise him to that dignity, and gave him notice of it, that he might make haste and come home to enjoy that reward which the king had appointed for him. But Cranmer having received

Fox. this, did all he could to excuse himself from the burden which was coming upon him; and therefore he returned very slowly to England, hoping that the king's thoughts cooling, some other person might step in between him and a dignity, of which having a just and primitive sense, he did look on it with fear and apprehension, rather than joy and desire. This was so far from setting him back, that the king (who had known well what it was to be importuned by ambitious and aspiring churchmen, but had not found it usual that they should decline and fly from preferment) was thereby confirmed in his high opinion of him; and neither the delays of his journey, nor his entreaties to be delivered from a burden, which his humility made him imagine himself unable to bear, could divert the king. So that though six months elapsed before the thing was settled, yet the king persisted in his opinion, and the other was forced to yield.

In the end of January the king sent to the pope for the bulls for Cranmer's promotion; and though the statutes were passed against procuring more bulls from Rome, Cranmer's Bulls from Rome. yet the king resolved not to begin the breach till he was forced to it by the pope. It may be easily imagined, that the pope was not hearty in this promotion, and that he apprehended ill consequences from the advancement of a man, who had gone over many courts of Christendom, disputing against his power of dispensing, and had lived in much familiarity with Osiander and the Lutherans in Germany: yet on the other hand he had no mind to precipitate a rupture with England; therefore he consented to it, and the bulls were expedited, though instead of annates there was only 900 ducats paid for them.

They were the last bulls that were received in England in this king's reign; and therefore I shall give an account of them as they are set down in the beginning of Cranmer's Register. By one bull he is upon the king's nomination promoted to be archbishop of Canterbury, which is directed to the king. By a second directed to himself he is made archbishop. By a third he is absolved from all censures. A fourth is to the suffragans. A fifth to the dean and chapter. A sixth to the clergy of Canterbury. A seventh to all the laity in his see. An eighth to all that held lands of it, requiring them to receive and acknowledge him as archbishop. All these bear date the 21st of February 1533. By a ninth bull dated the 22nd of February he was ordained to be consecrated, taking the oath that was in the Pontifical. By a tenth bull dated the 2nd of March the pall was sent him. And by an eleventh of the same date the archbishop of York and the bishop of London were required to put it on him. These were the several artifices to make compositions high, and to enrich the apostolic chamber, for now that about which St. Peter gloried, that he had none of it (neither silver nor gold), was the thing in the world for which his successors were most careful.

When these bulls were brought into England, Thomas Cranmer was on the 30th of March consecrated by the bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Asaph. But here a great scruple was

moved by him concerning the oath that he was to swear to the pope, which he had no mind to take; and writers near that time say, the dislike of that oath was one of the motives that made him so unwillingly accept of that dignity. He declared that he thought there were many things settled by the laws of the popes which ought to be reformed, and that the obligation which that oath brought upon him would bind him up from doing his duty both to God, the king, and the church. But this being communicated to some of the canonists and casuists, they found a temper that agreed better with their maxims than

Cranmer's sincerity; which was, that before he should take the oath he should make a good and formal protestation, that he did not intend thereby to restrain himself from anything that he was bound to either by his duty to God, or the king, or the country; and that he renounced everything in it that was contrary to any of these. This protestation he made in St. Stephen's chapel at Westminster, in the hands of some doctors of the canon law before he was consecrated, and he afterwards repeated it when he took the oath to the pope; by which if he did not wholly save his integrity, yet it was plain he intended no cheat, but to act fairly and above board.

As soon as he was consecrated, and had performed everything that was necessary for his investiture, he came and sate in the upper house of convocation. There were in vita Cranmer. there at that time hot and earnest debates upon these two questions, whether it was against the law of God, and indispensable by the pope, for a man to marry his brother's wife, he being dead without issue, but having consummated the marriage; and whether prince Arthur had consummated his marriage with the queen. As for the first, it was brought first into the lower house of convocation, and when it was put to the vote, fourteen were for the affirmative, seven for the negative; one was not clear, and another voted the prohibition to be moral, but yet dispensable by the pope. In the upper house it was long debated, Stokesly bishop of London arguing for the affirmative, and Fisher bishop of Rochester for the negative. The opinions of nineteen * universities were read for it, and the one house being as full as the other was empty, two hundred and sixteen being present either in person or by proxy, it was carried in the affirmative *nemine contradicente*; those few of the queen's party that were there it seems going out. For the other question about the matter of fact, it was remitted to the faculty of the canon law, (it being a matter that lay within their studies,) whether the presumptions were violent, and such as in the course of law must be looked on as good evidences of a thing that was secret, and was not capable of formal proof. They all, except five or six, were for the affirmative, and all the upper house confirmed this, the bishop of Bath and Wells only excepted.

In this account it may seem strange that there were but twenty-three persons† in the lower house of convocation, and two hundred and sixteen in the upper house. It is taken from an unquestioned authority, so the matter of fact is not to be doubted. The most learned sir Henry Spelman has in no place of his collection of our councils considered the constitution of the two houses of convocation; and in none of our records have I been able to discover of what persons they were made up in the times of popery: and therefore since we are left to conjecture, I shall offer mine to the learned reader. It is, that none sate in the lower house but those who were deputed by the inferior clergy; and that bishops, abbots mitred and not mitred, and priors, deans, and archdeacons, sate then in the upper house of convocation‡. To which I am induced by these two reasons: it is probable that all who were declared prelates by the pope, and had their writ to sit in a general council, had likewise a right to come to the upper house of convocation, and sit with the other prelates. And we find in the tomes of the councils, that not only abbots and priors, but deans and archdeacons, were summoned to the fourth council in the Lateran, and to that at Vienna. Another reason is,

* This is a mistake which is noticed by the bishop, part 3, book 2, anno 1531. The opinions of only six universities were laid before the convocation. Nineteen was the number of the minority who retired when the question was put.—Ed.

† The number of those who voted being only twenty-three, must be understood only of the divines: for the second question was put only to the jurists, who (in those

times) exceeded the divines in number, and they did all vote in the affirmative, so that the numbers did far exceed twenty-three.—STRYPE'S CORRECTIONS.

‡ Deans and archdeacons sat in the lower house. Cardinal Pole is mentioned as sitting in the lower house, as dean of Exeter, page 86, ante; and the error was corrected by the bishop himself, part 3, book 2, anno 1531, which see.—Ed.

that their sitting in two houses (for in all other nations they sit together) looks as if it had been taken from the constitution of our parliament, in which all that have writs personally sit in the lords' house, and those who come upon an election sit in the lower house. So it is not improbable that all who were summoned personally sate in the upper house, and those who were returned with an election sate in the lower house of convocation.

This account of that convocation I take from that collection of the British Antiquities which is believed to have been made by Matthew Parker, who lived at that time, and was afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. But the convocation books being burnt, there are no records to be appealed to; yet it is not to be supposed, that in a matter of fact that was so public and well known, any man (especially one of that high rank) would have delivered falsehoods, while the books were yet extant that would have disproved them.

The church of England having in her representative made such a full decision, nothing remained but to give judgment and to declare the marriage null. The thing was already determined, only the formality of a sentence declarative was wanting. But before they proceeded to that, a new message was sent to the queen, to lay all that had passed before her, and to desire her to acquiesce in the opinions of so many universities and learned men. But she still persisted in her resolution to own her marriage, and to adhere to her appeal till the pope should judge in it. And when it was told her, that the king would settle the jointure that she was to have by his brother, and

that the honour of princess of Wales should still be paid her, she rejected it. But the new queen was now with child, and brought forth queen Elizabeth the

7th of September this year; from which looking backwards nine months to the beginning of December*, it shows that she must have been married at or before that time: for all the writers of both sides agree, that she was married before she conceived with child. The king therefore thought not fit to conceal it much longer, so on Easter eve she was declared queen of England. It seems it was not thought needful at that time to proceed to any further sentence about the former marriage, otherwise I cannot see what made it be so long delayed, since the thing was in their power now as well as after. And it was certainly a preposterous method to judge the first marriage null after the second was published. So that it seems more probable they did not intend any sentence at all, till afterwards, perhaps upon advertisements from beyond sea, they went on to a formal process. Nor is it unlikely that the king, remembering the old advice that the pope sent him, once to marry a second wife, and then to send for a commission to try the matter, which the pope was willing to confirm, though he would not seem to allow it originally, resolved to follow this method; for the pope was now closing with Francis, from which union the king had reason to expect great advantages.

Whatsoever were the reasons of the delay, the process was framed in this method. First, Cranmer † wrote to the king, that the world had been long scandalised with his marriage, and that it lay on him as his duty to see it tried and determined; therefore craved his royal leave to proceed in it. Which being obtained, both the king and queen were cited to appear before the archbishop, at Dunstable, the 20th of May, and the archbishop went thither with the bishops of London, Winchester, (Gardiner,) Bath and Wells, and Lincoln, and many divines and canonists. That place was chosen because the queen lay then very near it at Amptill, and so she could not pretend ignorance of what was done; and they needed not put many days in the citation, but might end the process so much the sooner. On the 10th of

* See note, p. 95, ante.

† Cranmer, in a letter to Hawkins, gives this account of the final sentence of divorce in these words: "As touching the final determination and concluding of the matter of divorce between my lady Katharine and the king's grace: after the convocation in that behalf had determined and agreed, according to the former sentence of the universities, it was thought convenient, by the king and his learned council, that I should repair to Dunstable:—and there to call her before me, to hear final sentence in this said matter. Notwithstanding, she would not at all obey thereunto. On the 8th of May, according to the said appointment, I came to Dunstable; my lord of Lincoln

being assistant to me: and my lord of Winchester, Dr. Bell, Dr. Claybroke, Dr. Tregonnel, Dr. Sterkey, Dr. Olyver, Dr. Britton, Mr. Bedel, with divers others learned in the law, being counsellors for the king. And so there at our coming kept a court, for the appearance of the said lady Katharine; when we examined certain witnesses, who testified that she was lawfully cited,—and called to appear, as the process of the law thereunto belongeth: which continued fifteen days after our first coming thither. The morrow after Ascension-day I gave sentence therein; 'How that it was indispensable for the Pope to license any such marriage.'"—STRYPE'S CORRECTIONS.

May the archbishop sat in court, and the king appeared by proxy, but the queen appeared not. Upon which she was declared *contumax*, and a second citation was issued out, and after that a third : but she intended not to appear, and so she was finally declared *contumax*. Then the evidences that had been brought before the legates, of the consummation of the marriage with prince Arthur, were read. After that the determinations of the universities, and divines, and canonists, were also produced and read. Then the judgments of the convocations of both provinces were also read, with many other instruments, and the whole merits of the cause were opened. Upon which after many sessions, on the 23rd of May,

Collect. sentence was given with the advice of all that were there present, declaring it
Numb. 47. only to have been a marriage *de facto*, but not *de jure*, pronouncing it null from the beginning. One thing is to be observed, that the archbishop in the sentence is called the legate of the apostolic see. Whether this went of course as one of his titles, or was put in to make the sentence firmer, the reader may judge. Sentence being given, the archbishop with all the rest returned to London ; and five days after on the 28th of May, at Lambeth, by another judgment, he in general words (no reasons being given in the sentence) confirmed the king's marriage with the new queen Anne, and the 1st of June she was crowned queen.

When this great business, which had been so long in agitation, was thus concluded, it The Censures was variously censured as men stood affected. Some approved the king's
passed at that time. proceedings as canonical and just, since so many authorities, which in the interval of a general council were all that could be had (except the pope be believed infallible), had concurred to strengthen the cause ; and his own clergy had upon a full and long examination judged it on his side. Others, who in the main agreed to the divorce, did very much dislike the king's second marriage before the first was dissolved ; for they thought it against the common course of law to break any marriage without a public sentence ; and since one of the chief politic reasons that was made use of in this suit was to settle the succession of the crown, this did embroil it more, since there was a fair colour given to except to the validity of the second marriage, because it was contracted before the first was annulled. But to this, others answered, that the first marriage being judged by the interpreters of the doctrine of the church to have been null from the beginning, there was no need of any sentence, but only for form. And all concluded it had been better there had been no sentence at all than one so late. Some excepted to the archbishop of Canterbury's being judge, who by his former writings and disputes had declared himself partial. But to this it was answered, that when a man changes his character, all that he did in another figure is no just exception : so judges decide causes in which they formerly gave counsel ; and popes are not bound to the opinions they held when they were divines or canonists. It was also said, that the archbishop did only declare in legal form that which was already judged by the whole convocation of both provinces. Some wondered at the pope's stiffness, that would put so much to hazard, when there wanted not as good colours to justify a bull as they had made use of to excuse many other things. But the emperor's greatness, and the fear of giving the Lutherans advantages in disputing the pope's authority, were on the other hand so prevalent considerations, that no wonder they wrought much on a pope who pretended to no other knowledge but that of policy ; for he had often said, he understood not the matter, and therefore left it in other men's hands. All persons excused queen Katharine for standing so stiffly to her ground ; only her denying so confidently that prince Arthur consummated the marriage, seems not capable of an excuse. Everybody admired queen Anne's conduct, who had managed such a king's spirit so long, and had neither surfeited him with great freedom, nor provoked him by the other extreme : for the king, who was extremely nice in these matters, conceived still a higher opinion of her ; and her being so soon with child after the marriage, as it made people conclude she had been chaste till then, so they hoped for a blessing upon it, since there were such early appearances of issue. Those that favoured the reformation expected better days under her protection, for they knew she favoured them. But those who were in their hearts for the established religion, did much dislike it ; and many of the clergy, especially the orders of monks and friars, condemned it both in their sermons and discourses.

But the king, little regarding the censures of the vulgar, sent ambassadors to all the courts of Europe to give notice of his new marriage, and to justify it by some of those reasons which have been opened in the former parts of this history. He also sent the lord Mountjoy to the divorced queen to let her know what was done, and that she was no more to be treated as queen, but as princess dowager. He was to mix promises with threatenings, particularly concerning her daughters being put next the queen's issue in succession. But the afflicted queen would not yield, and said she would not damn her soul, nor submit to such an infamy: that she was his wife, and would never call herself by any other name, whatever might follow on it, since the process still depended at Rome. That lord having written a relation of what had passed between him and her, showed it to her; but she dashed with a pen all those places in which she was called princess dowager; and would receive no service at any one's hands but of those who called her queen: and she continued to be still served as queen by all about her. Against which, though the king used all the endeavours he could, not without both threatening and violence to some of the servants, yet he could never drive her from it: and what he did in that was thought far below that height of mind which appeared in his other actings; for since he had stripped her of the real greatness of a queen, it seemed too much to vex her for keeping up the pageantry of it.

But the news of this made great impressions elsewhere. The emperor received the king's justification very coldly, and said he would consider what he was to do upon it, which was looked on as a declaration of war. The French king, though he expressed still

The Pope unites himself to the French King, great friendship to the king, yet was now resolved to link himself to the pope; for the crafty pope apprehending that nothing made the king of England so confident, as that he knew his friendship was necessary to the French king, and fearing they had resolved to proceed at once to the putting down the papal authority in their kingdoms, (which it appeared they had once agreed to do,) resolved by all means to make sure of the French king, which as it would preserve that kingdom in his obedience, so would perhaps frighten the king of England from proceeding to such extremities; since that prince in whose conjunction he trusted so much had forsaken him: therefore the pope did so vigorously pursue the treaty with Francis that it was as good as ended at this time, and an interview was projected between them at Marseilles. The pope did also grant him so great power over his own clergy, that he could scarce have expected more if he had set up a patriarch in France; so that Francis did resolve to go on in the designs which had been concerted between him and the king of England no farther; but still he considered his alliance so much, that he promised to use his most effectual intercession with the pope to prevent all censures and bulls against the king; and if it were possible, to bring the matter to an amicable conclusion. And the emperor was not ill-pleased to see France and England divided. Therefore though he had at first opposed the treaty between the pope and Francis, yet afterwards he was not troubled that it took effect, hoping that it would disunite those two kings, whose conjunction had been so troublesome to him.

and condemns the king's proceedings in England. But when the news was brought to Rome of what was done in England, with which it was also related that books were coming out against the pope's supremacy, all the cardinals of the imperial faction pressed the pope to give a definitive sentence and to proceed to censures against the king. But the more moderate cardinals thought, England was not to be thrown away with such precipitation: and therefore a temper was found, that a sentence should be given upon what had been attempted in England by the archbishop of Canterbury, (which in the style of the canon law were called the *Attentates*,) for it was pretended that the matter depending in the court of Rome, by the queen's appeal and the other steps that had been made, it was not in the archbishop's power to proceed to any sentence. Therefore in general it was declared, that all that had been attempted or done in England about the king's suit of divorce was null, and that the king by such attempts was liable to excommunication, unless he put things again in the state they were in, and that before September next, and that then they would proceed further; and this sentence was affixed in Dunkirk soon after.

The king resolving to follow the thing as far as it was possible, sent a great embassy to Francis, who was then on his journey to Marseilles, to dissuade the interview and marriage

till the pope gave the king satisfaction. But the French king was engaged in honour to go forward; yet he protested he would do all that lay in his power to compose the matter, and that he would take any injury that were done to the king as highly as if it were done to himself; and he desired the king would send some to Marseilles, who thereupon sent Gardiner and sir Francis Brian.

But at this time the queen brought forth a daughter, who was christened Elizabeth, (the renowned queen of England,) the archbishop of Canterbury being her godfather. She was soon after declared princess of Wales; though lawyers thought that against law, for she was only heir presumptive but not apparent to the crown, since a son coming after, he must be preferred. Yet the king would justify what he had done in his marriage with all possible respect, and having before declared the lady Mary princess of Wales, he did now the same in favour of the lady Elizabeth.

The interview between the pope and the French king was at Marseilles in October, where the marriage was made up between the duke of Orleans and Katharine de Medici; to whom, besides 100,000 crowns portion, the principality of many towns in Italy, as Milan, Reggio, Pisa, Leghorn, Parma, and Piacenza, and the duchy of Urbino, were given. To the former, the pope pretended in the right of the popedom, and to the last in the right of the house of Medici. But the French king was to clear all those titles by his sword. As for the king's business, the pope referred it to the consistory. But it seems there was a secret transaction, between him and Francis, that if the king would in all other things return to his wonted obedience to the apostolic see, and submit the matter to the judgment of the consistory, (excepting only to the cardinals of the imperial faction as partial and incompetent judges,) the decision should be made to his heart's content. This I collect from what will afterwards appear. The king upon the sentence that was passed against him sent Bonner to Marseilles, who procuring an audience of the pope, delivered to him the authentic instrument of the king's appeal from him to the next general council lawfully called. At this the pope was much incensed, but said he would consider of it in consistory; and having consulted about it there, he answered that the appeal was unlawful, and therefore he rejected it; and for a general council, the calling of it belonged to him, and not to the king. About the same time the archbishop of Canterbury being threatened with a process from Rome, put in also his appeal to the next general council. Upon which Bonner delivered the threatenings that he was ordered to make with so much vehemency and fury, that the pope talked of throwing him in a cauldron of melted lead, or of burning him alive; and he apprehending some danger made his escape. About the middle of November the interview ended, the pope returning to Rome, and the French king to Paris, a firm alliance being established between them. But upon the duke of Orleans marrying the pope's niece I shall add one observation that will neither be unpleasant nor impertinent. The duke of Orleans was then but fourteen years and nine months old, being born on the last of March 1518, and yet was believed to have consummated his marriage the very first night after: so the pope's historians tell us with much triumph; though they represented that improbable, if not impossible, in prince Arthur, who was nine months older when he died.

Upon the French king's return from Marseilles, the bishop of Paris was sent over to the king; which (as may be reasonably collected) followed upon some agreement made at Marseilles, and he prevailed with the king to submit the whole matter to the pope and the consistory, on such terms that the imperialists should not be allowed a voice, because they were parties, being in the emperor's power. None that has observed the genius of this king can think that after he had proceeded so far, he would have made this submission without very good assurances; and if there had not been great grounds to expect good effects from it, the bishop of Paris would not in the middle of winter have undertaken a journey from England to Rome. But the king, it seems, would not abase himself so far as to send any submission in writing till he had fuller assurances. The lord Herbert has published a letter (which he transcribed from the original, written by the archbishop of York and the bishop of Durham, to the king the 11th of May

1534), giving an account of a conference they had with queen Katharine ; in which, among other motives they used, this was one, to persuade her to comply with what the king had done : “ that the pope had said at Marseilles, that if the king would send a proxy to Rome, he would give the cause for him against the queen, because he knew his cause was good and just.” Which is a great presumption that the pope did really give some engagements to the French king about the king’s business.

When the bishop of Paris came to Rome, the motion was liked ; and it was promised, which was well received at Rome. that if the king sent a promise of that under his hand, with an order to his proxies to appear in court, there should be judges sent to Cambray to form the process, and then the matter should be determined for him at Rome. This was sent to the king, with the notice of the day that was prefixed for the return of his answer, and with other motives which must have been very great, since they prevailed so much. For in answer there was a courier despatched from the king, with a formal promise under his hand. And now the matter seemed at a point, the French interest was great in the court of Rome ; four new cardinals had been made at Marseilles, and there were six of that faction before, which, with the pope’s creatures, and the indifferent or venal voices, balanced the imperial faction, so that a wound that was looked on as fatal was now almost healed. But God in his wise and unsearchable providence had designed to draw other great ends out of this rupture, and therefore suffered them that were the most concerned to hinder but the Imperialists opposed it, it to be the chief instruments of driving it on. For the cardinals of the imperial faction were now very active ; they liked not the precedent of excluding the cardinals of the nations concerned out of any business. But above all things, they were to hinder a conjunction between the pope and the king of England ; for the pope being then allied to France, there was nothing the emperor feared more than the closing the breach with England, which would make the union against him so much stronger. Therefore when the day that had been prefixed for the return of the courier from England was elapsed, they all pressed the pope to proceed to a sentence definitive and to censures. Bellay the bishop of Paris represented the injustice of proceeding with so much precipitation, since where there were seas to cross, in such a season, many accidents might occasion the delay of the express. The king of England had followed this suit six years, and had patience so long ; therefore he desired the delay of six days, and if in that time no return came, they might proceed. But the imperialists represented that those were only delays to gain time ; and that the king of England was still proceeding in his contempt of the apostolic see and of the cardinals, and publishing books and libels against them. This so wrought on the angry pope, that without consulting his ordinary prudence, he brought the business into the consistory, where the plurality of voices carried it to proceed to a sentence. And though the process had been carried on all that winter in their usual forms, yet it was not so ripe but by the rules of the consistory there ought to have been three sessions before sentence was given. But they concluded all in one day ; and so on the 23rd of March, the marriage between the king and queen Katharine was declared good, and the king required to take her as his wife, otherwise censures were to be denounced against him.

Two days after that, the courier arrived from England with the king’s submission, under his hand in due form, and earnest letters from the French king to have it accepted, that so the business might be composed. When this was known at Rome, all the indifferent and wise cardinals (among whom was Farnese, that was afterwards pope Paul III.) came to the pope, and desired that it might be again considered before it went further. So it was brought again into the consistory. But the secret reason of the imperialists opposing it was now more pressing, since there was such an appearance of a settlement if the former sentence were once recalled. Therefore they so managed the matter that it was confirmed anew by the pope and the consistory, and they ordered the emperor to execute the sentence.

The King resolves to abolish the Pope’s power in England, The king was now in so good hope of his business, that he sent sir Edward Karne to Rome to prosecute his suit, who on his way thither met the bishop of Paris coming back with this melancholic account of his unprosperous negotiation. When the king heard it, and understood that he was used with so much

scorn and contempt at Rome, being also the more vexed because he had come to such a submission, he resolved then to break totally from Rome. And in this he was beforehand with that court ; for judging it the best way to procure a peace, to manage the war vigorously, he had held a session of parliament from the 15th of January till the 30th of March, in which he had procured a great change of the whole constitution of the government of the church. But before I give an account of that, I shall first open all the arguments and reasons upon which I find they proceeded in this matter.

The pope's power had been then for four years together much examined and disputed in England ; in which they went by these steps, one leading to another.—They first controverted his power of dispensing with the law of God. From that they went to examine what jurisdiction he had in England, upon which followed the convicting the clergy of a premunire with their submission to the king. And that led them to controvert the pope's right to annates, and other exactions, which they also condemned. The condemning all appeals to Rome followed that naturally. And now so many branches of that power were cut off, the root was next struck at, and the foundations

of the papal authority were examined. For near a year together there had been many public debates about it ; and both in the parliament and convocation the

thing was long disputed, and all that could be alleged on both sides was considered. The reader will be best able to judge of their reasons (and thereby of the ripeness of their judgments when they enacted the laws that passed in this parliament) when he sees a full account of them, which I shall next set down, not drawn from the writings and apologies that have been published since, but from these that came out about that time. For then were written the Institution for "The Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man," concluded in the convocation, and published by authority ; and another book, "*Differentia Regiæ et Ecclesiasticæ Potestatis*." The former of these was called the bishops', and the latter the king's, book *. Gardiner also wrote a book, "*De vera Obedientia*," to which Bonner prefixed a preface upon the same subject. Stokesly bishop of London, and Tonsal bishop of Durham, wrote a long letter in defence of the king's proceedings in this matter to cardinal Pole : from these writings, and the sermons preached by some bishops at this time, with other authentic pieces, I have extracted the substance of the arguments upon which they grounded their laws, which I shall divide in two heads. The one, of the reasons for rejecting the pope's pretended power ; the other, for setting up the king's supremacy, with the explanations and limitations of it.

First, of the pope's power, they declared, that "they found no ground for it in the Scripture. All the apostles were made equal by Christ when he committed the church to their care in common. And he did often declare, there was no superiority of one above another. St. Paul claimed an equality with the chief apostles, both Peter, James, and John ; and when he thought St. Peter blameworthy, he withstood him to his face. But whatsoever pre-eminence St. Peter might have, that was only personal, and there was no reason to affix it to his chair at Rome more than at Antioch. But if any see be to be preferred before another, it should be Jerusalem, where Christ died, and out of which the faith was propagated over all nations, Christ commanding his disciples to begin their preaching in it ; so that it was truly the mother church, and is so called by St. Paul ; whereas in the Scripture, Rome is called Babylon, according to Tertullian and St. Jerome.

"For the places brought from Scripture in favour of the papacy, they judged that they did not prove anything for it. That 'Thou art Peter,' and 'Upon this rock I will build my church,' if it prove anything in this matter, would prove too much ; even that the church

* The order in which these books were published is not observed ; they were thus printed.

1. *De Vera Differentia Regiæ Potestatis et Ecclesiasticæ* (written by Edward Fox, Bishop of Hereford), 1534.

2. *De Vera Obedientia*, (by Stephen Gardiner,) 1535. Set out with Bonner's preface before it, Jan. 1536.

3. *The Institution of a Christian Man*, 1537, which was afterwards reduced into another form, under another title, viz. *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*, 1540.

But there was another written before all these, "*De Potestate Christianorum Regum in suis Ecclesiis contra Pontificis Tyrannidem* ;" and the distinction there made between the bishops' book and the king's book seems not well applied. It is more probable that "*The Institution of a Christian Man*," set out by the bishops, was called their book ; and that being afterwards put in another method, and set out by the king's authority, it was called his book.

—FULMAN'S CORRECTIONS.

was founded on St. Peter, as he was a private person, and so on the popes in their personal capacity. But both St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, and St. Austin, think, that by the rock, the confession he had made was only to be meant. Others of the fathers thought, by the rock, Christ himself was meant, who is the only true foundation of the church; though in another sense all the apostles are also called foundations by St. Paul. That 'Tell the church' is thought by Gerson and Æneas Silvius (afterwards pope Pius II.) rather to make against the pope and for a general council. And the fathers have generally followed St. Chrysostom and St. Austin, who thought that the giving of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the charge 'Feed my sheep,' were addressed to St. Peter in behalf of all the rest of the apostles. And that 'I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not,' was only personal, and related to his fall, which was then imminent. It is also clear by St. Paul, that every apostle had his peculiar province, beyond which he was not to stretch himself; and St. Peter's province was the circumcision, and his the uncircumcision, in which he plainly declares his equality with him.

"This was also clear from the constant tradition of the church. St. Cyprian was against appeals to Rome, and would not submit to pope Stephen's definition in the point of re-baptising of heretics; and expressly says 'that all the apostles were equal in power, and that all the bishops were also equal, since the whole office and episcopate was one entire thing, of which every bishop had a complete and equal share.' And though some places are brought out of him concerning the unity of the Roman church, and of other churches with it, yet those places have no relation to any authority that the Roman church had over other churches, but were occasioned by a schism that Novatian had made there at Rome, being elected in opposition to the bishop that was rightly chosen: and of that unity only St. Cyprian writes in those places. But from all his epistles to the bishops of Rome, it is visible he looked on himself as their equal, since he calls them brother, colleague, and fellow-bishop. And whatsoever is said by any ancient writer of St. Peter's chair, is to be understood of the pure gospel which he delivered; as St. Austin observes, that by Moses' chair is to be understood the delivering of Moses' law. But though St. Peter sate there, the succeeding popes have no more right to pretend to such authority than the kings of Spain to claim the Roman empire, because he that is now their king is emperor. When Constantine turned Christian, the dignity of the chief city of the empire made Rome to be accounted the first see; but by the general council of Nice it was declared that the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch had the same authority over the countries round about them, that he of Rome had over those that lay about that city. It is true, at that time, the Arian heresy having spread generally over the Eastern churches, from which the Western were free, the oppressed catholic bishops of the East made appeals to Rome, and extolled that see by a natural maxim in all men, who magnify that from which they have protection. But the second general council took care that that should not grow a precedent; for they decreed that every province should be governed by its own synod, and that bishops, when they were accused, must first be judged by the bishops of their own province, and from them they might appeal to the bishops of the diocese, but no higher appeal was allowed: and by that council it appears what was the foundation of the greatness of the bishop of Rome; for when Constantinople was made the seat of the empire and new Rome, it had the same privileges that old Rome had, and was set next to it in order and dignity. In a council at Milevi, in which St. Austin sate, they appointed that every clerk that should appeal to any bishop beyond the sea should be excommunicated. And when Faustinian was sent by the pope to the African churches, to claim the right of receiving appeals, and pretended a canon of the council of Nice for it, the pretension was rejected by the African fathers, who acknowledged no such right, and had never heard of that canon. Upon which they sent to the Eastern churches, and search was everywhere made for the copies of the canons of that council, but it was found that it was a forgery. From whence two things were observable: the one, that the church in that age had no tradition of any divine institution for the authority of that see, since, as the popes, who claimed it, never pretended to any such thing; so the African bishops, by their rejecting that power, show that they knew nothing of any divine warrant, all the contest being only about a canon of the church. It also appeared how early

the church of Rome aspired to power, and did not stick at making use of forged writings to support it. But pope Agatho, more modestly writing to the emperor in his own name, and in the name of all the synods that were subject to his see, calls them a few bishops in the northern and western parts. When afterwards the patriarch of Constantinople was declared by the emperor Mauritius the universal bishop, Gregory the Great did exclaim against the ambition of that title, as being equal to the pride of Lucifer, and declared that he who assumed it was the forerunner of antichrist; saying, that none of his predecessors had ever claimed such a power. And this was the more observable since the English were converted by those whom he sent over; so that this was the doctrine of that see when this church received the faith from it.

“But it did not continue long within those limits; for Boniface III. assumed that title upon the grant of Phocas. And as that Boniface got the spiritual sword put in his hand, so the eighth of that name pretended also to the temporal sword; but they owe these powers to the industry of those popes, and not to any donation of Christ’s. The popes, when they are consecrated, promise to obey the canons of the eight first general councils, which, if they observe, they will receive no appeals, nor pretend to any higher jurisdiction than these give to them, and the other patriarchs equally.

“As for the decrees of latter councils, they are of less authority: for those councils consisted of monks and friars in great part, whose exemptions obtained from Rome obliged them to support the authority of that court; and those who sate in them knew little of the Scriptures, fathers, or the tradition of the church, being only conversant in the disputes and learning of the schools. And for the Florentine council, the Eastern churches, who sent the Greek bishops that sate there, never received their determination, neither then, nor at any time since.

“Many places were also brought out of the fathers, to show that they did not look on the bishops of Rome as superior to other bishops; and that they understood not those places of Scripture which were afterwards brought for the pope’s supremacy in that sense; so that if tradition be the best expounder of Scripture, those latter glosses must give place to the more ancient. But that passage of St. Jerome, in which he equals the bishops of Eugubium and Constantinople to the bishop of Rome, was much made use of, since he was a presbyter of Rome, and so likely to understand the dignity of his own church best. There were many things brought from the contests that other sees had with Rome, to show that all the privileges of that and other sees were only founded on the practice and canons of the church, but not upon any divine warrant. Constantinople pretended to equal privileges. Ravenna, Milan, and Aquileia, pretended to a patriarchal dignity and exemption. Some archbishops of Canterbury contended that popes could do nothing against the laws of the church; so Laurence and Dunstan. Robert Grosteste, bishop of Lincoln, asserted the same, and many popes confessed it. And to this day no constitution of the popes is binding in any church, except it be received by it; and in the daily practice of the canon law, the customs of churches are pleaded against papal constitutions, which shows their authority cannot be from God, otherwise all must submit to their laws. And from the latter contests, up and down Europe, about giving investitures, receiving appeals, admitting of legates, and papal constitutions, it was apparent that the papal authority was a tyranny, which had been managed by cruel and fraudulent arts, but was never otherwise received in the church than as a conquest to which they were constrained to yield. And this was more fully made out in England, from what passed in William the Conqueror and Henry II.’s time, and by the statutes of provisors in many kings’ reigns, which were still renewed till within a hundred years of the present time.”

Upon these grounds they concluded, that the pope’s power in England had no foundation, neither in the law of God, nor in the laws of the church or of the land.

As for the king’s power over spiritual persons, and in spiritual causes, they proved it from the Scriptures. In the old Testament, “they found the kings of Israel intermeddled in all matters ecclesiastical. Samuel, though he had been judge, yet acknowledged Saul’s authority: so also did Abimelech the high priest, and appeared before him when cited to answer upon an accusa-

The Arguments for the King’s Supremacy.
From the old Testament,

tion. And Samuel, 1 Sam. xv. 18, says, he was made the head of all the tribes. Aaron, in that, was an example to all the following high-priests who submitted to Moses. David made many laws about sacred things, such as the order of the courses of the priests and their worship; and when he was dying, he declared to Solomon how far his authority extended. He told him, (1 Chron. xxviii. 21,) 'that the courses of the priests and all the people were to be wholly at his commandment:' pursuant to which Solomon, (2 Chron. viii. 14, 15,) did appoint them 'their charges in the service of God, and both the priests and Levites departed not from his commandment in any matter:' and though he had turned out Abiathar from the high-priesthood, yet they made no opposition. Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josias, made likewise laws about ecclesiastical matters.

"In the New Testament Christ himself was obedient; he paid taxes, he declared that he pretended to no earthly kingdom; he charged the people to 'render to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's,' and his disciples not to affect temporal dominion, as the lords of the nations did. And though the magistrates were then heathens, yet the apostles wrote to the churches to obey magistrates, to submit to them, to pay taxes; they call the king supreme, and say he is God's minister to encourage them that do well, and to punish the evil doers, which is said of all persons without exception, and every soul is charged to be subject to the higher power.

"Many passages were cited out of the writings of the fathers, to show that they thought churchmen were included in these places as well as other persons, so that the tradition of the church was for the king's supremacy: and by one place of Scripture the king is called supreme, by another he is called head, and by a third every soul must be subject to him; which laid together make up this conclusion, that the king is the supreme head over all persons. In the primitive church the bishops in their councils made rules for ordering their dioceses, which they only called canons or rules, nor had they any compulsive authority but what was derived from the civil sanctions.

"After the emperors were Christians, they made many laws about sacred things, as may be seen in the Codes; and when Justinian digested the Roman law, he added many novel constitutions about ecclesiastical persons and causes. The emperors called general councils, presided in them, and confirmed them. And many letters were cited of popes to emperors, to call councils, and of the councils to them to confirm their decrees. The election of the popes themselves was sometimes made by the emperors, and sometimes confirmed by them. Pope Adrian in a synod decreed, that the emperor should choose the pope; and it was a late and unheard-of thing before the days of Gregory VII. for popes to pretend to depose princes and give away their dominions. This they compared to the pride of antichrist and Lucifer.

"They also argued from reason, that there must be but one supreme; and that the king being supreme over all his subjects, clergymen must be included, for they are still subjects. Nor can their being in orders change that former relation, founded upon the law of nature and nations, no more than wives or servants by becoming Christians were not, according to the doctrine of the apostles, discharged from the duties of their former relations.

"For the great objection from those offices that are peculiar to their functions, it was answered, that these notwithstanding, the king might well be the supreme head; for in the natural body, there were many vital motions that proceeded not from the head, but from the heart, and the other inward parts and vessels; and yet the head was still the chief seat and root of life: so though there be peculiar functions appropriated to churchmen, yet the king is still head, having authority over them, and a power to direct and coerce them in these.

"From that they proceeded to show, that in England the kings have always assumed a supremacy in ecclesiastical matters. They began with the most ancient writing that relates to the Christian religion in England then extant, pope Eleutherius' letter to king Lucius, in which he is twice called by him God's vicar in his kingdom, and he writ in it, that it belonged to his office to bring his subjects to the holy church, and to maintain, protect, and govern them in it. Many laws were cited, which Canutus

And the new.
And the practices of the primitive Church.

And from Reason.

And from the Laws of England.

Ethelred, Edgar, Edmond, Athelstan, and Ina, had enacted concerning churchmen, many more laws since the conquest were also made, both against appeals to Rome, and bishops going out of the kingdom without the king's leave.

"The whole business of the articles of Clarendon, and the contests that followed between king Henry II. and Thomas-a-Becket, were also opened. And though a bishop's pastoral care be of divine institution, yet as the kings of England had divided bishoprics as they pleased, so they also converted benefices from the institution of the founders, and gave them to cloisters and monasteries as king Edgar did; all which was done by the consent of their clergy and nobility, without dependence on Rome; they had also granted these houses exemption from episcopal jurisdiction; so Ina exempted Glastonbury, and Offa St. Albans, from their bishop's visitation; and this continued even till the days of William the Conqueror, for he, to perpetuate the memory of the victory he obtained over Harold, and to endear himself to the clergy, founded an abbey in the field where the battle was fought, and called it Battle Abbey, and in the charter he granted them these words are to be found,—'It shall be also free and quiet for ever from all subjection to bishops, or the dominion of any other persons, as Christ's church in Canterbury is.' Many other things were brought out of king Alfred's laws, and a speech of king Edgar's, with several letters written to the popes from the kings, the parliaments, and the clergy of England, to show that their kings did always make laws about sacred matters, and that their power reached to that, and to the persons of churchmen, as well as to their other subjects."

But at the same time that they pleaded so much for the king's supremacy and power of making laws for restraining and coercing his subjects, it appeared that they were far from vesting him with such an absolute power as the popes had pretended to, for they thus defined the extent of the king's power. "To them specially and principally it pertaineth to defend the faith of Christ and his religion, to conserve and maintain the true doctrine of Christ, and all such as be true preachers and setters forth thereof; and to abolish abuses, heresies, and idolatries, and to punish with corporal pains such as of malice be the occasion of the same. And finally to oversee and cause that the said bishops and priests do execute their pastoral office truly and faithfully, and specially in these points, which by Christ and his apostles was given and committed to them; and in case they shall be negligent in any part thereof, or would not diligently execute the same, to cause them to redouble and supply their lack: and if they obstinately withstand their prince's kind monition, and will not amend their faults, then and in such case to put others in their rooms and places. And God hath also commanded the said bishops and priests to obey with all humbleness and reverence both kings, and princes, and governors, and all their laws; not being contrary to the laws of God, whatsoever they be; and that not only *propter iram* but also *propter conscientiam*, that is to say, not only for fear of punishment, but also for discharge of conscience."

Thus it appears, that they both limited obedience to the king's laws, with the due caution of their not being contrary to the law of God, and acknowledged the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the discharge of the pastoral office, committed to the pastors of the church by Christ and his apostles; and that the supremacy then pretended to was no such extravagant power as some imagine.

Upon the whole matter it was concluded, "that the pope's power in England had no good foundation, and had been managed with as much tyranny as it had begun with usurpation, the exactions of their courts were everywhere heavy, but in no place so intolerable as in England; and though many complaints were made of them in these last three hundred years, yet they got no ease, and all the laws about provisors were still defeated and made ineffectual; therefore they saw it was impossible to moderate their proceedings; so that there was no other remedy but to extirpate their pretended authority, and thenceforth to acknowledge the pope only bishop of Rome, with the jurisdiction about it defined by the ancient canons: and for the king to reassume his own authority, and the prerogatives of his crown, from which the kings of England had never formally departed, though they had for this last hundred years connived at an invasion and usurpation upon them, which was no longer to be endured."

The Qualification of that Supremacy. Necessary Erudition upon the Sacrament of Orders.

The necessity of extirpating the Pope's Power.

These were the grounds of casting off the pope's power, that had been for two or three years studied and inquired into by all the learned men in England; and had been debated both in convocation and parliament, and except Fisher bishop of Rochester I do not find that any bishop appeared for the pope's power; and for the abbots and priors, as they were generally very ignorant, so what the cardinal had done in suppressing some monasteries, and what they now heard, that the court had an eye on their lands, made them to be as compliant as could be. But Fisher was a man of great reputation and very ancient, so that much pains was taken to satisfy him. A week before the parliament sat down, the archbishop of Canterbury proposed to him that he and any five doctors such as he should choose, and the bishop of London, and five doctors with him, might confer about it, and examine the authorities of both sides, that so there might be an agreement among them, by which the scandal might be removed, which otherwise would be taken from their janglings and contests among themselves. Fisher accepted of this, and Stokesly wrote to him on the 8th of January, that he was ready whenever the other pleased, and desired him to name time and place, and if they could not agree the matter among themselves, he moved to refer it to two learned men whom they should choose, in whose determination they would both acquiesce. How far this overture went

I cannot discover, and perhaps Fisher's sickness hindered the progress of it. But now on the 15th of January the parliament sat down; by the journals I find no other bishops present but the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Winchester, Lincoln, Bath and Wells, Llandaff, and Carlisle. There were also twelve abbots present, but upon what pretences the rest excused their attendance I do not know; perhaps some made a difference between submitting to what was done, and being active and concurring to make the change. During the session a bishop preached every Sunday at Paul's-cross, and declared to the people that the pope had no authority at all in England. In the two former sessions the bishops had preached that the general council was above the pope, but now they struck a note higher. This was done to let the people see what justice and reason was in the acts that were then passing, to which I now turn, and shall next give an account of this great session of parliament, which I shall put rather in the natural method according to the matter of the acts than in the order of time as they passed.

On the 9th of March a bill came up from the commons for discharging the subjects of all dependence on the court of Rome, it was read the first time in the house of lords the 13th of March, and on the 14th was read the second time and committed. The committee reported it on the 19th, by which it appears there was no stiff nor long opposition, and he that was likeliest to make it was both obnoxious and absent, as will afterwards appear. On the 19th it was read the third time, and on the 20th the fourth time, and then passed without any protestation. Some provisoes were added to it by the lords, to which the commons agreed, and so it was made ready for the royal assent.

In the preamble the intolerable exactions for Peter-pence, provisions, pensions, and bulls of all sorts, are complained of, "which were contrary to all laws, and grounded only on the pope's power of dispensing, which was usurped. But the king and the lords and commons within his own realm had only power to consider how any of the laws were to be dispensed with or abrogated; and since the king was acknowledged the supreme head of the church of England by the prelates and clergy in their convocations, therefore it was enacted that all payments made to the apostolic chamber, and all provisions, bulls, or dispensations, should from thenceforth cease. But that all dispensations or licences for things that were not contrary to the law of God but only to the law of the land, should be granted within the kingdom, by and under the seals of the two archbishops in their several provinces, who should not presume to grant any contrary to the laws of Almighty God, and should only grant such licences as had been formerly in use to be granted, but give no licence for any new thing till it were first examined by the king and his council whether such things might be dispensed with; and that all dispensations which were formerly taxed at or above 4*l.* should be also confirmed under the great seal. Then many clauses follow about the rates of licences

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The Act for
taking away
the Pope's
power.

It is the Act
21 in the Sta-
tute Book, 27
in the Record,
and 8 in the
Journal.

and the ways of procuring them. It was also declared, that they did not hereby intend to vary from Christ's church about the articles of the catholic faith of Christendom, or in any other things declared by the Scriptures, and the word of God necessary for their salvation, confirming withal the exemptions of monasteries formerly granted by the bishop of Rome, exempting them still from the archbishop's visitations: declaring that such abbeyes whose elections were formerly confirmed by the pope, shall be now confirmed by the king; who likewise shall give commission under his great seal for visiting them, providing also that licences and other writs obtained from Rome before the 12th of March in that year should be valid and in force, except they were contrary to the laws of the realm; giving also to the king and his council power to order and reform all indulgences and privileges (or the abuses of them) which had been granted by the see of Rome." The offenders against this act were to be punished according to the statutes of provisors and pre-munire.

This act, as it gave great ease to the subject, so it cut off that base trade of indulgences about divine laws, which had been so gainful to the church of Rome, but was of late fatal to it. All in the religious houses saw their privileges now struck at, since they were to be reformed as the king saw cause, which put them in no small confusion. Those that favoured the reformation rejoiced at this act, not only because the pope's power was rooted out, but because the faith that was to be adhered to was to be taken from those things which the Scriptures declared necessary to salvation; so that all their fears were now much qualified, since the Scripture was to be the standard of the catholic faith. On the same day that this bill passed in the house of lords, another bill was read for confirming the succession to the crown in the issue of the king's present marriage with queen Anne. It was read the second time on the 21st of March, and committed. It was reported on the 23rd, and read the third time and passed, and sent down to the commons, who sent it back again to them on the 26th, so speedily did this bill go through both houses without any opposition.

The preamble of it was, "the distractions that had been in England about the succession to the crown, which had occasioned the effusion of much blood, with many other mischiefs, all which flowed from the want of a clear decision of the true title, from which the popes had usurped a power of investing such as pleased them in other princes' kingdoms, and princes had often maintained such donations for their other ends; therefore to avoid the like inconveniences, the king's former marriage with the princess Katharine is judged contrary to the laws of God, and void and of no effect, and the sentence passed by the archbishop of Canterbury annulling it is confirmed, and the lady Katharine is thenceforth to be reputed only princess dowager and not queen, and the marriage with queen Anne is established and confirmed; and marriages within the degrees prohibited by Moses (which are enumerated in the statute) are declared to be unlawful, according to the judgment of the convocations of this realm, and of the most famous universities and learned men abroad, any dispensations to the contrary notwithstanding, which are also declared null, since contrary to the laws of God; and all that were married within these degrees are appointed to be divorced, and the children begotten in such marriages were declared illegitimate: and all the issue that should be between the king and the present queen is declared lawful, and the crown was to descend on his issue male by her, or any other wife; or in default of issue male, to the issue female by the queen; and in default of any such, to the right heirs of the king's highness for ever: and any that after the 1st of May should maliciously divulge anything to the slander of the king's marriage, or of the issue begotten in it, were to be adjudged for misprision of treason, and to suffer imprisonment at the king's will, and forfeit all their goods and chattels to him; and if the queen outlived the king, she is declared regent till the issue by her were of age, if a son eighteen, and if a daughter sixteen years of age; and all the king's subjects were to swear that they would maintain the contents of this act, and whoever being required did refuse it, was to be judged guilty of misprision of treason, and punished accordingly." The oath it seems was likewise agreed on in the house of lords, for the form of it is set down in their journal as follows.

Act about the Succession to the Crown, 22 in the Statute Books, 34 in the Record, 26 in the Journal.

“Ye shall swear to bear faith, truth, and obedience alone to the king’s majesty, and to his heirs of his body of his most dear and entirely beloved lawful wife queen Anne, begotten and to be begotten. And further, to the heirs of our said sovereign lord according to the limitation in the statute made for surety of his succession in the crown of this realm mentioned and contained, and not to any other within this realm, nor foreign authority or potentate. And in case any oath be made or hath been made by you to any person or persons, that then ye to repute the same as vain and annihilate. And that to your cunning, wit, and uttermost of your power, without guile, fraud, or other undue means, ye shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend the said act of succession, and all the whole effects and contents thereof, and all other acts and statutes made in confirmation or for execution of the same, or of anything therein contained. And this ye shall do against all manner of persons of what estate, dignity, degree, or condition soever they be; and in nowise to do or attempt, nor to your power suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things, privily or apartly, to the let, hindrance, damage, or derogation thereof, or of any part of the same, by any manner of means, or for any manner of pretence. So help you God, and all saints, and the holy evangelists.”

And thus was the king’s marriage confirmed. But when the commons returned this bill to the lords, they sent them another with it, concerning the proceedings against heretics. There had been complaints made formerly, as was told before, of the severe and intolerable proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts against heretics: and on the 4th of February, the commons sent up a complaint made by one Thomas Philips against the bishop of London, for using him cruelly in prison, upon the suspicion of heresy; but the lords doing nothing in it, on the 1st of March the house of commons sent some of their number to the bishop, requiring him to make answer to the complaints exhibited against him, who acquainted the

Journal
Procer.

house of lords with it the next day: but as they had formerly laid aside the complaint as not worthy of their time, so they all with one consent answered, that it was not fit for any of the peers to appear or answer at the bar of the house of commons. Upon this the house of commons finding they could do nothing in that particular case, resolved to provide an effectual remedy for such abuses for the future: and therefore sent up a bill about the punishment of heretics, which was read that day for the first time, and the second and third time on the 27th and 28th, in which it passed.

The act was a repeal of the statute of the second of Henry IV., by which bishops upon suspicion of heresy might commit any to prison, as was before told, but in that act there was no declaration made what was heresy, except in the general words of what was contrary to Scriptures, or canonical sanctions. This was liable to great ambiguity, by which men were in much danger, and not sufficiently instructed what was heresy. They also complained of their proceedings, without presentment or accusation, contrary to what was practised in all other cases, even of treason itself; and many canonical sanctions had been established only by popes without any divine precept, therefore they repealed the act of Henry IV., but left the statutes of Richard II. and Henry V. still in force, with the following regulation,—“that heretics should be proceeded against upon presentments, by two witnesses at least, and then be committed, but brought to answer to their indictments in open court; and if they were found guilty, and would not abjure, or were relapse, to be adjudged to death,—the king’s writ *de hæretico comburendo* being first obtained. It was also declared, that none should be troubled upon any of the pope’s canons or laws, or for speaking or doing against them.” It was likewise provided that men committed for heresy might be bailed.

It may easily be imagined how acceptable this act was to the whole nation, since it was such an effectual limitation of the ecclesiastical power, in one of the uneasiest parts of it; and this regulation of the arbitrary proceedings of the spiritual courts was a particular blessing to all that favoured reformation. But as the parliament was going on with these good laws, there came a submission from the clergy then sitting in convocation, to be passed in parliament. With what opposition it went through the two houses of convocation and the house of commons is not known; for as the registers of the convocation are burnt, so it does not appear that there were any journals kept in the house of commons at that time.

Act about
punishing He-
retics, 14 in
the Statute
Book, 33 in
the Record,
31 in the
Journal.

On the 27th of March it was sent up to the lords, and since the spiritual lords had already consented to it, there was no reason to apprehend any opposition from the temporal lords. The session was now near an end, so they made haste and read it twice that day, and the third time the next day, and passed it. The contents of it were: "The clergy acknowledged that all convocations had been and ought to be assembled by the king's writ; and promised, *in verbo sacerdotii*, that they would never make nor execute any new canons or constitutions, without the royal assent to them; and since many canons had been received that were found prejudicial to the king's prerogative, contrary to the laws of the land, and heavy to the subjects, that therefore there should be a committee of thirty-two persons, sixteen of the two houses of parliament, and as many of the clergy to be named by the king, who should have full power to abrogate or confirm canons as they found it expedient,—the king's assent being obtained. This was confirmed by act of parliament; and by the same act all appeals to Rome were again condemned. If any party found themselves aggrieved in the archbishop's courts, an appeal might be made to the king in the court of chancery, and the lord chancellor was to grant a commission under the great seal for some delegates, in whose determination all must acquiesce. All exempted abbots were also to appeal to the king; and it concluded with a proviso, that till such correction of the canons was made, all those which were then received should still remain in force, except such as were contrary to the laws and customs of the realms, or were to the damage or hurt of the king's prerogative."

This proviso seemed to have a fair colour that there might still be some canons in force to govern the church by; but since there was no day prefixed to the determination of the commission, this proviso made that the act never took effect; for now it lay in the prerogative, and in the judge's breast, to declare what canons were contrary to the laws, or the rights of the crown: and it was judged more for the king's greatness to keep the matter undetermined, than to make such a collection of ecclesiastical laws as should be fixed and unmovable. The last of the public acts of this session that related to the church was about the election and consecration of bishops. On the 4th of February the commons sent up a bill to the lords about the consecration of bishops; it lay on the table till the 27th of February, and was then cast out, and a new one drawn. On what reason it was cast out is not mentioned, and the journal does not so much as say that it was once read. The new bill had its second reading the 3rd of March, and on the 5th it was ordered to be engrossed; and on the 9th it was read the third time and agreed to, and sent down to the commons, who returned it to the lords on the 16th of March. The first part of it is a confirmation of their former act against annates, to which they added, "that bishops should not be any more presented to the bishop of Rome, or sue out any bulls there, but that all bishops should be presented to the archbishop, and archbishops to any archbishop in the king's dominions, or to any four bishops whom the king should name; and that when any see was vacant, the king was to grant a licence for a new election, with a letter missive bearing the name of the person that was to be chosen; and twelve days after these were delivered, an election was to be returned by the dean and chapter, or prior and convent, under their seals. Then the person elected was to swear fealty to the king, upon which a commission was to be issued out for consecrating and investing him with the usual ceremonies; after which he was to do homage to the king, and be restored both the spiritualities and temporalities of his see, for which the king granted commissions during the vacancy; and whosoever refused to obey the contents of the act, or acted contrary to it, were declared within the statute of premunire."

There passed a private act for depriving the bishops of Salisbury and Worcester, who were cardinal Campegio and Jerome de Ghinuccii; the former deserved greater severities at the king's hand, but the latter seems to have served him faithfully, and was recommended both by the king and the French king about a year before to a cardinal's hat. The preamble of the act bears, "that persons promoted to ecclesiastical benefices ought to reside within the kingdom, for preaching the laws of Almighty God, and for keeping hospitality; and since these prelates did not that, but lived at the court of Rome, and neglected their dioceses, and made the revenues of them be carried out of the kingdoms, contrary to the intentions of

the founders and to the prejudice of the realm, 3000*l.* being at least carried yearly out of the kingdom ; therefore their dioceses were declared vacant."

But now I come to the act of the attainder of Elizabeth Barton and her accomplices, which I shall open fully, since it was the first step that was made to rebellion, and the first occasion of putting any to death upon this quarrel ; and from it one will clearly see the genius of that part of the clergy that adhered to the interests of the court of Rome. On the 21st of February the bill was sent up to the lords, and read the first time ; on the 26th it was read the second time, and committed ; then the witnesses and other evidences were brought before them, but chiefly she with all her accomplices, who confessed the crimes charged on her. It was reported and read the 6th of March the third time, and then the lords addressed to the king to know his pleasure, whether sir Thomas More, and others mentioned in the act as accomplices, or at least concealers, might not be heard to speak for themselves in the Star-chamber : as for the bishop of Rochester, he was sick, but he had written to the house all that he had to say for his own excuse. What presumptions lay against sir Thomas More I have not been able to find out, only that he wrote a letter to the nun, at which the king took great exceptions, yet it appears he had a mean opinion of her ;

for in discourse with his beloved daughter, mistress Roper, he called her commonly the silly nun. But for justifying himself, he wrote a full account of all the intercourse he had with the nun and her accomplices to Cromwell ; but though by his other printed letters, both to Cromwell and the king, it seems some ill impressions remained in the king's mind about it, he still continued to justify not only his intentions, but his actions in that particular. One thing is not unworthy of observation, that Rastall, who published his works in queen Mary's time, printed the second letter he wrote to Cromwell, yet did not publish that account which he sent first to him concerning it, to which More refers himself in all his following letters ; though it is more like a copy of that would have been preserved, than of those other letters that refer to it. But perhaps it was kept up on design ; for in queen Mary's time they had a mind to magnify that story of the nun's, since she was thought to have suffered on her mother's account : and among the other things she talked, one was that the lady Mary should one day reign in England,—for which Sanders has since thought fit to make a propheticess of her. And it is certain More had a low opinion of her, which appears in many places of his printed letters ; but that would have been much plainer if that full account he wrote of that affair had been published,—and therefore, that one of their martyrs might not lessen the esteem of another, it was fit to suppress it. Whether my conjectures in this be well grounded or not, is left to the reader's judgment. In conclusion, More's justifications, seconded with the good offices that the lord chancellor Audley and Cromwell did him (who, as appears by his letters, stood his friends in that matter), did so work on the king, that his name was put out of the bill,—and so the act was agreed on by both houses, and the royal assent followed. The matter was this : Elizabeth Barton, of Kent, in the parish of Aldington, being sick and distempered in her brain, fell in some trances (it seems by the symptoms they were hysterical fits) and spoke many words that made great impressions on some about her, who thought her inspired of God ; and Richard Master, parson of the parish, hoping to draw great advantages from this, went to Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and gave him a large account of her speeches, who ordered him to attend her carefully, and bring him a further report of any new trances she might afterwards fall in. But she had forgot all she had said in her fits, yet the crafty priest would not let it go so, but persuaded her that what she had said was by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and that she ought to own that it was so. Upon which he taught her to counterfeit such trances, and to utter such speeches as she had done before ; so that after a while's practice she became very ready at it. The thing was much noised abroad, and many came to see her, but the priest had a mind to raise the reputation of an image of the blessed Virgin that was in a chapel within his parish, that so pilgrimages being made to it, he might draw these advantages from it that others made from their famed images, but chose for his associate one doctor Boeking, a canon* of Christ-church in Canterbury ; upon which

* There were no canons in that church, they were all monks.—FLETCHER'S CORRECTIONS.

they instructed her to say in her counterfeited trances that the blessed Virgin had appeared to her, and told her she could never recover till she went and visited her image in that chapel. They had also taught her in her fits to make strange motions with her body, by which she was much disfigured, and to speak many godly words against sin and the new doctrines, which were called heresies, as also against the king's suit of divorce. It was also noised abroad on what day she intended to go and visit the image of the Virgin, so that about 2000 people were gathered together, and she being brought to the chapel fell into her fits and made many strange grimaces and alterations of her body, and spake many words of great piety, saying, that by the inspiration of God she was called to be a religious woman, and that Bocking was to be her ghostly father. And within a little while she seemed by the intercession of Our Lady to be perfectly recovered of her former distempers, and she afterwards professed a religious life. There were also violent suspicions of her incontinency, and that Bocking was a carnal as well as a spiritual father. She fell in many raptures, and pretended she saw strange visions, heard heavenly melody, and had the revelation of many things that were to come, so that great credit was given to what she said, and people generally looked on her as a prophetess, and among those the late archbishop of Canterbury was led away with the rest. A book was writ of her revelations and prophecies by one Deering, another monk, who was taken into the conspiracy with many others. It was also given out that Mary Magdalen gave her a letter that was writ in heaven, which was showed to many, being all writ in golden letters. She pretended when the king was last at Calais, that he being at mass, an angel brought away the sacrament and gave it to her, being then invisibly present, and that she was presently brought over the sea to her monastery again. But the design of all these trances was to alienate the people from their duty to the king, for the maid gave it out, that God revealed to her that if the king went on in the divorce and married another wife, he should not be king a month longer, and in the reputation of Almighty God not one hour longer, but should die a villain's death. This, she said, was revealed to her in answer to the prayers she had put up to God to know whether he approved of the king's proceedings or not; which coming to the knowledge of the bishop of Rochester and some others, who adhered to the queen's interests, they had frequent meetings with the maid, and concealed what she spake concerning the king; and some of them gave such credit to what she said, that they practised on many others to draw them from their allegiance, and prevailed with several of the fathers and nuns of Sion, of the Charter-house in London and Shene, and of the Observants of Richmond, Greenwich, and Canterbury, with a great many other persons.

This appeared most signally at Greenwich, where the king lived most in summer, for one Peto being to preach in the king's chapel, denounced heavy judgments upon him to his face, and told him "that many lying prophets had deceived him, but he, as a true Michajah, warned him that the dogs should lick his blood as they had done Ahab's" (for that prophecy about Ahab was his text), with many other bitter words, and concluded, "that it was the greatest misery of princes to be daily so abused by flatterers as they were." The king bore it patiently, and expressed no signs of any commotion; but to undeceive the people, he took care that doctor Corren or Curwin should preach next Sunday, who justified the king's proceedings, and condemned Peto as a rebel, a slanderer, a dog, and a traitor. Peto was gone to Canterbury, but another observant friar of the same house, Elston, interrupted him, and said he was one of the lying prophets that sought by adultery to establish the succession to the crown, and that he would justify all that Peto had said; and spake many other things with great vehemency, nor could they silence him till the king himself commanded him to hold his peace. And yet all that was done either to him or Peto was, that being called before the privy council they were rebuked for their insolence: by which it appears that king Henry was not very easily inflamed against them when a crime of so high a nature was so slightly passed over*.

Nor was this all, but the fathers that were in the conspiracy had confederated to publish these revelations in their sermons, up and down the kingdom. They had also given notice

* It was not passed over: for Stow says, p. 561, these friars and all the rest of that order were shortly after banished;—and after that none durst openly oppose themselves against the king's affections.—ANON. CORRECT.

of them to the pope's ambassadors, and had brought the maid to declare her revelations to them; they had also sent an account to queen Katharine for encouraging her to stand out and not submit to the laws, of which confederacy Thomas Abel was likewise one. The

Stow.

king, who had despised it long, ordered that in November the former year the maid and her accomplices, Richard Master, doctor Bocking, Richard Deering, Henry Gold, a parson in London, Hugh Rich, an observant friar, Richard Risby, Thomas Gold and Edward Twaites, gentlemen, and Thomas Laurence, should be brought into the Star-chamber, where there was a great appearance of many lords; they were examined upon the premises, and did all without any rack or torture confess the whole conspiracy, and were adjudged to stand in Paul's all the sermon time, and after sermon the king's officers were to give every one of them his bill of confession to be openly read before the people; which was done next Sunday, the bishop of Bangor preaching, they being all set in a scaffold before him. This public manner was thought upon good grounds to be the best way to satisfy the people of the imposture of the whole matter, and it did very much convince them that the cause must needs be bad where such methods were used to support it. From thence they were carried to the Tower, where they lay till the session of parliament, but when they lay there some of their accomplices sent messages to the nun to encourage her to deny all that she had said; and it is very probable that the reports that went abroad of her being forced or cheated into a confession, made the king think it necessary to proceed more severely against her. The thing being considered in parliament, it was judged a conspiracy against the king's life and crown. So the nun and master Bocking, Deering, Rich, Risby, and Henry Gold, were attainted of high treason: and the bishop of Rochester, Thomas Gold, Thomas Laurence, Edward Twaites, John Adeson, and Thomas Abel, were judged guilty of misprision of treason, and to forfeit their goods and chattels to the king, and to be imprisoned during his pleasure; and all the books that were written of her revelations were ordered to be sent in to some of the chief officers of state, under the pains of fine and imprisonment. It had been also found, that the letter which she pretended to have got from Mary Magdalen was written by one Hankerst of Canterbury; and that the door of the dormitory, which was given out to be made open by miracle, that she might go into the chapel for converse with God, was opened by some of her accomplices for beastly and carnal ends. But in the conclusion of the act, all others who had been corrupted in their allegiance by these impostures, except the persons before named, were, at the earnest intercession of queen Anne, pardoned.

The two houses of parliament (having ended their business) were prorogued on the 29th of March to the 3d of November, and before they broke up, all the members of both houses, that they might give a good example to the king's other subjects, swore the oath of succession, as appears from the act made about it in the next session of parliament. The execution of these persons was delayed for some time, it is like till the king had a return from Rome of the messenger he had sent thither with his submission.

Soon after that, on the 20th of April, the nun and Bocking, master Deering, Risby, and Gold (Rich is not named, being perhaps either dead or pardoned), were brought to Tyburn.

The Nun's speech at her death. The nun spake these words: "Hither I am come to die, and I have not been only the cause of mine own death, which most justly I have deserved, but also I am the cause of the death of all those persons which at this time here suffer.

Hall. And yet to say the truth, I am not so much to be blamed, considering that it was well known to these learned men that I was a poor wench without learning, and therefore they might easily have perceived that the things that were done by me, could not proceed in no such sort; but their capacities and learning could right well judge from whence they proceeded, and that they were altogether feigned; but because the thing which I feigned was profitable to them, therefore they much praised me, and bore me in hand, that it was the Holy Ghost and not I that did them; and then I, being puffed up with their praises, fell into a certain pride and foolish fantasy with myself, and thought I might feign what I would, which thing hath brought me to this case; and for the which now I cry God and the king's highness most heartily mercy, and desire you, all good people, to pray to God to have mercy on me, and on all them that here suffer with me."

On all this I have dwelt the longer, both because these are all called martyrs by Sanders, and that this did first provoke the king against the regular clergy, and drew after it all the severities that were done in the rest of his reign. The foulness and the wicked designs of this imposture did much alienate people from the interest of Rome, and made the other acts both pass more easily and be better received by the people. It was also generally believed, that what was now discovered was no new practice, but that many of the visions and miracles by which religious orders had raised their credit so high, were of the same nature; and it made way for the destroying of all the monasteries in England, though all the severity which

Stow.

at this time followed on it, was that the observant friars of Richmond, Greenwich, Canterbury, Newark, and Newcastle, were removed out of their houses, and put with the other Gray friars, and Augustin friars were put in their houses.

But because of the great name of Fisher bishop of Rochester, and since this was the first step to his ruin, it is necessary to give a fuller account of his carriage in this matter. When the cheat was first discovered, Cromwell, then secretary of state, sent the bishop's brother to him with a sharp reproof for his carriage in that business; but withal advised him to write to the king and acknowledge his offence, and desire his pardon, which he knew the king, considering his age and sickness, would grant. But he wrote back, excusing himself that all he did was only to try whether her revelations were true. He confessed he conceived a great opinion of her holiness, both from common fame

Fisher gently dealt with.

But is obstinate and intractable.

and her entering into religion; from the report of her ghostly father, whom he esteemed learned and religious, and of many other learned and virtuous priests; from the good opinion the late archbishop of Canterbury had of her, and from what is in the prophet Amos, "That God will do nothing without revealing it to his servants." That upon these grounds he was induced to have a good opinion of her; and that to try the truth about her he had sometimes spoken with her, and sent his chaplains to her, but never discovered any falsehood in her. And for his concealing what she had told him about the king, which was laid to his charge, he thought it needless for him to speak of it to the king, since she had said to him that she had told it to the king herself: she had named no person who should kill the king, which by being known might have been prevented. And as in spiritual things, every churchman was not bound to denounce judgments against those that could not bear it; so in temporal things the case might be the same; and the king had on other occasions spoken so sharply to him that he had reason to think the king would have been offended with him for speaking of it, and would have suspected that he had a hand in it; therefore he desired for the passion of Christ to be no more troubled about that matter, otherwise he would speak his conscience freely. To all which Cromwell wrote a long letter, which the reader will find

Collect.

Numb. 49.

Cott. Lib.

Cleopa. E. 4.

in the collection, copied from the rude draught of it written with his own hand; in which he charges the matter upon him heavily, and shows him that he had not proceeded as a grave prelate ought to have done; for he had taken all that he had heard of her upon trust, and had examined nothing; that if every person that pretends to revelations were believed on their own words, all government would be thereby destroyed. He had no reason to conclude, from the prophecy of Amos, that everything that is to fall out must be revealed to some prophet, since many notable things had fallen out, of which there was no revelation made beforehand. But he told him the true reason that made him give credit to her was the matter of her prophecies; to which he was so addicted, as he was to every other thing in which he once entered, that nothing could come amiss that served to that end. And he appealed to his conscience whether if she had prophesied for the king he would have given such easy credit to her, and not have examined the matter further. Then he shows how guilty he was in not revealing what concerned the king's life, and how frivolous all his excuses were; and after all tells him that though his excusing the matter had provoked the king, and that if it came to a trial he would certainly be found guilty, yet again he advises him to beg the king's pardon for his negligence and offence in that matter; and undertakes that the king would receive him into his favour, and that all matters of displeasure passed before that time should be forgiven and forgotten. This shows that though Fisher had in the progress of the king's cause given him great offence, yet he was ready to pass it all over, and not to take the advantage which he now had against him.

But Fisher was still obstinate and made no submission, and so was included within the act for misprision of treason; and yet I do not find that the king proceeded against him upon this act till by new provocations he drew a heavier storm of indignation upon himself.

When the session of parliament was at an end, commissioners were sent everywhere to offer the oath of the succession to the crown to all, according to the act of parliament, which was universally taken by all sorts of persons. Gardiner wrote from Winchester the 6th of May to Cromwell, that in the presence of the lord chamberlain, the lord Audley, and many other gentlemen, all abbots, priors, wardens, with the curates of all parishes and chapels within the shire, had appeared and taken the oath very obediently; and had given in a list of all the religious persons in their houses of fourteen years of age and above, for taking whose oaths some commissioners were appointed. The forms in which they took the oath are not known, and it is no wonder, for though they were enrolled, yet in queen Mary's time there was a commission given to Bonner and others to examine the records, and raze out of them all things that were done either in contempt of the see of Rome or to the defamation of religious houses, pursuant to which there are many things taken out of the rolls which I shall sometimes have occasion afterwards to take notice of; yet some writings have escaped their diligence, so there remains but two of the subscriptions of religious orders, both bearing date the 4th of May 1534. One is by the prior and convent of Langley Regis, that were Dominicans, the Franciscans of Aylesbury, the Dominicans of Dunstable, the Franciscans of Bedford, the Carmelites of Heeking, and the Franciscans de Mare. The other is by the prioress and convent of the Dominican nuns at Deptford.

In these, besides the renewing their allegiance to the king, "they swear the lawfulness of his marriage with queen Anne, and that they shall be true to the issue begotten in it; that they shall always acknowledge the king head of the church of England; and that the bishop of Rome has no more power than any other bishop has in his own diocese; and that they should submit to all the king's laws, notwithstanding the pope's censures to the contrary. That in their sermons they should not pervert the scriptures, but preach Christ and his gospel sincerely according to the scriptures, and the tradition of orthodox and catholic doctors; and in their prayers that they should pray first for the king, as supreme head of the church of England, then for the queen and her issue, and then for the archbishop of Canterbury and the other ranks of the clergy." To this these six priors set their hands with the seals of their convents, and in their subscriptions declared that they did it freely and unpelled, and in the name of all the brethren in the convent.

But sir Thomas More and the bishop of Rochester refused to take the oath as it was conceived; whose fall being so remarkable, I shall show the steps of it. There was a meeting of the privy council at Lambeth, to which many were cited to appear and take the oath. Sir Thomas More was first called, and the oath was tendered to him under the great seal; then he called for the act of succession to which it related, which was also showed him: having considered of them, he said he would neither blame these that made the act nor those that swore the oath, but for his part, though he was willing to swear to the succession, if he might be suffered to draw an oath concerning it, yet for the oath that was offered him his conscience so moved him that he could not without hazarding his soul take it. Upon this the lord chancellor told him that he was the first who had refused to swear it, and that the king would be highly offended with him for denying it, and so he was desired to withdraw and consider better of it. Several others were called upon, and did all take the oath except the bishop of Rochester, who answered upon the matter as More had done. When the lords had despatched all the rest, More was again brought before them: they showed him how many had taken it; he answered, he judged no man for doing it, only he could not do it himself. Then they asked the reasons why he refused it? He answered, he feared it might provoke the king more against him if he should offer reasons, which would be called a disputing against law: but when he was further pressed to give his reasons, he said if the king would command him to do it he would put them in writing.

The Oath
for the Suc-
cession gene-
rally sworn.
Orig. Cott.
Lib. Otho. C.
10.

Collect.
Numb. 50.
Rot. Claus.

Those last
clauses are
not in the
other Writ-
ing.

More and
Fisher refuse
the Oath.

See his
Works, p.
1128.

The archbishop of Canterbury urged him with this argument, that since he said he blamed no other person for taking it, it seemed he was not persuaded it was a sin, but was doubtful in the matter : but he did certainly know he ought to obey the king and the law, so there was a certainty on the one hand and only a doubt on the other ; therefore he was obliged to do that about which he was certain, notwithstanding these his doubtings. This did shake him a little, especially (as himself writes) “ coming out of so noble a prelate’s mouth :” but he answered, that though he had examined the matter very carefully, yet his conscience leaned positively to the other side ; and he offered to purge himself by his oath that it was purely out of a principle of conscience, and out of no light fantasy or obstinacy, that he thus refused it. The abbot of Westminster pressed him, that however the matter appeared to him he might see his conscience was erroneous, since the great council of the realm was of another mind, and therefore he ought to change his conscience (a reasoning very fit for so rich an abbot, which discovers of what temper his conscience was). But to this More answered, that if he were alone against the whole parliament, he had reason to suspect his own understanding ; but he thought he had the whole council of Christendom on his side, as well as the great council of England was against him. Secretary Cromwell, who (as More writes) tenderly favoured him, seeing his ruin was now inevitable, was much affected at it, and protested with an oath he had rather his own only son had lost his head than that he should have refused the oath. Thus both he and the bishop of Rochester refused it, but both offered to swear another oath for the succession of the crown to the issue of the king’s present marriage, because that was in the power of the parliament to determine it. Cranmer, who was a moderate and wise man, and foresaw well the ill effects that would follow on contending so much with persons so highly esteemed over the world, and of such a temper that severity would bend them to nothing, did, by an earnest letter to Cromwell, dated the 27th of April, move, that what they offered might be accepted ; for if they once swore to the succession it would quiet the kingdom, for they acknowledging it, all other persons would acquiesce and submit to their judgments. But this sage advice was not accepted.

The king was much irritated against them, and resolved to proceed with them according to law, and therefore they were both indicted upon the statute, and committed And are proceeded against. prisoners to the Tower. And it being apprehended, that if they had books and paper given them they would write against the king’s marriage or his supremacy, these were denied them. The old bishop was hardly used, his bishopric was seized on, and all his goods taken from him, only some old rags were left to cover him ; and he was neither supplied well in diet nor other necessities, of which he made sad complaints to Cromwell. But the remainder of this tragical business, which left one of the greatest blots on this king’s proceedings, falling within the limits of the next book, I haste on to the conclusion of this.

The separation from Rome was made in the former session of parliament, but the king’s supremacy was not yet fully settled. This was reserved for the next session that Another session of Parliament. sate in November from the 3d of that month to the 18th of December, about which we can have no light from the journals, they being lost. The first act The King’s Supremacy declared. confirmed what had been already acknowledged by the clergy, that the king was the supreme head in earth of the church of England, “ which was to be annexed to his other titles : it was also enacted that the king and his heirs and successors should have power to visit and reform all heresies, errors, and other abuses, which in the spiritual jurisdiction ought to be reformed.”

By the second act they confirmed the oath about the succession, concerning which some doubts had been made, because there was no oath specified in the former act : though both houses had taken it : it was now enacted, that all the subjects were obliged to take it when offered to them, under the pains contained in the act passed in the former session. By the third act, the first fruits and tenths of all ecclesiastical benefices were given to the king, as the supreme head of the church. The clergy were easily prevailed on to consent to the putting down of the annates paid to the court of Rome, for all men readily concur to take off any imposition ; but at that time it had perhaps abated much of their heartiness, if they had

The Oath about the Succession confirmed.

The first fruits of benefices given to the King.

imagined that these duties should have been still paid, therefore that was kept up till they had done all that was to be done against Rome. And now as the commons and secular lords would no doubt easily agree to lay a tax on the clergy, so the others having no foreign support, were not in a condition to wrestle against it.

In the thirteenth act, among other things that were made treason, one was the denying the king the dignity, title or name of his estate royal; or the calling the king heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper of the crown. This was done to restrain the insolences of some friars, and all such offenders were to be denied the privilege of sanctuaries. By the fourteenth act provision was made for suffragan bishops, which, as is said, "had been accustomed to be had within this realm, for the more speedy administration of the sacraments, and other good wholesome and devout things, and laudable ceremonies, to the increase of God's honour, and for the commodity of good and devout people; therefore they appointed for suffragans sees, the towns of Thetford, Ipswich, Colchester, Dover, Guilford, Southampton, Taunton, Shaftsbury, Malton, Marlborough, Bedford, Leicester, Gloucester, Shrewsbury, Bristol, Penrith, Bridgewater, Nottingham, Grantham, Hull, Huntingdon, Cambridge, and the towns of Penrith and Berwick, St. Germain in Cornwall, and the Isle of Wight." For these sees the bishop of the diocese was to present two to the king, who might choose either of them, and present the person so named to the archbishop of the province to be consecrated; after which they might exercise such jurisdiction as the bishop of the diocese should give to them, or as suffragans had been formerly used to do, but their authority was to last no longer than the bishop

continued his commission to them. But that the reader may more clearly see how this act was executed, he shall find in the collection a writ for making a suffragan bishop. These were believed to be the same with the chorepiscopi in the primitive church, which as they were begun before the first council of Nice, so they continued in the western church till the ninth century, and then a decretal of Damascus being forged, that condemned them, they were put down every where by degrees and now revived in England*. Then

followed the grant of a subsidy to the king: it was now twelve years since there was any subsidy granted. A fifteenth and a tenth were given, to be paid in three

years, the final payment being to be at Allhallow tide, in the year 1537. The bill began with a most glorious preamble "of the king's high wisdom and policy in the government of the kingdom these twenty-four years in great wealth and quietness, and the great charges he had been at in the last war with Scotland, in fortifying Calais, and in the war of Ireland; and that he intended to bring the wilful, wild, and unreasonable, and savage people of Ireland to order and obedience, and intended to build forts on the marches of Scotland, for the security of the nation, to amend the haven of Calais, and make a new one at Dover. By all which they did perceive the entire love and zeal which the king bore to his people, and that he sought not their wealth and quietness only for his own time, being a mortal man, but did provide for it in all time coming, therefore they thought that of very equity, reason, and good conscience, they were bound to show like correspondence of zeal, gratitude, and kindness." Upon this the king sent a general pardon with some exceptions,

ordinary in such cases. But Fisher and More were not only excluded from this pardon by general clauses, but by two particular acts they were attainted of misprision of treason. By the third act according to the record, John bishop of Rochester, Christopher Plummer, Nicholas Wilson, Edward Powel, Richard Fetherston, and Miles Willyr, clerks, were attainted for refusing the oath of succession, and the bishopric of Rochester, with the benefices of the other clerks, were declared void from the 2d of January next; yet it seems few were fond of succeeding him in that see, for John Hilsey, the next bishop of Rochester, was not consecrated before the year

* The bishops suffragans were before common in England, some abbots or rich clergymen procuring under foreign, or perhaps feigned titles, that dignity, and so performing some parts of the episcopal function in large or neglected dioceses; so the abbot or prior of Tame was one. Such was Robert King, abbot of Osney, afterwards bishop of Oxford, and Thomas Cornish, a residentiary of Wells,

who by the name of Thomas Episcopus Tinensis, did confer orders and perform other episcopal functions for Fox, while he was bishop of Exeter, from 1487 to 1492; and afterwards when he was bishop of Wells, as appears by those registers. He died in the year 1513.—FULMAN.

CORRECT.

1537*. By the fourth act, sir Thomas More is by an invidious preamble charged with ingratitude, for the great favours he had received from the king, and “for studying to sow and make sedition among the king’s subjects, and refusing to take the oath of succession, therefore they declared the king’s grants to him to be void, and attain him of misprision of treason.”

This severity, though it was blamed by many, yet others thought it was necessary in so great a change, since the authority of these two men was such, that if some signal notice had not been taken of them, many might by their endeavours, especially encouraged by that impunity, have been corrupted in their affections to the king. Others thought the prosecuting them in such a manner did rather raise their reputation higher, and give them more credit with the people, who are naturally inclined to pity those that suffer, and to think well of those opinions, for which they see men resolved to endure all extremities. But others observed the justice of God, in retaliating thus upon them their own severities to others, for as Fisher did grievously prosecute the preachers of Luther’s doctrine, so More’s hand had been very heavy on them as long as he had power, and he had showed them no mercy, but the extremity of the law, which himself now felt to be very heavy. Thus ended this session of parliament, with which this Book is also to conclude, for now I come to a third period of the king’s reign, in which he did govern his subjects without any competitor, but I am to stop a little and give an account of the progress of the Reformation in these years that I have passed through.

The cardinal was no great persecutor of heretics, which was generally thought to flow from his hatred of the clergy, and that he was not ill pleased to have them depressed. The progress of the Reformation. During the agitation of the king’s process, there was no prosecution of the preachers of Luther’s doctrine: whether this flowed from any intimation of the king’s pleasure to the bishops or not, I cannot tell, but it is very probable it must have been so, for these opinions were received by many, and the popish clergy were so inclined to severity, that as they wanted not occasions, so they had a good mind to use those preachers cruelly, so that it is likely the king restrained them, and that was always mixed with the other threatenings to work upon the pope that heresy would prevail in England, if the king got not justice done him, so that till the cardinal fell, they were put to no further trouble.

But as soon as More came into favour, he pressed the king much, to put the laws against heretics in execution, and suggested that the court of Rome would be more wrought upon by the king’s supporting the church and defending the faith vigorously, than by threatenings, and therefore a long proclamation was issued out against the heretics, many of their books

fox. were prohibited, and all the laws against them were appointed to be put in execution, and great care was taken to seize them as they came into England, but many escaped their diligence.

There were some at Antwerp, Tindal, Joye, Constantine, with a few more, that were every year writing and printing new books, chiefly against the corruptions of the clergy, the superstition of pilgrimages, of worshipping images, saints, and relics, and against relying on these things, which were then called in the common style *good works*, in opposition to which they wrote much about faith in Christ with a true evangelical obedience, as the only mean by which men could be saved. The book that had the greatest authority and influence was Tindal’s translation of the New Testament, of which the bishops made great complaints, and said it was full of errors. But Tonstall, then

Hall. bishop of London, being a man of invincible moderation, would do nobody hurt, yet endeavoured as he could to get their books into his hands: so being at Antwerp in the year 1529, as he returned from his embassy at the treaty of Cambray, he sent for one Packington, an English merchant there, and desired him to see how many New Testaments of Tindal’s translation he might have for money. Packington, who was a secret favourer of Tindal, told him what the bishop proposed. Tindal was very glad of it,—for being convinced of some faults in his work, he was designing a new and more correct edition; but he was poor, and the former impression not being sold off, he could not go about it:

* I am very sure from several authorities that Hilsey was bishop in 1535.—ANON. CORRECTOR.



Engraved from the original.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

OB. 1535.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF THE PICTURE IN THE COLLECTION OF

W. J. LENTHAL, ESQ^{RE}.

Printed and Published by W. J. Lenthal, Esq^{re}, at the Sign of the Anchor, in the Strand, London.

so he gave Packington all the copies that lay in his hands, for which the bishop paid the price, and brought them over, and burnt them publicly in Cheapside. This had such a hateful appearance in it, being generally called a burning of the word of God, that people from thence concluded there must be a visible contrariety

between that book and the doctrines of those who so handled it; by which both their prejudice against the clergy and their desire of reading the New Testament was increased. So that next year, when the second edition was finished, many more were brought over, and Constantine being taken in England, the lord chancellor in a private examination promised him that no hurt should be done him if he would reveal who encouraged and supported them at Antwerp; which he accepted of, and told that the greatest encouragement they had was from the bishop of London, who had bought up half the impression. This made all that heard of it laugh heartily, though more judicious persons discerned the great temper of that learned bishop in it. When the clergy condemned Tindal's translation of the New Testament, they declared they intended to set out a true translation of it; which many thought was never truly designed by them, but only pretended, that they might restrain the curiosity of seeing Tindal's work, with the hopes of one that should be authorised: and as they made no progress in it, so at length on the 24th of May, anno 1530, there was a paper drawn and agreed to by archbishop Warham, chancellor More, bishop Tonstall, and many canonists and divines, which every incumbent was commanded to read to his parish, as a warning to prevent the contagion of heresy. The contents of which were, "that the king

having called together many of the prelates, with other learned men out of both universities, to examine some books lately set out in the English tongue, they had agreed to condemn them, as containing several points of heresy in them; and it being proposed to them whether it was necessary to set forth the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, they were of opinion, that though it had been sometimes done, yet it was not necessary, and that the king did well not to set it out at that time in the English tongue." So by this all the hopes of a translation of the Scriptures vanished.

There came out another book which took mightily; it was entitled, "The Supplication of the Beggars," written by one Simon Fish of Gray's-inn. In it the beggars complained to the king, that they were reduced to great misery, the alms of the people being intercepted by companies of strong and idle friars; for supposing that each of the five mendicant orders had but a penny a quarter from every household, it did rise to a vast sum, of which the indigent and truly necessitous beggars were defrauded. Their being unprofitable to the commonwealth, with several other things, were also complained of. He also taxed the pope for cruelty and covetousness, that did not deliver all persons out of purgatory, and that none but the rich who paid well for it could be discharged out of that prison. This was written in a witty and taking style, and the king had it put in his hands by Anne Boleyn, and liked it well, and would not suffer anything to be done to the author.

Chancellor More was the most zealous champion the clergy had, for I do not find that any of them wrote much, only the bishop of Rochester wrote for purgatory; but the rest left it wholly to him, either because few of them could write well, or that he being much esteemed, and a disinterested person, things would be better received from him than from them who were looked on as parties. So he answered this supplication by another, in the name of the souls that were in purgatory, representing the miseries they were in, and the great relief they found by the masses the friars said for them, and brought in every man's ancestors calling earnestly upon him to befriend those poor friars now when they had so many enemies. He confidently asserted it had been the doctrine of the church for many ages, and brought many places out of the scriptures to prove it, besides several reasons that seemed to confirm it. This being writ of a subject that would allow of a great deal of popular and moving eloquence, in which he was very eminent, took with many.

But it discovered to others what was the foundation of those religious orders, and that if the belief of purgatory were once rooted out, all that was built on that foundation must needs fall with it. So John Frith wrote an answer to More's supplication,

The New Testament burnt.

The last paper in Sir Henry Spelman's 2d vol.

Supplication of the Beggars.

More answers it.

Frith replies.

to show that there was no ground for purgatory in Scripture, and that it was not believed in the primitive church. He also answered the bishop of Rochester's book, and some dialogues that were written on the same subject, by Rastal a printer and kinsman of More's: he discovered the fallacy of their reasonings, which were built on the weakness or defects of our repentance in this life; and that therefore there must be another state in which we must be further purified. To this he answered, that our sins were not pardoned for our repentance, or the perfection of it, but only for the merits and sufferings of Christ; and that if our repentance is sincere, God accepts of it; and sin being once pardoned, it could not be further punished. He showed the difference between the punishments we may suffer in this life, and those in purgatory; the one are either medicinal corrections for reforming us more and more, or for giving warning to others: the other are terrible punishments without any of these ends in them: therefore the one might well consist with the free pardon of sin, the other could not. So he argued from all these places of Scripture in which we are said to be freely pardoned our sins by the blood of Christ, that no punishment in another state could consist with it. He also argued from all those places in which it is said, that we shall at the day of judgment receive according to what we have done in the body, that there was no state of purgatory beyond this life. For the places brought out of the Old Testament, he showed they could not be meant of purgatory, since according to the doctrine of the schoolmen there was no going to purgatory before Christ. For the places in the New Testament he appealed to More's great friend, Erasmus, whose exposition of these places differed much from his glosses. That place in the Epistle to the Corinthians about the fire, that was to try every man's work, he said was plainly allegorical; and since the foundation, the building of gold, silver, and precious stones; of wood, hay and stubble, were figuratively taken, there was no reason to take the fire in a literal sense: therefore by fire was to be understood the persecution then near at hand; called, in other places, the fiery trial.

For the ancient doctors, he showed, that in the fourth century, St. Ambrose, Jerome, and St. Austin, the three great doctors of that age, did not believe it, and cited several passages out of their writings. It is true St. Austin went further than the rest: for though in some passages he delivered his opinion against it, yet in other places he spake of it more doubtfully as a thing that might be inquired into, but that it could not be certainly known; and indeed before Gregory the Great's time, it was not received in the church, and then the Benedictine monks were beginning to spread and grow numerous, and they, to draw advantages from it, told many stories of visions and dreams, to possess the world with the belief of it; then the trade grew so profitable, that ever since it was kept up and improved; and what succeeded so well with one society and order to enrich themselves much by it, was an encouragement to others to follow their track in the same way of traffic. This book was generally well received, and the clergy were so offended at the author, that they resolved to make him feel a real fire whenever he was caught, for endeavouring to put out their imaginary one.

That from which More and others took greatest advantage was, that the new preachers prevailed only on simple tradesmen and women, and other illiterate persons: but to this the others answered, that the Pharisees made the same objection to the followers of Christ, who were fishermen, women, and rude mechanics; but Christ told them, "that to the poor the gospel was preached;" and when the philosophers and Jews objected that to the apostles, they said God's glory did the more appear, since not many rich, wise, or noble were called, but the poor and despised were chosen: that men who had much to lose had not that simplicity of mind, nor that disengagement from worldly things, that was a necessary disposition to fit them for a doctrine which was like to bring much trouble and persecution on them.

Thus I have opened some of these things, which were at that time disputed by the pen, in which opposition new things were still started and examined. But this was too feeble a weapon for the defence of the clergy, therefore they sought out sharper tools. So there were many brought into the bishops' courts, some for teaching their children the Lord's prayer in English, some for reading the forbidden books, some for harbouring the preachers, some for speaking against pilgrimages, or

the worshipping and adorning of images, some for not observing the church fasts, some for not coming to confession and the sacrament, and some for speaking against the vices of the clergy. Most of these were simple and illiterate men, and the terror of the bishops' courts, and prisons, and of a faggot in the end, wrought so much on their fears and weakness, that they generally abjured, and were dismissed. But in the end of the year, 1530, one Thomas

More. Hitton, who had been curate of Maidstone, and had left that place going off to Antwerp; he bringing over some of the books that were printed there, was

Tindal. taken at Gravesend, and brought before Warham and Fisher, who after he had suffered much by a long and cruel imprisonment, condemned him to be burnt.

The most eminent person that suffered about this time was Thomas Bilney, of whose Bilney's abjuration an account was given in the first book; he after that went to Cambridge Trial. bridge, and was much troubled in his conscience for what he had done, so that the rest of that society at Cambridge were in great apprehensions of some violent effect, which that desperation might produce, and sometimes watched him whole nights. This continued Latimer's about a year, but at length his mind was more quieted, and he resolved to expiate Sermons. his abjuration by as public and solemn a confession of the truth; and to prepare himself the better both to defend and suffer for the doctrines, which he had formerly through fear denied, he followed his studies for two years. And when he found himself well fortified in this resolution, he took leave of his friends at Cambridge, and went to his own country of Norfolk, to whom he thought he owed his first endeavours.

He preached up and down the country, confessing his former sin of denying the faith, and The things taught the people to beware of idolatry, or trusting to pilgrimages, to the cowl objected to of St. Francis, to the prayers of saints, or to images; but exhorted them to stay him. at home, to give much alms, to believe in Jesus Christ, and to offer up their Fox. hearts, wills, and minds to him in the sacrament. This being noised about, he was seized on by the bishop's officers, and put in prison at Norwich, and the writ was sent for to burn him as a relapse, he being first condemned and degraded from his priesthood: while he was in prison the friars came oft about him to persuade him to recant again, and it was given out that he did read a bill of abjuration.

More not being satisfied to have sent the writ for his burning, studied also to defame It is given him, publishing this to the world; yet in that he was certainly abused, for if he out that he had signed any such paper, it had been put in the bishop's register, as all things abjured. of that nature were; but no such writing was ever shown, only some said they heard him read it, and others who denied there was any such thing, being questioned for it, submitted and confessed their fault. But at such a time it was no strange thing, if a lie of that nature was vented with so much authority, that men were afraid to contradict it; and when a man is a close prisoner, those who only have access to him may spread what report of him they please, and when once such a thing is said, they never want officious vouchers to lie and swear for it. But since nothing was ever showed under his hand, it is clear there was no truth in these reports, which were spread about to take away the honour of martyrdom from the new doctrines. It is true he had never inquired into all the other tenets of the church of Rome, and so did not differ from them about the presence of Christ in the sacrament and some other things. But when men durst speak freely, there were several persons that

The falsehood of which afterwards appeared. Fox. witnessed the constancy and sincerity of Bilney, in these his last conflicts; and among the rest, Matthew Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was an eye-witness of his sufferings, which from his relation were published afterwards: he took his death patiently and constantly, and in the little time that was allowed him to live after his sentence, he was observed to be cheerful; and the poor

viaticals that were brought him, bread and ale, he eat up heartily, of which when one took notice, he said he must keep up that ruinous cottage till it fell; and often repeated that passage in Isaiah, "When thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burned;" and putting his finger in the flame of the candle, he told those about him that he well knew what pain burning was, but that it should only consume the stubble of his body, and that his soul would be purged by it.

When the day of execution came, being the 10th of November, as he was led out he said to one that exhorted him to be patient and constant, that as the mariners endured the tossing of the waves hoping to arrive at their desired port, so though he was now entering into a storm, yet he hoped he should soon arrive at the haven, and desired their prayers. When he came to the stake, he repeated the creed, to show the people that he died in the faith of the apostles; then he put up his prayers to God with great shows of inward devotion; which ended, he repeated the 143 Psalm, and paused on these words of it, "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified," with deep recollection: and when doctor Warner that accompanied him to the stake, took leave with him with many tears, Bilney with a cheerful countenance exhorted him to feed his flock, that at his Lord's coming he might find him so doing. Many of the begging friars desired him to declare to the people that they had not procured his death; for that was got among them, and they feared the people would give them no more alms: so he desired the spectators not to be the worse to these men for his sake, for they had not procured his death. Then the fire was set to, and his body consumed to ashes.

Thus it appears, both what opinion the people had of him, and in what charity he died even towards his enemies, doing them good for evil; but this, though it perhaps struck terror in weaker minds, yet it no less encouraged others to endure patiently all the severities that were used to draw them from this doctrine. Soon after one Richard Byfield suffered; he was a monk of St. Edmundsbury, and had been instructed by doctor Barnes, who gave him some books; which being discovered, he was put in prison, but through fear abjured; yet afterward he left the monastery and came to London: he went oft over to Antwerp, and brought in forbidden books, which being smelled out, he was seized on, and examined about these books; he justified them, and said he thought they were good and profitable, and did openly exclaim against the dissolute lives of the clergy; so being judged heretic, he was burned in Smithfield, the 11th of November.

In December, one John Tewksbury, a shopkeeper in London, who had formerly abjured, was also taken and tried in sir Thomas More's house at Chelsea, where sentence was given against him by Stokesley bishop of London (for Tonstall was translated the former year to Durham), and was burnt in Smithfield. There were also three burnt at York this year, two men and one woman.

These proceedings were complained of in the following session of parliament, as was formerly told, and the ecclesiastical courts being found both arbitrary and cruel, the house of commons desired a redress of that from the king; but nothing was done about it till three years after, that the new act against heretics was made, as was already told. The clergy were not much moved at the address which the house of commons made, and therefore went on in their extreme courses; and to strike a terror in the gentry, they resolved to make an example of one James Bainham, a gentleman of the Temple: he was carried to the lord chancellor's house, where much pains was taken to persuade him to discover such as he knew in the Temple who favoured the new opinions; but fair means not prevailing, More made him be whipped in his own presence, and after that, sent him to the Tower, where he looked on, and saw him put to the rack. Yet it seems that nothing could be drawn from him that might be made use of to any other person's hurt; yet he himself afterwards overcome with fear, abjured and did penance, but had no quiet in his conscience till he went publicly to church with a New Testament in his hand, and confessed with many tears that he had denied God, and prayed the people not to do as he had done, and said that he felt a hell in his own conscience for what he had done. So he was soon after carried to the Tower, (for now the bishops, to avoid the imputation of using men cruelly in their prisons, did put heretics in the king's prisons:) he was charged for having said, "That Thomas à Becket was a murderer, and damned in hell if he did not repent, and for speaking contemptuously of praying to saints, and saying that the sacrament of the altar was only Christ's mystical body, and that his body was not chewed with the teeth, but received by faith." So he was judged an obstinate and relapsed heretic, and was burnt in Smithfield about the end of April 1532. There were also some others burnt a little

The manner
of his suffer-
ing.

Byfield's suf-
ferings.

And Tewks-
bury's.

Bainham's
sufferings.

Fox.

before this time, of whom a particular account could not be recovered by Fox with all his industry. But with Bainham More's persecution ended, for soon after he laid down the great seal, which set the poor preachers at ease.

Crome and Latimer were brought before the convocation and accused of heresy. They both subscribed the articles offered to them, "that there was a purgatory: that the souls in it were profited by masses said for them; that the saints are now in heaven, and as mediators pray for us: that men ought to pray to them and honour them: that pilgrimages were pious and meritorious: that men who vowed chastity might not marry without the pope's dispensation: that the keys of binding and loosing were given to St. Peter and to his successors, though their lives were bad, and not at all to the laity: that men merited by prayers, fasting, and other good works: that priests prohibited by the bishop should not preach till they were purged and restored: that the seven sacraments conferred grace: that consecrations and benedictions used by the church were good: that it was good and profitable to set up the images of Christ and the saints in the churches, and to adorn them and burn candles before them: and that kings were not obliged to give their people the Scriptures in a vulgar tongue." By these articles it may be easily collected what were the doctrines then preached by the reformers. There was yet no dispute about the presence of Christ in the sacrament, which was first called in question by Frith, for the books of Zuinglius and Œcolampadius came later into England, and hitherto they had only seen Luther's works with those written by his followers.

But in the year 1532 there was another memorable instance of the clergy's cruelty against the dead bodies of those whom they suspected of heresy. The common style of all wills and testaments at that time was, first, "I bequeath my soul to Almighty God, and to our lady St. Mary and to all the saints in heaven:" but one William Tracy of Worcestershire dying, left a will of a far different strain, for he bequeathed his soul "only to God through Jesus Christ, to whose intercession alone he trusted, without the help of any other saint, therefore he left no part of his goods to have any pray for his soul." This being brought into the convocation by the prolocutor, he was condemned as a heretic, and an order was sent to Parker chancellor of Worcester, to raise his body. The officious chancellor went beyond his order and burned the body; but the record bears, that though he might by the warrant he had raise the body according to the law of the church, yet he had no authority to burn it. So two years afterwards Tracy's heirs sued him for it, and he was turned out of his office of chancellor, and fined in 400*l*.

There is another instance of the cruelty of the clergy this year. One Thomas Harding of Buckinghamshire, an ancient man, who had abjured in the year 1506, was now observed to go often into woods, and was seen sometimes reading. Upon which his house was searched, and some parcels of the New Testament in English were found in it. So he was carried before Longland, bishop of Lincoln, who as he was a cruel persecutor, so being the king's confessor, acted with the more authority. This aged man was judged a relapse, and sent to Chesham, where he lived to be burned, which was executed on Corpus-Christi eve. At this time there was an indulgence of forty days' pardon proclaimed to all that carried a faggot to the burning of an heretic: so dextrously did the clergy endeavour to infect the laity with their own cruel spirit; and that wrought upon this occasion a signal effect, for as the fire was kindled, one flung a faggot at the old man's head, which dashed out his brains.

In the year 1533 it was thought fit by some signal evidence to convince the world that the king did not design to change the established religion, though he had then proceeded far in his breach with Rome; and the crafty bishop of Winchester, Gardiner, as he complied with the king in his second marriage and separation from Rome, so being an inveterate enemy to the Reformation, and in his heart addicted to the court of Rome, did by this argument often prevail with the king to punish the heretics, that it would most effectually justify his other proceedings, and convince the world that he was still a good catholic king, which at several times drew the king to what he desired. And at this time, the steps the king had made in his separation from the pope

had given such heart to the new preachers, that they grew bolder and more public in their assemblies.

John Frith, as he was an excellent scholar, which was so taken notice of some years before, that he was put in the list of those whom the cardinal intended to bring from Cambridge, and put in his college at Oxford; so he had offended them by several writings and by a discourse which he wrote against the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, had

provoked the king, who continued to his death to believe that firmly. The substance of his arguments was, "that Christ in the sacrament gave eternal life, but the receiving the bare sacrament did not give eternal life, since many took it to their damnation; therefore Christ's presence there was only felt by faith.

His arguments against the corporal presence. This he further proved by the fathers before Christ who did eat the same spiritual food, and drink of the rock, which was Christ, according to St. Paul: since then they and we communicate in the same thing, and it was certain that they did not eat Christ's flesh corporally, but fed by faith on a Messiah to come, as Christians do on a Messiah already come: therefore we do now only communicate by faith. He also insisted much on the signification of the word sacrament, from whence he concluded that the elements must be the mystical signs of Christ's body and blood; for if they were truly the flesh and blood of Christ, they should not be sacraments: he concluded that the ends of the sacrament were these three, by a visible action to knit the society of Christians together in one body, to be a means of conveying grace upon our due participating of them, and to be remembrances to stir up men to bless God for that unspeakable love, which in the death of Christ appeared to mankind. To all these ends the corporal presence of Christ availed nothing, they being sufficiently answered by a mystical presence: yet he drew no other conclusion from these premises, but that the belief of the corporal presence in the sacrament was no necessary article of our faith." This either flowed from his not having yet arrived at a sure persuasion in the matter, or that he chose in that modest style to encounter an opinion of which the world was so fond, that to have opposed it in downright words would have given prejudices against all that he could say.

Frith, upon a long conversation with one upon this subject, was desired to set down the heads of it in writing, which he did. The paper went about and was by a false brother conveyed to sir Thomas More's hands, who set himself to answer it in his ordinary style, treating Frith with great contempt, calling him always the young man. Frith was in prison before he saw More's book, yet he wrote a reply to it, which I do not find was then published; but a copy of it was brought afterwards to Cranmer, who acknowledged when he wrote his apology against Gardiner, that he had received great light in that matter from Frith's book, and drew most of his arguments out of it. It was afterwards printed with his works anno 1573, and by it may appear how much truth is stronger than error. For though More wrote with as much wit and eloquence as any man in that age did, and Frith wrote plainly without any art; yet there is so great a difference between their books, that whoever compares them will clearly perceive the one to be the ingenious defender of an ill cause, and the other a simple asserter of truth. Frith wrote with all the disadvantage that was possible, being then in the jail, where he could have no books, but some notes he might have collected formerly: he was also so loaded with irons, that he could scarcely sit with any ease. He began with confirming what he had delivered about the fathers before Christ, their feeding on his body in the same manner that Christians do since his death: this he proved from Scripture and several places of St. Austin's works; he proved also from Scripture that after the consecration the elements were still bread and wine, and were so called both by our Saviour and his apostles; that our senses show they are not changed in their natures, and that they are still subject to corruption, which can no way be said of the body of Christ. He proved that the eating of Christ's flesh, in the sixth of St. John, cannot be applied to the sacrament, since the wicked receive it, who yet do not eat the flesh of Christ, otherwise they should have eternal life. He showed also that the sacrament coming in the room of the Jewish paschal lamb, we must understand Christ's words, "This is my body," in the same sense in which it was said, that the lamb was the Lord's passover. He confirmed this by many passages cited out of Tertullian, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Ambrose,

Jerome, Austin, Fulgentius, Eusebius, and some later writers, as Bede, Bertram and Druthmar, who did all assert that the elements retained their former natures and were only the mysteries, signs, and figures of the body and blood of Christ. But Gelasius's words seemed so remarkable that they could not but determine the controversy, especially considering he was bishop of Rome: he therefore writing against the Eutychians, who thought the human nature of Christ was changed into the divine, says, "that as the elements of bread and wine being consecrated to be the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ, did not cease to be bread and wine in substance, but continued in their own proper natures; so the human nature of Christ continued still, though it was united to the divine nature:" this was a manifest indication of the belief of the church in that age, and ought to weigh more than a hundred high rhetorical expressions. He brought likewise several testimonies out of the fathers to show that they knew nothing of the consequences that follow transubstantiation; of a body being in more places at once, or being in a place after the manner of a spirit, or of the worship to be given to the sacrament. Upon this he digresses, and says that the German divines believed a corporal presence; yet since that was only an opinion that rested in their minds and did not carry along with it any corruption of the worship or idolatrous practice, it was to be borne with, and the peace of the church was not to be broken for it; but the case of the church of Rome was very different, which had set up gross idolatry, building it upon this doctrine.

Thus I have given a short abstract of Frith's book, which I thought fit the rather to do, because it was the first book that was written on this subject in England by any of the reformers. And from hence it may appear upon what solid and weighty reasons they then began to shake the received opinion of transubstantiation, and with how much learning this controversy was managed by him who first undertook it.

One thing was singular in Frith's opinion, that he thought there should be no contest made about the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament; for whatever opinion men held in speculation, if it went not to a practical error (which was the adoration of it, for that was idolatry in his opinion), there were no disputes to be made about it, therefore he was much against all heats between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, for he thought in such a matter that was wholly speculative, every man might hold his own opinion without making a breach of the unity of the church about it.

He was apprehended in May 1533, and kept in prison till the 20th of June, and then he was brought before the bishop of London, Gardiner and Longland sitting with him. They objected to him his opinions about the sacrament and purgatory; he answered that for the first he did not find transubstantiation in the Scriptures nor in any approved authors; and therefore he would not admit anything as an article of faith, without clear and certain grounds: for he did not think the authority of the church reached so far. They argued with him upon some passages out of St. Austin and St. Chrysostom, to which he answered, by opposing other places of the same fathers, and showed how they were to be reconciled to themselves; when it came to a conclusion, these words are set down in the register as his confession.

"Frith thinketh and judgeth that the natural body of Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar, but in one place only at once. Item he saith, that neither part is a necessary article of our faith, whether the natural body be there in the sacrament or not."

As for purgatory, he said a man consisted of two parts, his body and soul; his body was purged by sickness and other pains, and at last by death, and was not by their own doctrine sent to purgatory. And for the soul, it was purged through the word of God received by faith. So his confession was written down in these words. "Item Frith thinketh and judgeth that there is no purgatory for the soul after that it is departed from the body, and as he thinketh herein, so hath he said, written and defended; howbeit he thinketh neither part to be an article of faith, necessarily to be believed under pain of damnation."

The bishops, with the doctors that stood about them, took much pains to make him change; but he told them that he could not be induced to believe that these were articles of

Register
Stokes. Fol.
71. and a Letter
of his in
Fox.

His opinion
of the Sacra-
ment.

And of Pur-
gatory.

faith. And when they threatened to proceed to a final sentence, he seemed not moved with it, but said, let judgment be done in righteousness. The bishops, though none of them were guilty of great tenderness, yet seemed to pity him much; and the bishop of London professed he gave sentence with great grief of heart. In the end he was judged an obstinate heretic, and was delivered to the secular power; there is one clause in this sentence, which is not in many others, therefore I shall set it down.

“Most earnestly requiring, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment worthily to be done upon thee, may be so moderate, that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated, but that it may be to the salvation of thy soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of heretics, and to the unity of the catholic faith.” This was thought a scorning of God and men, when those who knew that he was to be burned, and intended it should be so, yet used such an obtestation by the bowels of Jesus Christ, that the rigour might not be extreme. This being certified, the writ was issued out, and as the register bears, he was burned in Smithfield the 4th of July; and one Andrew Hewet with him, who also denied the presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar. This Hewet was an apprentice, and went to the meetings of these preachers, and was twice betrayed by some spies whom the bishop’s officers had among them, who discovered many. When he was examined, he would not acknowledge the corporal presence, but was illiterate and resolved to do as Frith did, so he was also condemned and burnt with him.

When they were brought to the stake Frith expressed great joy at his approaching martyrdom, and in a transport of it, hugged the faggots in his arms as the instruments that were to send him to his eternal rest. One doctor Cook, a parson of London, called to the people, that they should not pray for them any more than they would do for a dog. At which Frith smiled, and prayed God to forgive him; so the fire was set to, and they were consumed to ashes.

This was the last act of the clergy’s cruelty against men’s lives, and was much condemned; it was thought an unheard-of barbarity thus to burn a moderate and learned young man, only because he would not acknowledge some of their doctrines to be articles of faith; and though his private judgment was against their tenet, yet he was not positive in it, any further than that he could not believe the contrary to be necessary to salvation. But the clergy were now so bathed in blood, that they seemed to have stripped themselves of those impressions of pity and compassion which are natural to mankind; they therefore held on in their severe courses, till the act of parliament did effectually restrain them.

In the account that was given of that act, mention was made of one Thomas Philips, who put in his complaint to the house of commons against the bishop of London. The proceedings against him had been both extreme and illegal; he was first apprehended and put in the Tower upon suspicion of heresy, and when they searched him a copy of Tracy’s testament was found about him, and butter and cheese were found in his chamber, it being in the time of Lent. There was also another letter found about him, exhorting him to be ready to suffer constantly for the truth. Upon these presumptions the bishop of London proceeded against him, and required him to abjure. But he said he would willingly swear to be obedient as a Christian man ought, and that he would never hold any heresy during his life, nor favour heretics; but the bishop would not accept of that, since there might be ambiguities in it; therefore he required him to make the abjuration in common form, which he refused to do, and appealed to the king as the supreme head of the church. Yet the bishop pronounced him contumax, and did excommunicate him; but whether he was released on his appeal or not, I do not find; yet perhaps this was the man of whom the pope complained to the English ambassadors 1532, that a heretic having appealed to the king as the supreme head of the church, was taken out of the bishops’ hands, and judged and acquitted in the king’s courts. It is probable this was the man, only the pope was informed, that it was from the archbishop of Canterbury that he appealed, in which there might be a mistake for the bishop of London. But whatever ground there may be for that conjecture, Philips got his liberty and put in a complaint to the house of commons, which produced the act about heretics.

And now that act being passed, together with the extirpation of the pope's authority, and the power being lodged in the king to correct and reform heresies, idolatries, and abuses, the standard of the catholic faith being also declared to be the Scriptures, the persecuted preachers had ease and encouragement everywhere. They also saw that the necessity of the king's affairs would constrain him to be gentle to them, for the sentence which the pope gave against the king was committed to the emperor to be executed by him, who was then aspiring to an universal monarchy; and therefore as soon as his other wars gave him leisure to look over to England and Ireland, he had now a good colour to justify an invasion both from the pope's sentence, and the interests and honour of his family in protecting his aunt and her daughter. Therefore the king was obliged to give him work elsewhere, in order to which his interest obliged him to join himself to the princes of Germany, who had at Smalcald entered into a league offensive and defensive, for the liberty of religion and the rights of the empire. This was a thorn in the emperor's side, which the king's interest would oblige him by all means to maintain. Upon which the reformers in England concluded, that either the king, to recommend himself to these princes, would relax the severities of the law against them; or otherwise, that their friends in Germany would see to it: for in these first fervours of reformations, the princes made that always a condition in their treaties, that those who favoured their doctrine might be no more persecuted.

But their chief encouragement was from the queen, who reigned in the king's heart as absolutely as he did over his subjects, and was a known favourer of them. She took Shaxton and Latimer to be her chaplains, and soon after promoted them to the bishoprics of Salisbury and Worcester, then vacant by the deprivation of Campegio and Ghinuccii; and in all other things cherished and protected them, and used her most effectual endeavours with the king to promote the reformation. Next to her, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, was a professed favourer of it, who, besides the authority of his character and see, was well fitted for carrying it on, being a very learned and industrious man. He was at great pains to collect the sense of ancient writers upon all the heads of religion, by which he might be well directed in such an important matter. I have seen two volumes in folio written with his own hand, containing upon all the heads of religion, a vast heap both of places of Scripture, and quotations out of ancient fathers, and later doctors and schoolmen; by which he governed himself in that work. There is also an original letter of the lord Burleigh's extant, which I have seen, in which he writes that he had six or seven volumes of his writings, all which, except two other, that I have seen, are lost, for aught I can understand. From which it will appear in the sequel of this work, that he neither copied from foreign writers, nor proceeded rashly in the reformation. He was a man of great temper, and as I have seen in some of his letters to Osiander, and some of Osiander's answers to him, he very much disliked the violence of the German divines. He was gentle in his whole behaviour, and though he was a man of too great candour and simplicity to be refined in the arts of policy, yet he managed his affairs with great prudence; which did so much recommend him to the king, that no ill offices were ever able to hurt him. It is true, he had some singular opinions about ecclesiastical functions and offices, which he seemed to make wholly dependent on the magistrate, as much as the civil were; but as he never studied to get his opinion in that made a part of the doctrine of the church, reserving only to himself the freedom of his own thoughts, which I have reason to think he did afterwards either change, or at least was content to be overruled in it,—so it is clear that he held not that opinion to get the king's favour by it, for in many other things, as in the business of the six articles, he boldly and freely argued, both in the convocation and the house of peers, against that which he knew was the king's mind, and took his life in his hands, which had certainly been offered at a stake, if the king's esteem of him had not been proof against all attempts.

Next him, or rather above him, was Cromwell, who was made the king's vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters. A man of mean birth, but noble qualities, as appeared in two signal instances, the one being his pleading in parliament so zealously and successfully for the fallen and disgraced cardinal, whose secretary he was, when Gardiner, though more obliged by him, had basely forsaken him. This was thought so just

Assisted by
Cromwell.

and generous in him, that it did not at all hinder his preferment, but raised his credit higher ; such a demonstration of gratitude and friendship in misfortune being so rare a thing in a court. The other was his remembering the merchant of Lucca, that had pitied and relieved him when he was a poor stranger there, and expressing most extraordinary acknowledgments and gratitude, when he was afterwards in the top of his greatness, and the other did not so much as know him, much less pretend to any returns for past favours, which showed that he had a noble and generous temper ; only he made too much haste to be great and rich. He joined himself in a firm friendship to Cranmer, and did promote the reformation very vigorously.

But there was another party in the court, that wrestled much against it ; the head of it was the duke of Norfolk, who though he was the queen's uncle, yet was her mortal enemy. He was a dexterous courtier and complied with the king, both in his divorce and separation from Rome, yet did upon all occasions persuade the king to innovate nothing in religion. His great friend that joined all along with him in those counsels was Gardiner bishop of Winchester, who was a crafty and politic man, and understood the king well, and complied with his temper in everything ; he despised Cranmer, and hated all reformation. Longland, that had been the king's confessor, was also managed by them ; and they had a great party in the court, and almost all the church-men were on their side.

That which prevailed most with the king was, that himself had writ a book in defence of the faith, and they said, would he now retract that which all learned men admired so much ? or would he encourage Luther and his party, who had treated him with so little respect ? If he went to change the doctrines that were formerly received, all the world would say he did it in spite to the pope, which would cast a great dishonour on him, as if his passion governed his religion. Foreign princes, who in their hearts did not much blame him for what he had hitherto done, but rather wished for a good opportunity to do the like, would now condemn him if he meddled with the religion ; and his own subjects, who complied with that which he had done, and were glad to be delivered from foreign jurisdiction, and the exactions of the court of Rome, would not bear a change of the faith, but might be thereby easily set on, by the emissaries of the pope or emperor, to break out in rebellion. These things being managed skilfully, and agreeing with his own private opinion, wrought much on him ; and particularly what was said about his own book, which had been so much commended to him, that he was almost made believe it was written by a special inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

But on the other side Cranmer represented to him, that since he had put down the pope's authority, it was not fit to let those doctrines be still taught, which had no other foundation but the decrees of popes. And he offered upon the greatest hazard to prove, that many things, then received as articles of faith, were no better grounded ; therefore he pressed the king to give order to hear and examine things freely, that when the pope's power was rejected, the people might not be obliged to believe doctrines which had no better warrant. And for political counsels, he was to do the duty of a good christian prince, and leave the event to God ; and things might be carried on with that due care, that the justice and reasonableness of the king's proceedings should appear to all the world. And whereas it was objected, that the doctrines of the catholic church ought not to be examined by any particular church ; it was answered, that when all Christendom were under one emperor, it was easy for him to call general councils, and in such circumstances it was fit to stay for one ; and yet even then, particular churches did in their national synods condemn heresies, and reform abuses. But the state of Christendom was now altered, it was under many princes, who had different interests, and therefore they thought it a vain expectation to look for any such council. The protestants of Germany had now for above ten years desired the emperor to procure one, but to no effect ; for sometimes the pope would not grant it, and at other times the French king protested against it. The former year the pope had sent to the king to offer a general council, to be held at Mantua this year, but the king found that was but an illusion ; for the marquess of Mantua protested he would not admit such a number of strangers as a council would draw together into his

town; yet the king promised to send his ambassadors thither when the council met. But now the king consulting his prelates, whether the emperor might by his authority summon a general council, as the Roman emperors had done: some of them gave the following answer, copied from the original that is yet extant, which might have been written any time between the year 1534, in which Thomas Goodrick was made bishop of Ely, and the year 1540, in which John Clark, bishop of Bath and Wells, died; but I incline to think from other circumstances, that it was written about the end of the year 1534.

A resolution
of some bish-
ops about the
calling of a
general coun-
cil.

For the General Council.

“Though that in the old time, when the empire of Rome had his ample dominion over the most part of the world, the first four general councils (the which at all times have been of most estimation in the church of Christ) were called and gathered by the emperor’s commandment, and for a godly intent; that heresies might be extinct, schisms put away, good order and manners in the ministers of the church and the people of the same established. Like as many councils more were called; till now of late by the negligence as well of the emperor as other princes, the bishop of Rome hath been suffered to usurp this power; yet now, for so much that the empire of Rome and the monarchy of the same hath no such general dominion, but many princes have absolute power in their own realms, and a whole and entire monarchy, no one prince may by his authority call any general council, but if that any one or more of these princes for the establishing of the faith, for the extirpation of schisms, &c. lovingly, charitably, with a good sincere intent, to a sure place, require any other prince, or the rest of the great princes, to be content to agree that for the wealth, quietness, and tranquillity of all christian people, by his or their free consent, a general council might be assembled; that prince or those princes so required are bound by the order of charity, for the good fruit that may come of it, to condescend and agree thereunto, having no lawful impediment nor just cause moving to the contrary. The chief causes of the general councils are before expressed.

“In all the ancient councils of the church, in matters of the faith and interpretation of the Scripture, no man made definitive subscription but bishops and priests, forso much as the declaration of the word of God pertaineth unto them.

T. CANTUARIEN.
CUTHBERTUS DUNELMEN.
Jo. BATH. WELLEN.
Tho. ELIEN.

But besides this resolution, I have seen a long speech of Cranmer’s, written by one of his secretaries. It was spoken soon after the parliament had passed the acts formerly mentioned, for it relates to them as lately done; it was delivered either in the house of lords, the upper house of convocation, or at the council board; but I rather think it was in the house of lords, for it begins, “My lords.” The matter of it does so much concern the business of reformation, that I know the reader will expect I should set down the heads of it. It appears he had been ordered to inform the house about these things. The preamble of his speech runs upon this conceit: “That as rich men flying from their enemies, carry away all they can with them, and what they cannot take away they either hide or destroy it; so the court of Rome had destroyed so many ancient writings and hid the rest, having carefully preserved everything that was of advantage to them, that it was not easy to discover what they had so artificially concealed. Therefore in the canon law, some honest truths were yet to be found, but so mislaid that they are not placed where one might expect them, but are to be met with in some other chapters, where one would least look for them. And many more things said by the ancients of the see of Rome and against their authority were lost, as appears by the fragments yet remaining. He showed that many of the ancients called everything which they thought well done of Divine institution, by a large extent of the phrase, in which sense the passages of many fathers that magnified the see of Rome were to be understood.

A speech of
Cranmer’s,
about a gene-
ral council.
Ex MSS.
D.D. Stil-
lingfleet.

“Then he showed for what end general councils were called, to declare the faith and reform errors; not that ever any council was truly general, for even at Nice there were no bishops almost, but out of Egypt, Asia, and Greece; but they were called general, because the emperor summoned them, and all Christendom did agree to their definitions, which he proved by several authorities: therefore though there were many more bishops in the council of Arimini than at Nice or Constantinople, yet the one was not received as a general council, and the others were: so that it was not the number nor authority of the bishops, but the matter of their decisions, which made them be received with so general a submission.

“As for the head of the council. St. Peter and St. James had the chief direction of the council of the apostles, but there were no contests then about headship. Christ named no head, which could be no more called a defect in him than it was one in God, that had named no head to govern the world. Yet the church found it convenient to have one over them, so archbishops were set over provinces. And though St. Peter had been head of the apostles, yet as it is not certain that he was ever in Rome, so it does not appear that he had his headship for Rome’s sake, or that he left it there; but he was made head for his faith, and not for the dignity of any see: therefore the bishops of Rome could pretend to nothing from him, but as they followed his faith; and Liberius and some other bishops there had been condemned for heresy; and if, according to St. James, faith be to be tried by works, the lives of the popes for several ages gave shrewd presumptions that their faith was not good. And though it were granted that such a power was given to the see of Rome, yet, by many instances, he showed that positive precepts in a matter of that nature were not for ever obligatory. And therefore Gerson wrote a book, *De Auferibilitate Papæ*. So that if a Pope with the cardinals be corrupted, they ought to be tried by a general council, and submit to it. St. Peter gave an account of his baptising Cornelius, when he was questioned about it. So Damasus, Sixtus, and Leo, purged themselves of some scandals.

“Then he showed how corrupt the present pope was, both in his person and government, for which he was abhorred, even by some of his cardinals, as himself had heard and seen at Rome. It is true there was no law to proceed against a vicious pope, for it was a thing not foreseen, and thought scarcely possible; but new diseases required new remedies, and if a pope that is an heretic may be judged in council, the same reason would hold against a simoniacal, covetous, and impious pope, who was salt that had lost its savour. And by several authorities he proved, that every man who lives so, is thereby out of the communion of the church; and that as the pre-eminence of the see of Rome flowed only from the laws of men, so there was now good cause to repeal these, for the pope, as was said in the council of Basil, was only vicar of the church, and not of Christ, so he was accountable to the church. The council of Constance and the divines of Paris had, according to the doctrine of the ancient church, declared the pope to be subject to a general council, which many popes in former ages had confessed. And all that the pope can claim even by the canon law, is only to call and preside in a general council, but not to overrule it, or have a negative vote in it.

“The power of councils did not extend to princes, dominions, or secular matters, but only to points of faith, which they were to declare, and to condemn heretics: nor were their decrees laws, till they were enacted by princes. Upon this, he enlarged much to show, that though a council did proceed against a king (with which they then threatened the king), that their sentence was of no force, as being without their sphere. The determination of councils ought to be well considered and examined by the Scriptures, and in matters indifferent, men ought to be left to their freedom; he taxed the severity of Victor’s proceedings against the churches of the East, about the day of Easter; and concluded that as a member of the body is not cut off, except a gangrene comes in it, so no part of the church ought to be cut off but upon a great and inevitable cause. And he very largely showed, with what moderation and charity the church should proceed even against those that held errors; and the standard of the council’s definitions should only be taken from the Scriptures, and not from men’s traditions.

“He said, some general councils had been rejected by others, and it was a tender point,

how much ought to be deferred to a council ; some decrees of councils were not at all obeyed. The divines of Paris held, that a council could not make a new article of faith, that was not in the Scriptures. And as all God's promises to the people of Israel had this condition implied within them, if they kept his commandments ; so he thought the promises to the Christian church had this condition in them, if they kept the faith. Therefore he had much doubting in himself as to general councils and he thought that only the word of God was the rule of faith, which ought to take place in all controversies of religion. The Scriptures were called canonical, as being the only rules of the faith of Christians ; and these by appointment of the ancient councils were only to be read in the churches. The fathers SS. Ambrose, Jerome, and Austin, did in many things differ from one another, but always appealed to the Scriptures, as the common and certain standard. And he cited some remarkable passages out of St. Austin, to show what difference he put between the Scriptures, and all the other writings even of the best and holiest fathers. But when all the fathers agreed in the exposition of any place of Scripture, he acknowledged he looked on that as flowing from the Spirit of God, and it was a most dangerous thing to be wise in our own conceit : therefore he thought councils ought to found their decisions on the word of God, and those expositions of it that had been agreed on by the doctors of the church.

“Then he discoursed very largely what a person a judge ought to be : he must not be partial, nor a judge in his own cause, nor so much as sit on the bench when it is tried, lest his presence should overawe others. Things also done upon a common error cannot bind, when the error upon which they were done comes to be discovered ; and all human laws ought to be changed, when a public visible inconvenience follows them. From which he concluded, that the pope being a party, and having already passed his sentence in things which ought to be examined by a general council, could not be a judge, nor sit in it. Princes also, who upon a common mistake thinking the pope head of the church, had sworn to him, finding that this was done upon a false ground, may pull their neck out of his yoke, as every man may make his escape out of the hands of a robber. And the court of Rome was so corrupt, that a pope, though he meant well, as Adrian did, yet could never bring any good design to an issue ; the cardinals and the rest of that court being so engaged to maintain their corruptions.” These were the heads of that discourse, which it seems he gave them in writing after he had delivered it ; but he promised to entertain them with another discourse, of the power the bishops of the Christian church have in their sees, and of the power of a Christian prince to make them do their duty ; but that I could never see, and I am afraid it is lost.

All this I thought necessary to open, to show the state of the court and the principles that the several parties in it went upon, when the reformation was first brought under consideration, in the third period of this king's reign, to which I am now advanced.

PART I.—BOOK III.

OF THE OTHER TRANSACTIONS ABOUT RELIGION AND REFORMATION, DURING THE REST OF
THE REIGN OF KING HENRY VIII.

THE king having passed through the traverses and tossings of his suit of divorce, and having, with the concurrence both of his clergy and parliament, brought about what he had projected, seemed now at ease in his own dominions. But though matters were carried in public assemblies smoothly and successfully, yet there were many secret discontents, which being fomented both by the pope and the emperor's agents, wrought him great trouble,—so that the rest of his life was full of vexation and disquiet.

All that were zealously addicted to that which they called the old religion, did conclude that whatever firmness the king expressed to it now was either pretended out of policy, for avoiding the inconveniences which the fears of a change might produce; or though he really intended to perform what he professed, yet the interests in which he must embark with the princes of Germany against the pope and the emperor, together with the power that the queen had over him, and the credit Cranmer and Cromwell had with him, would prevail on him to change some things in religion. And they looked on these things as so complicated together, that the change of any one must needs make way for change in more, since that struck at the authority of the church, and left people at liberty to dispute the articles of faith. This they thought was a gate opened to heresy; and therefore they were everywhere meeting together and consulting what should be done for suppressing heresy and preserving the catholic faith.

That zeal was much inflamed by the monks and friars, who clearly saw the acts of parliament were so levelled at their exemptions and immunities, that they were now like to be at the king's mercy. They were no more to plead their bulls, nor claim any privileges further than it pleased the king to allow them. No new saints from Rome could draw more riches or honour to their orders. Privileges and indulgences were out of doors; so that the arts of drawing in the people, to enrich their churches and houses, were at an end. And they had also secret intimations that the king and the courtiers had an eye on their lands, and they gave themselves for lost if they could not so embroil the king's affairs that he should not adventure on so invidious a thing. Therefore, both in confessions and conferences, they infused into the people a dislike of the king's proceedings; which though for some time it did not break out into an open rebellion, yet the humour still fermented, and people only waited for an opportunity: so that if the emperor had not been otherwise distracted, he might have made war upon the king with great advantages. For many of his discontented subjects would have joined with the enemy, but the king did so dexterously manage his leagues with the French king and the princes of the empire, that the emperor could never make any impressions on his dominions.

But those factious spirits, seeing nothing was to be expected from any foreign power, could not contain themselves, but broke out into open rebellion. And this provoked the king to great severities: his spirit was so fretted by the tricks of the court of Rome had put on him, and by the ingratitude and seditious practices of Reginald Pole, that he thereby lost much of his former temper and patience, and was too ready upon slight grounds to bring his subjects to the bar,—where, though the matter was always so ordered that according to law they were indicted and judged, yet the severity of the law bordering sometimes on rigour and cruelty, he came to be called a cruel tyrant. Nor did his severity lie only on one side,—but being addicted to some tenets of the old religion, and impatient of contradiction, or perhaps blown up, either with the vanity

of his new title of head of the church, or with the praises which flatterers bestowed on him, he thought all persons were bound to regulate their belief by his dictates, which made him prosecute protestants as well as proceed against papists. Yet it does not appear that cruelty was natural to him; for in twenty-five years' reign, none had suffered for any crime against the state but Pole earl of Suffolk, and Stafford duke of Buckingham. The former he prosecuted in obedience to his father's last commands at his death: his severity to the other was imputed to the cardinal's malice. The proceedings were also legal. And the duke of Buckingham had, by the knavery of a priest, to whom he gave great credit, been made believe he had a right to the crown; and practices of that nature touch princes so nearly, that no wonder the law was executed in such a case. This shows that the king was not very jealous, nor desirous of the blood of his subjects. But though he always proceeded upon law, yet in the last ten years of his life many instances of severity occurred, for which he is rather to be pitied than either imitated or sharply censured.

The former book was full of intrigues and foreign transactions; the greatest part of it being an account of a tedious negotiation with the subtlest and most refined court in Christendom in all the arts of human policy. But now my work is confined to this nation; and except in short touches by the way, I shall meddle no further with the mysteries of state, but shall give as clear an account of those things that relate to religion and reformation as I could possibly recover. The suppression of monasteries, the advance and declension of reformation, and the proceedings against those who adhered to the interests of the court of Rome, must be the chief subjects of this book. The two former shall be opened in the series of time as they were transacted. But the last shall be left to the end of the book, that it may be presented in one full view.

After the parliament had ended their business, the bishops did all renew their allegiance to the king, and swore also to maintain his supremacy in ecclesiastical matters; acknowledging that he was the supreme head of the church of England, though there was yet no law for the requiring of any such oath. The first act of the king's supremacy was, his naming Cromwell vicar-general, and general visiter of all the monasteries and other privileged places. This is commonly confounded with his following dignity of lord vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters; but they were two different places, and held by different commissions. By the one he had no authority over the bishops, nor had he any precedence; but the other, as it gave him the precedence next the royal family, so it clothed him with a complete delegation of the king's whole power in ecclesiastical affairs. For two years he was only vicar-general. But the tenor of his commissions, and the nature of the power devolved on him by them, cannot be fully known. For neither the one nor the other are in the rolls, though there can be no doubt made but commissions of such importance were enrolled; therefore the loss of them can only be charged on that search and rasure of records made by Bonner upon the commission granted to him by queen Mary, of which I have spoken in the preface of this work. In the prerogative-office there is a subaltern commission granted to doctor (afterwards secretary) Petre, on January 13th, in the twenty-seventh year of the king's reign, by which it appears that Cromwell's commission was at first conceived in very general words, for he is called the king's vicegerent in ecclesiastical causes, his vicar-general, and official principal. But because he could not himself attend upon all these affairs, therefore doctor Petre is deputed under him for receiving the probates of wills; from whence likewise it appears, that all wills where the estate was 200*l.* or above, were no more to be tried or proved in the bishops' courts, but in the vicar-general's court. Yet though he was called vicegerent in that commission, he was spoken of and writ to by the name of vicar-general; but after the second commission, seen and mentioned by the lord Herbert, in July 1536, he was always designed lord vicegerent.

Antiq. Oxon.
lib. 1, p. 258.

The original
Letter is in
Cott. Lib.
Cleop. E. 4.
Feb. 15.

The next thing that was everywhere laboured with great industry, was to engage all the rest of the clergy, chiefly the regulars, to own the king's supremacy, to which they generally submitted. In Oxford the question being put whether the pope had any other jurisdiction in England than any other foreign bishop, it was referred to thirty doctors and bachelors, who were empowered to set the university seal to their conclusion; they all agreed in the negative, and the

whole university being examined about it, man by man assented to their determination. All the difficulty that I find made, was at Richmond, by the Franciscan friars, where the The Francis- bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (Rowland Lee), and Thomas Bedyll, tendered can Friars re- some conclusions to them, among which this was one: "That the pope of Rome fuse it. has no greater jurisdiction in this kingdom of England, by the law of God, than any other foreign bishop." This they told them was already subscribed by the two archbishops, the bishops of London, Winchester, Durham, Bath, and all the other prelates, and heads of houses, and all the famous clerks of the realm. And therefore they desired that the friars would refer the matter to the four seniors of the house, and acquiesce in what they should do. But the friars said it concerned their consciences, and therefore they would not submit it to a small part of their house; they added, that they had sworn to follow the rule of St. Francis, and in that they would live and die; and cited a chapter of their rule, "That their order should have a cardinal for their protector, by whose directions they might be governed in their obedience to the holy see." But to this the bishop answered, that St. Francis lived in Italy, where the monks and other regulars that had exemptions were subject to the pope, as they were in England to the archbishop of Canterbury. And for the chapter which they cited, it was shown them that it was not written by St. Francis, but made since his time; and though it were truly a part of his rule, it was told them that no particular rule ought to be preferred to the laws of the land, to which all subjects were bound to give obedience, and could not be excused from it by any voluntary obligation under which they brought themselves. Yet all this could not prevail on them, but they said to the bishop they had professed St. Francis's rule, and would still continue in the observance of it.

But though I do not find such resistance made elsewhere, yet it appears that some secret practices of many of those orders against the state were discovered; therefore it was resolved, that some effectual means must be taken for lessening their credit and authority with the people; and so a general visitation of all monasteries and other religious houses was resolved on. This was chiefly advised by doctor Leighton, who had been in the cardinal's service with Cromwell, and was then taken notice of by him as a dexterous and diligent man, and therefore was now made use of on this occasion. He by a letter to Cromwell advertised him, that upon a long conference with the dean of the Arches, he found the dean was of opinion that it was not fit to make any visitation in the king's name yet for two or three years, till his supremacy were better received; and that he apprehended a severe visitation so early, would make the clergy more averse to the king's power. But Leighton, on the other hand, thought nothing would so much recommend the supremacy as to see such good effects of it as might follow upon a strict and exact visitation. And the abuses of religious persons were now so great and visible, even to the laity, that the correcting and reforming these would be a very popular thing. He writ further, that there had been no visitation in the northern parts since the cardinal ordered it: therefore he advised one, and desired to be employed in Yorkshire. And by another letter, dated the 4th of June, he wrote to Cromwell, desiring that doctor Lee and he might be employed in visiting all the monasteries from the diocese of Lincoln northwards, which they could manage better than anybody else, having great kindred and a large acquaintance in those parts: so that they would be able to discover all the disorders or seditious practices in these houses. He complained that former visitations had been slight and insignificant, and promised great faithfulness and diligence both from himself and doctor Lee.

The archbishop of Canterbury was now making his metropolitical visitation, having obtained the king's licence for it, which says, "that he having desired, that according to the custom, and the prerogative of his metropolitical see, he might make his visitation; the king granted him licence to do it, and required all to assist and obey him: dated the 28th of April." Things were not yet ripe for doing great matters; so that which he now looked to was to see that all should submit to the king's supremacy; and renounce any dependence on the pope, whose name was to be struck out of all the public offices of the church. This was begun in May 1535. Stokesley, bishop of London, submitted not to this visitation till he had entered three protestations for keeping up of privileges.

A General
visitation of
Monasteries
is designed.

Orig. Cott.
Lib. E. 4.

Cranmer
makes his
Metropoliti-
cal visitation.

Rot. Pat.
Regn. 26.
Part 1st.

Regist. Stokes.
Folio 44.

In October began the great visitation of monasteries, which was committed to several commissioners. Leighton, Lee, and London, were most employed. But many others were also empowered to visit. For I find letters from Robert Southwell, Ellice Price, John Apprice, Richard Southwell, John Gage, Richard Bellasis, Walter Hendle, and several others, to Cromwell; giving him an account of the progress they made in their several provinces. Their commissions, if they were passed under the great seal, and enrolled, have been taken out of the rolls; for there are none of them to be found there. Yet I incline to think they were not under the great seal. For I have seen an original commission for the visitation that was next year, which was only under the king's hand and signet; from which it may be inferred, that the commissions this year were of the same nature: yet whether such commissions could authorise them to grant dispensations, and discharge men out of the houses they were in, I am not skilled enough in law to determine. And by their letters to Cromwell I find they did assume authority for these things. So what their power was I am not able to discover. But besides their powers and commissions, they got instructions to direct them in their visitations, and injunctions to be left in every house, of which, though I could not recover the originals, yet copies of very good authority I have seen, which the reader will find in the collection at the end of this book.

The instructions contain 86 articles. The substance of them was, to try,
 "Whether divine service was kept up day and night in the right hours? And how many were commonly present, and who were frequently absent?
 "Whether the full number, according to the foundation, was in every house?
 Who were the founders? What additions have been made since the foundation?
 And what were their revenues? Whether it was ever changed from one order to another? By whom? And for what cause?
 What mortmains they had? And whether their founders were sufficiently authorised to make such donations?
 Upon what suggestions and for what causes they were exempted from their diocesans?
 Their local statutes were also to be seen and examined.
 The election of their head was to be inquired into. The rule of every house was to be considered. How many professed? And how many novices were in it? And at what time the novices professed?
 Whether they knew their rule and observed it? Chiefly the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience? Whether any of them kept any money without the master's knowledge? Whether they kept company with women within or without the monastery? Or if there were any back-doors by which women came within the precinct? Whether they had any boys lying by them?
 Whether they observed the rules of silence, fasting, abstinence, and hair-shirts? Or by what warrant they were dispensed with, in any of these?
 Whether they did eat, sleep, wear their habit, and stay within the monastery, according to their rules?
 Whether the master was too cruel, or too remiss? And whether he used the brethren without partiality or malice?
 Whether any of the brethren were incorrigible?
 Whether the master made his accounts faithfully once a-year? Whether all the other officers made their accounts truly? And whether the whole revenues of the house were employed according to the intention of the founders?
 Whether the fabric was kept up, and the plate and furniture were carefully preserved?
 Whether the convent-seal and the writings of the house were well kept? And whether leases were made by the master to his kindred and friends, to the damage of the house? Whether hospitality was kept, and whether at the receiving of novices, any money or reward was demanded or promised? What care was taken to instruct the novices?
 Whether any had entered into the house in hope to be once the master of it?
 Whether in giving presentations to livings the master had reserved a pension out of them? Or what sort of bargains he made concerning them?

“An account was to be taken of all the parsonages and vicarages belonging to every house, and how these benefices were disposed of, and how the cure was served.”

All these things were to be inquired after in the houses of monks or friars. And in the visitation of nunneries they were to search.

“Whether the house had a good enclosure; and if the doors and windows were kept shut, so that no man could enter at inconvenient hours?

“Whether any men conversed with the sisters alone, without the abbess’s leave?

“Whether any sister was forced to profess, either by her kindred or by the abbess?

“Whether they went out of their precinct without leave? And whether they wore their habit then?

“What employment they had out of the times of divine service? What familiarity they had with religious men? Whether they wrote love-letters? or sent and received tokens or presents?

“Whether the confessor was a discreet and learned man, and of good reputation? And how oft a year the sisters did confess and communicate?”

They were also to visit all collegiate churches, hospitals, and cathedrals, and the order of the knights of Jerusalem. But if this copy be complete, they were only to view their writings and papers to see what could be gathered out of them about the reformation of monastical orders. And as they were to visit according to these instructions, so they were to give some injunctions in the king’s name.

“That they should endeavour all that in them lay that the act of the king’s succession should be observed” (where it is said, that they had under their hands and seals confirmed it. This shows that all the religious houses in England had acknowledged it): “and they should teach the people that the king’s power was supreme on earth, under God, and that the bishop of Rome’s power was usurped by craft and policy, and by his ill canons and decretals, which had been long tolerated by the prince, but was now justly taken away.

“The abbot and brethren were declared to be absolved from any oath they had sworn to the pope, or to any foreign potentate; and the statutes of any order that did bind them to a foreign subjection were abrogated and ordered to be razed out of their books.

“That no monk should go out of the precinct, nor any woman enter within it, without leave from the king or the visitor; and that there should be no entry to it but one.

“Some rules were given about their meals, and a chapter of the Old or New Testament was ordered to be read at every one. The abbot’s table was to be served with common meats, and not with delicate and strange dishes; and either he or one of the seniors were to be always there to entertain strangers.

“Some other rules follow about the distribution of their alms, their accommodation in health and sickness. One or two of every house was to be kept at the university; that when they were well instructed they might come and teach others: and every day there was to be a lecture of divinity for a whole hour: the brethren must all be well employed.

“The abbot or head was every day to explain some part of the rule, and apply it according to Christ’s law, and to show them that their ceremonies were but elements introductory to true Christianity; and that religion consisted not in habits, or in such like rites, but in cleanness of heart, pureness of living, unfeigned faith, brotherly charity, and true honouring of God in spirit and truth: that therefore they must not rest in their ceremonies, but ascend by them to true religion.

“Other rules are added about the revenues of the house, and against wastes, and that none be entered into their house nor admitted under twenty-four years of age.

“Every priest in the house was to say mass daily; and in it to pray for the king and queen.

“If any break any of these injunctions, he was to be denounced to the king or his visitor-general. The visitor had also authority to punish any whom he should find guilty of any crime, and to bring the visitor-general such of their books and writings as he thought fit.”

Injunctions
for all Reli-
gious Houses.
See Collect.
Numb. 2d.

But before I give an account of this visitation, I presume it will not be ingrateful to the reader, to offer him some short view of the rise and progress of monastic orders in England, and of the state they were in at this time. What the ancient British monks were, or by what rule they were governed; whether it was from the Eastern churches that this constitution was brought into Britain, and was either suited to the rule of St. Anthony, St. Pachom, or St. Basil; or whether they had it from France, where, Sulpitius tells us, St. Martin set up monasteries,—must be left to conjecture. But from the little that remains of them, we find they were very numerous, and were obedient to the bishop of Caerleon, as all the monks of the primitive times were to their bishops, according to the canons of the council of Chalcedon.

But upon the confusions which the Gothic wars brought into Italy, Benedict and others set up religious houses; and more artificial rules and methods were found out for their government. Not long after that, Austin the monk came into England; and having baptised Ethelbert, he persuaded him to found a monastery at Canterbury, which the king, by his charter, exempted from the jurisdiction of the archbishop and his successors. This was not only done by Austin's consent, but he by another writing confirms this foundation; and exempted both the monastery, and all the churches belonging to it, from his or his successor's jurisdictions; and most earnestly conjures his successors never to give any trouble to the monks, who were only to be subject to their own abbot. And this was granted, that they might have no disturbance in the service of God. But (whether this, with many other ancient foundations, were not latter forgeries, which I vehemently suspect, I leave to critics to discuss) the next exemption that I find was granted in the year 680, to the abbey of Peterborough, by pope Agatho, and was signed by Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, called the pope's legate (this I doubt was forged afterwards). In the year 725, king Ina's charter to the abbey of Glastonbury relates to their ancient charters, and exempts them from the bishop's jurisdiction. King Offa founded and exempted the monastery of St. Albans, in the year 793, which pope Honorius III. confirmed, Anno 1218. Kenulph king of Mercia founded and exempted Abingdon, in the year 821. Knut founded and exempted St. Edmundsbury in the year 1020.

About the end of the eighth century, the Danes began to make their descents into England, and made everywhere great depredations; and finding the monks had possessed themselves of the greatest part of the riches of the nation, they made their most frequent inroads upon these places where they knew the richest spoil was to be found. And they did so waste and ruin these houses, that they were generally abandoned by the monks, who as they loved the ease and wealth they had enjoyed formerly in their houses, so had no mind to expose themselves to the persecutions of those heathenish invaders. But when they had deserted their seats, the secular clergy came and possessed them; so that in king Edgar's time there was scarce a monk in all England. He was a most dissolute and lewd prince, but being persuaded by Dunstan and other monks, that what he did towards the restoring of that decayed state would be a matter of great merit, became the great promoter of the monastical state in England; for he converted most of the chapters into monasteries: and by his foundation of the priory of Worcester, it appears he had then founded no fewer than forty-seven, which he intended to increase to fifty, the number of pardons. Yet in his foundations, he only exempted the monasteries from all exactions or dues which the bishops claimed. There are exemptions of several rates and sizes: some houses were only exempted from all exactions; others from all jurisdiction or visitations; others had only an exemption for their precinct; others for all the churches that belonged to them. Edward the Confessor exempted many of these houses which Edgar had founded, as Ramsey, &c. He also founded and exempted Westminster; and the exemption of the last was likewise confirmed by pope Nicolas, in a bull to king Edward. William the Conqueror founded and exempted the abbey of Battel from all episcopal jurisdiction.

But after that time I do not find that our kings exempted abbeys from anything but episcopal exactions; for though formerly kings had made laws and given orders about

An account
of the progress
of the monas-
tical state in
England.

The Ex-
emptions of
Monasteries.
See Monasti-
con.

Monasteries
generally
wasted and
deserted.

Antiquit.
Britan.

But are again
set up by
King Edgar.

ecclesiastical matters, yet now the claim to an immunity from the civil jurisdiction and also the papal authority were grown to that height, that princes were to meddle no more with sacred things. And henceforth all exemptions were granted by the popes, who claimed a jurisdiction over the whole church, and assumed that power to themselves with many other usurpations.

All the ancient foundations were subscribed by the king, the queen, and prince, with many bishops and abbots and dukes and earls consenting. The abbeyes being exempted from all jurisdiction, both civil and spiritual, and from all impositions, and having generally the privilege of sanctuary for all that fled to them, were at ease and accountable to none, so they might do what they pleased. They found also means to enrich themselves, first by the belief of purgatory. For they persuaded all people that the souls departed went generally thither; few were so holy as to go straight to heaven; and few so bad as to be cast to hell. Then people were made believe, that the saying of masses for their souls gave them great relief in their torments, and did at length deliver them out of them. This being generally received, it was thought by all a piece of piety to their parents, and of necessary care for themselves and their families, to give some part of their estates towards the enriching of these houses, for having a mass said every day for the souls of their ancestors, and for their own after their death. And this did so spread, that if some laws had not restrained their profuseness, the greater part of all the estates in England had been given to those houses. But the statutes of Mortmain were not very effectual restraints; for what king soever had refused to grant a mortmain, was sure to have an uneasy reign ever after.

Yet this did not satisfy the monks, but they fell upon other contrivances, to get the best of all men's jewels, plate, and furniture. For they persuaded them, that the protection and intercession of saints were of mighty use to them; so that whatsoever respect they put on the shrines and images, but chiefly on the relics of saints, they would find their account in it, and the saints would take it kindly at their hands, and intercede the more earnestly for them. And people who saw courtiers much wrought on by presents, imagined the saints were of the same temper; only with this difference, that courtiers love to have presents put in their own hands, but the saints were satisfied if they were given to others. And as in the courts of princes the new favourite commonly had greatest credit, so every new saint was believed to have a greater force in his addresses; and therefore everybody was to run to their shrines and make great presents to them. This being infused into the credulous multitude, they brought the richest things they had to the places where the bodies or relics of those saints were laid. Some images were also believed to have a peculiar excellency in them, and pilgrimages and presents to these were much magnified. But to quicken all this, the monks found the means, either by dreams and visions, or strange miraculous stories, to feed the devotion of the people. Relics without number were everywhere discovered, and most wonderful relations of the martyrdom and other miracles of the saints were made and read in all places to the people; and new improvements were daily made in a trade, that through the craft of the monks and the simplicity of the people brought in great advantages. And though there was enough got to enrich them all, yet there was strange rivalling, not only among the several orders, but the houses of the same order. The monks, especially of Glastonbury, St. Albans, and St. Edmundsbury, vied one with another who could tell the most extravagant stories, for the honour of their house, and of the relics in it.

The monks in these houses abounding in wealth, and living at ease and in idleness, did so degenerate, that from the twelfth century downward, their reputation abated much; and the privileges of sanctuaries were a general grievance, and oft complained of in parliaments: for they received all that fled to them, which put a great stop to justice, and did encourage the most criminal offenders. They became lewd and dissolute, and so impudent in it, that some of their farms were let for bringing in a yearly tribute to their lusts: nor did they keep hospitality and relieve the poor; but rather encouraged vagabonds and beggars, against whom laws were made, both in Edward III., king Henry VII., and this king's reign.

Arts used by
the Monks for
enriching
their Houses.

They became
generally cor-
rupted.

But from the twelfth century, the orders of begging friars were set up, and they by the appearance of severity and mortification gained great esteem. At first they would have nothing, no real estates, but the ground on which their house stood. But afterwards distinctions were found for satisfying their consciences in larger possessions. They were not so idle and lazy as the monks, but went about and preached, and heard confessions, and carried about indulgences, with many other pretty little things, *Agnus Dei's*, rosaries, and pebbles, which they made the world believe had great virtue in them : and they had the esteem of the people wholly engrossed to themselves. They were also more formidable to princes than the monks, because they were poorer, and by consequence more hardy and bold. There was also a firmer union of their whole order, they having a general at Rome, and being divided into many provinces, subject to their provincials. They had likewise the school-learning wholly in their hands, and were great preachers, so that many things concurred to raise their esteem with the people very high, yet great complaints lay against them, for they went more abroad than the monks did, and were believed guilty of corrupting families. The scandals that went on them, upon their relaxing the primitive strictness of their orders, were a little rectified by some reformations of these orders. But that lasted not long : for they became liable to much censure, and many visitations had been made, but to little purpose. This concurring with their secret practices against the king, both in the matter of his divorce and supremacy, made him more willing to examine the truth of these reports ; that if they were found guilty of such scandals, they might lose their credit with the people, and occasions be ministered to the king to justify the suppression of them.

There were also two other motives that inclined the king to this counsel. The one was, that he apprehended a war from the emperor, who was then the only prince in the world that had any considerable force at sea ; having both great fleets in the Indies, and being prince of the Netherlands, where the greatest trade of these parts was driven. Therefore the king judged it necessary to fortify his ports, and seeing the great advantages of trade, which began then to rise much, was resolved to encourage it : for which end he intended to build many havens and harbours. This was a matter of great charge, and as his own revenue could not defray it, so he had no mind to lay heavy taxes on his subjects, therefore the suppression of monasteries was thought the easiest way of raising money.

He also intended to erect many more bishoprics, to which Cranmer advised him much, that the vastness of some dioceses being reduced to a narrower compass, bishops might better discharge their duties, and oversee their flocks, according to the Scriptures and the primitive rules.

But Cranmer did on another reason press the suppression of monasteries. He found that their foundations and whole state was inconsistent with a full and true reformation. For among the things to be reformed were these abuses, which were essential to their constitution (such as the belief of purgatory, of redeeming souls by masses, the worship of saints and images, and pilgrimages, and the like). And therefore those societies, whose interest it was to oppose the reformation, were once to be suppressed : and then he hoped, upon new endowments and foundations, new houses should have been erected at every cathedral, to be nurseries for that whole diocese ; which he thought would be more suitable to the primitive use of monasteries, and more profitable to the church. This was his scheme, as will afterwards appear ; which was in some measure effected, though not so fully as he projected, for reasons to be told in their proper place.

There had been a bull sent from Rome, for dissolving some monasteries and erecting bishoprics out of them, as was related in the former book, in the year 1532. And it seems it was upon that authority, that in the year 1533 the priory of Christ's church, near Aldgate, in London, was dissolved and given to the lord chancellor, Sir Thomas Audley (not to make him speak shriller for his master in the house of commons, as Fuller mistakes it ; for he had been lord chancellor a year before this was given him). The pope's authority not being at that time put down, nor the king's supremacy

Upon which
the begging
Friars grew
much in cre-
dit.

The King's
secret motives
for dissolving
these Houses.

Cranmer's
design in it.

First Monas-
tery that was
dissolved.

set up, I conjecture it was done, pursuant to the bull for the dissolution of some religious houses ; but I never saw the dissolution, and so can only guess on what ground it was made. But in the parliament held the former year, in which the king's grant of that house to the lord chancellor was confirmed, it is said in the preamble, "That the prior and convent had resigned that house to the king the 24th of February, 23rd Regni, and had left their house ; but no mention is made upon what reason they did it."

But now I come to consider how the visitors carried on their visitations. Many severe things are said of their proceedings, nor is it any wonder that men who had traded so long in lies, as the monks had done, should load those whom they esteemed the instruments of their ruin with many calumnies. By their letters to Cromwell it appears that in most houses they found monstrous disorders. That many fell down on their knees and prayed they might be discharged, since they had been forced to make vows against their wills ; with these the visitors dispensed and set them at liberty. They found great factions in the houses, and barbarous cruelties exercised by one faction against another, as either of them prevailed. In many places, when they gave them the king's injunctions, many cried out that the severity of them was intolerable, and they desired rather to be suppressed than so reformed. They were all extremely addicted to idolatry and superstition. In some they found the instruments, and other tools for multiplying and coining.

But for the lewdness of the confessors of nunneries, and the great corruption of that state, whole houses being found almost all with child ; for the dissoluteness of abbots and the other monks and friars not only with whores, but married women ; and for their unnatural lusts and other brutal practices ; these are not fit to be spoken of, much less enlarged on, in a work of this nature. The full report of this visitation is lost, yet I have seen an extract of a part of it, concerning one hundred and forty-four houses, that contains abominations in it equal to any that were in Sodom.

One passage that is more remarkable I shall only set down ; because upon it followed the first resignation of any religious house that I could ever find. Doctor Leighton beset the abbot of Langden's house, and broke open his door of a sudden and found his whore with him ; and in the abbot's coffer there was an habit for her, for she went for a young brother. Whether the shame of this discovery or any other consideration prevailed with him I know not ; but on the 13th of November, he and ten monks signed a resignation, which hath an odd kind of preamble to be found in the collection. "It says that the revenue of the house was so much endamaged, and engaged in so much debt, that they considering this, and what remedies might be found for it, saw that except the king, of whose foundation the house was, did speedily relieve them, it must be very quickly ruined, both as to its spiritual and temporal concerns ; therefore they surrender up their house to the king." They were of the order of Premonstre, and their house was dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin and St. Thomas-a-Becket. This precedent was followed by the like surrender, with the same

preamble, on the 15th of November, by the prior of Folkeston, a Benedictin ; and on the 16th, by the prior of Dover with eight monks. These were all of them in the county of Kent. But neither among the original surrenders, nor in the Clause Rolls, are there any other deeds in this year of our Lord ; there are indeed in the same year of the king (which runs till April 1536) four other surrenders, with the same preambles. Of Merton in Yorkshire, a convent of Augustinians, signed by the prior and five monks ; the 9th of February, of Bilsington in Kent, signed by the prior and two monks ; the 21st of February, of Tilty in Essex, a convent of Cistercians, signed by the prior and five monks, and of Hornby in Yorkshire, a convent of the Premonstre, signed by the prior and two monks, the 23rd of March. These were all the surrenders that I can discover to have been made before the act of parliament for the suppressing the lesser monasteries passed in the next session that was assembled in February.

But before that, the afflicted and unfortunate queen Katharine died at Kimbolton ; she had been much disquieted because she would not lay down her title of queen.

Many of her servants were put from her on that account, but she would accept of no service from any that did not use her as a queen, and call her so. The king sent the death of Queen Katharine oft to her, to persuade her to more compliance; but she stood her ground, and said since the pope had judged her marriage good, she would lose her life before she did anything in prejudice of it. She became more cheerful than she had been. She went to be, and the country people came much to her, whom she received, and used very obligingly. The king had a mind she should go to Fotheringhay castle; but when it was proposed to her, she plainly said she would never go thither unless she were carried as a prisoner, bound with ropes. She desired leave to come nearer London; but that was not granted. She had the jointure that was assigned her as princess dowager, and was treated with the respect due to that dignity, but all the women about her still called her queen. I do not find she had any thoughts of going out of England, though her life in it was but melancholy. Yet her care to support her daughter's title made her bear all the disgraces she lay under. The officious and practising clergy that were for the court of Rome looked on her as the head of their party, and asserted her interests much. Yet she was so watched that she could not hold any great correspondence with them, though in the matter of the Maid of Kent she had some meddling.

When she sickened, she made her will, and appointed her body to be buried in a convent of Observant Friars (who had done and suffered most for her), and ordered five hundred masses to be said for her soul, and that one should go a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Walsingham, and give twenty nobles by the way to the poor. Some other small legacies she left to her servants. When the king heard she was sick, he sent a kind message to her; and the emperor's ambassador went to see her and to cheer her up: but when she found her sickness like to prove mortal, she made one about her write a letter in her name to the king. In the title she called him "Her good lord, king, and husband. She advised him to look to the health of his soul. She forgave him all the troubles he had cast her into. She recommended their daughter Mary to him, and desired he would be a loving father to her. She also desired that he would provide matches for her maids, who were but three; and that he would give her servants one year's wages more than was due to them;" and concluded, lastly, "I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things." By another letter she recommended her daughter to the emperor's care. On the 8th of January she died, in the fiftieth year of her age, thirty-three years after she came to England. She was a devout and pious princess, and led a severe and mortified life. In her greatness, she wrought much with her own hands, and kept her women well employed about her; as appeared when the two legates came once to speak with her. She came out to them with a skein of silk about her neck, and told them she had been within at work with her women. She was most passionately devoted to the interests of the court of Rome, they being so interwoven with her own; and, in a word, she is represented as a most wonderful good woman. Only I find on many occasions that the king complained much of her uneasiness and peevishness. But whether the fault was in her humour, or in the provocations she met with, the reader may conjecture. The king received the news of her death with some regret; but he would not give leave to bury her as she ordered, but made her body be laid in the abbey church of Peterborough, which he afterwards converted to an episcopal cathedral. But queen Anne did not carry her death so decently, for she expressed too much joy at it, both in her carriage and dress.

On the 4th of February the parliament sat, upon a prorogation of fourteen months, (for in the record there is no mention of any intermedial prorogation,) where a great many laws relating to civil concerns were passed. By the fifteenth act, the power that had been given by a former act to the king, for naming thirty-two persons to make a collection of ecclesiastical laws, was again confirmed; for nothing had been done upon the former act. But there was no limitation of time in this act, and so there was nothing done in pursuance of it.

The great business of this session of parliament was the suppressing the lesser monasteries. How this went through the two houses we cannot know from the Journals, for they are lost: but all the historians of that time tell us, that the report which the visitors made to the king was read in parliament; which represented the

A new session of Parliament.

The lesser monasteries are suppressed.

manners of these houses so odiously, that the act was easily carried. The preamble bears “that small religious houses, under the number of twelve persons, had been long and notoriously guilty of vicious and abominable living, and did much consume and waste their churches, lands, and other things belonging to them; and that for above two hundred years there had been many visitations for reforming these abuses, but with no success,—their vicious living increasing daily; so that, except small houses were dissolved and the religious put into greater monasteries, there could no reformation be expected in that matter. Whereupon the king having received a full information of these abuses, both by his visitors and other credible ways, and considering that there were divers great monasteries, in which religion was well kept and observed, which had not the full number in them that they might and ought to receive, had made a full declaration of the premises in parliament. Whereupon it was enacted, that all houses which might spend yearly 200*l.* or within it, should be suppressed, and their revenues converted to better uses, and they compelled to reform their lives.” The lord Herbert thinks it strange that the statute in the printed book has no preamble, but begins bluntly. Fuller tells us, that he wonders that lord did not see the record; and he sets down the preamble and says, the rest follow as in the printed statute, chapter twenty-seventh, by a mistake for the twenty-eighth. This shows that neither the one nor the other ever looked on the record: for there is a particular statute of dissolution, distinct from the twenty-eighth chapter: and the preamble which Fuller sets down belongs not to the twenty-eighth chapter, as he says, but to the eighteenth chapter, which was never printed; and the twenty-eighth relates in the preamble to that other statute which had given these monasteries to the king.

The reasons that were pretended for dissolving these houses were, that whereas there was but a small number of persons in them, they entered into confederacies together, and their poverty set them on to use many ill arts to grow rich. They were also much abroad, and kept no manner of discipline in their houses. But those houses were generally much richer than they seemed to be: for the abbots raising great fines out of them, held the leases still low, and by that means they were not obliged to entertain a greater number in their house, and so enriched themselves and their brethren by the fines that were raised; for many houses then rated at two hundred pounds, were worth many thousands, as will appear to any that compares what they were then valued at (which is collected by Speed) with what their estates are truly worth. When this was passing in parliament, Stokesley bishop of London said, “These lesser houses were as thorns soon plucked up, but the great abbots were like putrefied old oaks; yet they must needs follow, and so would others do in Christendom before many years were passed.”

By another act, all these houses, their churches, lands, and all their goods, were given to the king and his heirs and successors, together with all other houses, which within a year before the making of the act had been dissolved or suppressed; and for the gathering the revenues that belonged to them a new court was erected, called the court of the augmentations of the king's revenue, which was to consist of a chancellor, a treasurer, an attorney and solicitor, and ten auditors, seventeen receivers, a clerk, an usher, and a messenger. This court was to bring in the revenues of such houses as were now dissolved, excepting only such as the king by his letters-patent continued in their former state, appointing a seal for the court, with full power and authority to dispose of these lands so as might be most for the king's service.

Thus fell the lesser abbeys, to the number of 376; and soon after, this parliament, which had done the king such eminent service and had now sat six years, was dissolved, on the 14th of April.

In the convocation, a motion was made of great consequence, that there should be a translation of the Bible in English, to be set up in all the churches of England. The clergy, when they procured Tindall's translation to be condemned, and suppressed it, gave out that they intended to make a translation into the vulgar tongue: yet it was afterwards, upon a long consultation, resolved, that it was free for the church to give the Bible in a vulgar tongue or not, as they pleased; and that the king was not obliged to it, and that at that time it was not at all expedient to

The Trans-
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Bible in
English de-
signed.

do it. Upon which those that promoted the reformation made great complaints, and said it was visible the clergy knew there was an opposition between the Scriptures and their doctrine : that they had first condemned Wickliff's translation, and then Tindal's ; and though they ought to teach men the word of God, yet they did all they could to suppress it.

In the times of the Old Testament, the Scriptures were written in the vulgar tongue, and all were charged to read and remember the law. The apostles wrote in Greek, ^{The reasons for it.} which was then the most common language in the world. Christ did also appeal to the Scriptures, and sent the people to them : and by what St. Paul says of Timothy, it appears that children were then early trained up in that study. In the primitive church, as nations were converted to the faith the Bible was translated into their tongue. The Latin translation was very ancient ; the Bible was afterwards put into the Scythian, Dalmatian, and Gothic tongues. It continued thus for several ages, till the state of monkery rose ; and then, when they engrossed the riches, and the popes assumed the dominion of the world, it was not consistent with these designs, nor with the arts used to promote them, to let the Scriptures be much known ; therefore legends and strange stories of visions, with other devices, were thought more proper for keeping up their credit, and carrying on their ends.

It was now generally desired that if there were just exceptions against what Tindal had done, these might be amended in a new translation. This was a plausible thing, and wrought much on all that heard it ; who plainly concluded, that those who denied the people the use of the Scriptures in their vulgar tongues, must needs know their own doctrine and practices to be inconsistent with it. Upon these grounds Cranmer, who was projecting the most effectual means for promoting a reformation of doctrine, moved in convocation, that they should petition the king for leave to make a translation of the Bible. But Gardiner and his party opposed it, both in convocation and in secret with the king. It was said, that all

^{The opposition made to it.} the heresies and extravagant opinions which were then in Germany, and from thence coming over to England, sprang from the free use of the Scriptures. And whereas in May the last year, nineteen Hollanders were accused of some heretical opinions, "denying Christ to be both God and man, or that he took flesh and blood of the Virgin Mary, or that the sacraments had any effect on those that received them ;" in which opinions fourteen of them remained obstinate, and were burned by pairs in several places ; it was complained, that all those drew their damnable errors from the indiscreet use of the Scriptures. And to offer the Bible in the English tongue to the whole nation, during these distractions, would prove, as they pretended, the greatest snare that could be. Therefore they proposed, that there should be a short exposition of the most useful and necessary doctrines of the Christian faith given to the people in the English tongue, for the instruction of the nation, which would keep them in a certain subjection to the king and the church, in matters of faith.

The other party, though they liked well the publishing such a treatise in the vulgar tongue, yet by no means thought that sufficient ; but said, the people must be allowed to search the Scripture, by which they might be convinced that such treatises were according to it. These arguments prevailed with the two houses of convocation. So they petitioned the king that he would give order to some to set about it. To this, great opposition was made at court. Some, on the one hand, told the king that a diversity of opinions would arise out of it ; and that he could no more govern his subjects if he gave way to that. But, on the other hand, it was represented, that nothing would make his supremacy so acceptable to the nation, and make the pope more hateful, than to let them see, that whereas the popes had governed them by a blind obedience, and kept them in darkness, the king brought them into the light and gave them the free use of the word of God. And nothing would more effectually extirpate the pope's authority, and discover the impostures of the monks, than the Bible in English ; in which all people would clearly discern there was no foundation for those things. These arguments, joined with the power that the queen had in his affections, were so much considered by the king, that he gave order for setting about it immediately. To whom that work was committed, or how they proceeded in it, I know not. For the account of these things has not been preserved, nor conveyed to us, with that care that the importance of the

thing required. Yet it appears that the work was carried on at a good rate : for three years after this it was printed at Paris ; which shows they made all convenient haste in a thing that required so much deliberation.

But this was the last public good act of this unfortunate queen ; who, the nearer she drew to her end, grew more full of good works. She had distributed, in the last nine months of her life, between fourteen and fifteen thousand pounds to the poor, and was designing great and public good things. And by all appearance, if she had lived, the money that was raised by the suppression of religious houses had been better employed than it was. In January, she brought forth a dead son. This was thought to have made ill impressions on the king : and that, as he concluded from the death of his sons by the former queen, that the marriage was displeasing to God ; so he might, upon this misfortune, begin to make the like judgment of this marriage. Sure enough the popish party were earnestly set against the queen, looking on her as the great supporter of heresy. And at that time Fox, then bishop of Hereford, was in Germany at Smalcald, treating a league with the Protestant princes, who insisted much on the Augsburg Confession. There were

The fall of Queen Anne. many conferences between Fox and doctor Barnes, and some others, with the The whole Popish party proved it on. Lutheran divines, for accommodating the differences between them, and the thing was in a good forwardness. All which was imputed to the queen. Gardiner was then ambassador in France, and wrote earnestly to the king to dissuade him from entering into any religious league with these princes ; for that would alienate all the world from him, and dispose his own subjects to rebel. The king thought the German princes and divines should have submitted all things to his judgment, and had such an opinion of his own learning, and was so puffed up with the flattering praises that he daily heard, that he grew impatient of any opposition, and thought that his dictates should pass for oracles. And because the Germans would not receive them so, his mind was alienated from them.

But the duke of Norfolk at court, and Gardiner beyond sea, thought there might easily be found a mean to accommodate the king, both with the emperor and the pope, if the queen were once out of the way, for then he might freely marry any one whom he pleased, and that marriage, with the male issue of it, could not be disputed ; whereas, as long as the queen lived, her marriage, as being judged null from the beginning, could never be allowed by the court of Rome or any of that party : with these reasons of state others of affection concurred. The queen had been his wife three years, but at this time he entertained a secret love for Jane Seymour, who had all the charms both of beauty and youth in her person, and her humour was tempered between the severe gravity of queen Katharine and the gay pleasantness of queen Anne. The queen perceiving this alienation of the king's heart, used all possible arts to recover that affection of whose decay she was sadly sensible. But the success was quite contrary to what she designed ; for the king saw her no more with those eyes which she had formerly captivated, but grew jealous, and ascribed these caresses to some other criminal affections, of which he began to suspect her. This being one of the most memorable passages of this reign, I was at more than ordinary pains to learn all I could concerning it, and have not only seen a great many letters that were writ by those that were set about the queen, and caught everything that fell from her and sent it to court, but have also seen an account of it, which the learned Spelman, who was a judge at that time, writ with his own hand in his common-place book, and another account of it writ by one Anthony Anthony, a surveyor of the ordnance of the Tower. From all which I shall give a just and faithful relation of it, without concealing the least circumstance that may either seem favourable or unfavourable to her.

She was of a very cheerful temper, which was not always limited within the bounds of exact decency and discretion. She had rallied some of the king's servants more The King's jealousy of her. than became her. Her brother, the lord Rochford, was her friend as well as brother ; but his spiteful wife was jealous of him ; and being a woman of no sort of virtue, (as will appear afterwards by her serving queen Katharine Howard in her beastly practices, for which she was attainted and executed,) she carried many stories to the king, or some about him, to persuade that there was a familiarity between the queen and her brother, beyond what so near a relation could justify. All that could be said for it was only this ;—

that he was once seen leaning upon her bed, which bred great suspicion. Henry Norris, that was groom of the stole, Weston and Brereton, that were of the king's privy-chamber, and one Mark Smeton, a musician, were all observed to have much of her favour. And their zeal in serving her was thought too warm and diligent to flow from a less active principle than love. Many circumstances were brought to the king, which working upon his aversion to the queen, together with his affection to mistress Seymour, made him conclude her guilty. Yet somewhat which himself observed or fancied at a tilting at Greenwich, is believed to have given the crisis to her ruin. It is said that he spied her let her handkerchief fall to one of her gallants to wipe his face, being hot after a course. Whether she dropped it carelessly or of design, or whether there be any truth in that story, the letters concerning her fall making no mention of it, I cannot determine; for Spelman makes no mention of it, and gives a very different account of the discovery in these words: "As for the evidence of this matter, it was discovered by the lady Wingfield, who had been a servant to the queen, and becoming on a sudden infirm some time before her death did swear this matter to one of her—" and here unluckily the rest of the page is torn off. By this it seems there was no legal evidence against the queen, and that it was but a witness at second-hand who deposed what they heard the lady Wingfield swear. Who this person was we know not, nor in what temper of mind the lady Wingfield might be when she swore it. The safest sort of forgery, to one whose conscience can swallow it, is to lay a thing on a dead person's name, where there is no fear of discovery before the great day, and when it was understood that the queen had lost the king's heart, many either out of their zeal to popery, or design to make their fortune, might be easily induced to carry a story of this nature. And this it seems was that which was brought to the king at Greenwich, who did thereupon immediately return to Whitehall, it being the 1st of May. The queen was immediately restrained to her chamber, the other five were also seized on: but none of them would confess anything, but Mark

Smeton, as to any actual thing, so Cromwell writ. Upon this they were carried to the Tower. The poor queen was in a sad condition; she must not only fall under the king's displeasure, but be both defamed and destroyed at once. At first she smiled and carried it cheerfully, and said she believed the king did this only to prove her. But when she saw it was in earnest, she desired to have the sacrament in her closet, and expressed great devotion, and seemed to be prepared for death.

The surprise and confusion she was in raised fits of the mother, which those about her did not seem to understand; but three or four letters which were writ by sir William Kingston to secretary Cromwell, concerning her to court, say, that she was at some times very devout, and cried much, and of a sudden would burst out in laughter, which are evident signs of vapours. When she heard that those who were accused with her were sent to the Tower, she then concluded herself lost, and said she should be sent thither next, and talked idly, saying, "that if her bishops were about the king, they would all speak for her." She also said, "that she would be a saint in heaven, for she had done many good deeds; and that there should be no rain, but heavy judgments on the land, for what they were now doing to her." Her enemies had now gone too far not to destroy her. Next day she was carried to the Tower, and some lords that met her on the river declared to her what her offences

were; upon which she made deep protestations of her innocence and begged leave to see the king, but that was not to be expected. When she was carried into the Tower, "she fell down on her knees, and prayed God to help her, as she was not guilty of the thing for which she was accused." That same day the king wrote to Cranmer to come to Lambeth, but ordered him not to come into his presence; which was procured by the queen's enemies, who took care that one who had such credit with the king should not come at him till they had fully persuaded him that she was guilty. Her uncle's lady, the lady Boleyn, was appointed to lie in the chamber with her; which she took very ill, for, upon what reason I know not, she had been in very ill terms with her. She engaged her into much discourse, and studied to draw confessions from her. Whatsoever she said was presently sent to the court; and a woman full of vapours was like enough to tell everything that was true, with a great deal more; for persons in that condition not only have no command of themselves, but are apt to say anything that comes in their fancy.

The duke of Norfolk and some of the king's council were with her, but could draw nothing from her, though they made her believe that Norris and Mark had accused her. But when they were gone, she fell down on her knees and wept, and prayed often, "Jesu, have mercy on me," and then fell a-laughing : when that fit was over, she desired to have the sacrament still by her, that she might cry for mercy. And she said to the lieutenant of the Tower, she was as clear of the company of all men, as to sin, as she was clear from him, and that she was the king's true wedded wife ; and she cried out, "O Norris, hast thou accused me ? thou art in the Tower with me, and thou and I shall die together ; and Mark, so shall thou too." She apprehended they were to put her in a dungeon, and sadly bemoaned her own and her mother's misery, and asked them whether she must die without justice. But they told her the poorest subjects had justice, much more would she have it. The same letter says, that Norris had not accused her ; and that he said to her almoner that he could swear for her, she was a good woman. But she being made believe that he had accused her, and not being then so free in her thoughts as to consider that ordinary artifice for drawing out confessions, told all she knew, both of him and Mark, which, though it was not enough to destroy her, yet certainly wrought much on the jealous and alienated king. She told them, "that she once asked Norris why he did not go on with his marriage ? who answered her, that he would yet tarry some time. To which she replied, You look for dead men's shoes ; for if aught come to the king but good, you would look to have me. He answered, if he had any such thought, he would his head were cut off. Upon which she said, she could undo him if she pleased, and thereupon she fell out with him." As for Mark, who was then laid in irons, she said he was never in her chamber but when the king was last at Winchester ; and then he came in to play on the virginals : she said, "that she never spoke to him after that but on Saturday before May-day, when she saw him standing in the window, and then she asked him why he was so sad ; he said, it was no matter : she answered, You may not look to have me speak to you as if you were a nobleman, since you are an inferior person. No, no, madam, said he, a look sufficeth me. She seemed more apprehensive of Weston than of anybody. For on Whitsun-Monday last he said to her, that Norris came more to her chamber upon her account, than for anybody else that was there. She had observed that he loved a kinswoman of hers, and challenged him for it, and for not loving his wife. But he answered her, that there were women in the house whom he loved better than them both. She asked, ' Who is that ? ' ' Yourself,' said he ; upon which, she said, she defied him."

This misery of the queen's drew after it the common effects that follow persons under such a disgrace ; for now all the court was against her, and every one was courting the rising queen. But Cranmer had not learned these arts, and had a better soul in him than to be capable of such baseness and ingratitude. He had been much obliged by her, and had conceived a high opinion of her, and so could not easily receive ill impressions of her ; yet he knew the king's temper, and that a downright justification of her would provoke him : therefore he wrote the following letter, on the 3d of May, with all the softness that so tender a point required ; in which he justified her, as far as was consistent with prudence and charity. The letter shows of what a constitution he was that wrote it, and contains so many things that tend highly to her honour, that I shall insert it here as I copied it from the original.

"Pleaseth it your most noble grace, to be advertised, that at your grace's commandment by Mr. Secretary his letters, written in your grace's name, I came to Lambeth yesterday, and do there remain to know your grace's further pleasure. And forsomuch as without your grace's commandment, I dare not, contrary to the contents of the said letters, presume to come unto your grace's presence ; nevertheless of my most bounden duty, I can do no less than most humbly to desire your grace, by your great wisdom, and by the assistance of God's help, somewhat to suppress the deep sorrows of your grace's heart, and to take all adversities of God's hands both patiently and thankfully. I cannot deny but your grace hath great causes many ways of lamentable heaviness : and also that in the wrongful estimation of the world, your grace's honour of every part is so highly touched (whether the things that commonly be spoken of

Cranmer's
Letter to the
King about
her.
Cott. Lib.

be true or not), that I remember not that ever Almighty God sent unto your grace any like occasion to try your grace's constancy throughout, whether your highness can be content to take of God's hand, as well things displeasing as pleasant. And if he find in your most noble heart such an obedience unto his will, that your grace, without murmuration and overmuch heaviness, do accept all adversities, not less thanking him, than when all things succeed after your grace's will and pleasure, nor less procuring his glory and honour; then I suppose your grace did never thing more acceptable unto him, since your first governance of this your realm. And moreover, your grace shall give unto him occasion to multiply and increase his graces and benefits unto your highness, as he did unto his most faithful servant Job; unto whom, after his great calamities and heaviness, for his obedient heart, and willing acceptance of God's scourge and rod, *Adidit ei Dominus cuncta duplicia*. And if it be true, that is openly reported of the queen's grace, if men had a right estimation of things, they should not esteem any part of your grace's honour to be touched thereby, but her honour only to be clearly disparaged. And I am in such a perplexity, that my mind is clean amazed. For I never had better opinion in woman, than I had in her; which maketh me to think, that she should not be culpable. And again, I think your highness would not have gone so far, except she had surely been culpable. Now I think that your grace best knoweth, that next unto your grace, I was most bound unto her of all creatures living. Wherefore I most humbly beseech your grace to suffer me in that, which both God's law, nature, and also her kindness, bindeth me unto; that is, that I may with your grace's favour wish and pray for her, that she may declare herself inculpable and innocent. And if she be found culpable, considering your grace's goodness towards her, and from what condition your grace of your only mere goodness took her, and set the crown upon her head; I repute him not your grace's faithful servant and subject, nor true unto the realm, that would not desire the offence without mercy to be punished, to the example of all other. And as I loved her not a little, for the love which I judged her to bear towards God and his gospel; so if she be proved culpable, there is not one that loveth God and his gospel, that ever will favour her, but must hate her above all other; and the more they favour the gospel, the more they will hate her: for then there was never creature in our time that so much slandered the gospel. And God hath sent her this punishment, for that she feignedly hath professed his gospel in her mouth, and not in heart and deed. And though she have offended so that she hath deserved never to be reconciled unto your grace's favour; yet Almighty God hath manifoldly declared his goodness towards your grace, and never offended you. But your grace, I am sure, knowledgeth that you have offended him. Wherefore I trust that your grace will bear no less entire favour unto the truth of the gospel than you did before: forso much as your grace's favour to the gospel was not led by affection unto her, but by zeal unto the truth. And thus I beseech Almighty God, whose gospel he hath ordained your grace to be defender of, ever to preserve your grace from all evil, and give you at the end the promise of his gospel. From Lambeth, the 3d day of May.

"After I had written this letter unto your grace, my lord chancellor, my lord of Oxford, my lord of Sussex, and my lord chamberlain of your grace's house, sent for me to come unto the Star-chamber, and there declared unto me such things as your grace's pleasure was they should make me privy unto; for the which I am most bounden unto your grace. And what communication we had together, I doubt not but they will make the true report thereof unto your grace. I am exceedingly sorry that such faults can be proved by the queen as I heard of their relation. But I am, and ever shall be, your faithful subject,

"Your grace's most humble subject and chaplain,

T. CANTUARIENSIS."

But jealousy, and the king's new affection, had quite defaced all the remainders of esteem for his late beloved queen. Yet the ministers continued practising, to get further evidence for the trial; which was not brought on till the 12th of May; and then Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton, were tried by a commission of Oyer and Terminer in Westminster Hall. They were twice indicted, and the indictments were found by two grand juries, in the counties of Kent and Middlesex; the crimes with

She is brought to a trial.

which they were charged being said to be done in both these counties. Mark Smeton confessed he had known the queen carnally three times : the other three pleaded not guilty, but the jury, upon the evidence formerly mentioned, found them all guilty ; and judgment was given, that they should be drawn to the place of execution, and some of them to be hanged, others to be beheaded, and all to be quartered, as guilty of high treason. On the 15th of May, the queen and her brother the lord Rochford (who was a peer, having been made a viscount when his father was created earl of Wiltshire) were brought to be tried by their peers ; the duke of Norfolk being lord high steward for that occasion. With him sate the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Arundel, and twenty-five more peers, of whom their father the earl of Wiltshire was one*. Whether this unnatural compliance was imposed on him by the imperious king, or officiously submitted to by himself, that he might thereby be preserved from the ruin that fell on his family, is not known. Here the queen of England, by an unheard-of precedent, was brought to the bar, and indicted of high treason. The crimes charged on her were, that she had procured her brother and the other four to lie with her, which they had done often ; that she had said to them that the king never had her heart, and had said to every one of them by themselves, that she loved them better than any person whatsoever ; which was to the slander of the issue that was begotten between the king and her ; and this was treason, according to the statute made in the 26th year of this reign (so that the law that was made for her and the issue of her marriage is now made use of to destroy her). It was also added in the indictment, that she and her complices had conspired the king's death : but this it seems was only put in to swell the charge ; for if there had been any evidence for it, there was no need of stretching the other statute ; or if they could have proved the violating of the queen, the known statute of the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Edward III. had been sufficient. When the indictment was read, she held up her hand and pleaded not guilty, and so did her brother, and did answer the evidence that was brought against her discreetly. One thing is remarkable, that Mark Smeton, who was the only person that confessed anything, was never confronted with the queen, nor was kept to be an evidence against her, for he had received his sentence three days before, and so could be no witness in law : but perhaps, though he was wrought on to confess, yet they did not think he had confidence enough to aver it to the queen's face ; therefore the evidence they brought, as Spelman says, was the oath of a woman that was dead, yet this, or rather the terror of offending the king, so wrought on the lords, that they found her and her brother guilty : and judgment was given that she should be burnt or beheaded at the king's pleasure. Upon which Spelman observes, that whereas burning is the death which the law appoints for a woman that is attainted of treason, yet since she had been queen of England, they left it to the king to determine whether she should die so infamous a death or be beheaded ; but the judges complained of this way of proceeding, and said such a disjunctive in a judgment of treason had never been seen. The lord Rochford was also condemned to be beheaded and quartered. Yet all this did not satisfy the enraged king, but the marriage between him and her must be annulled, and the issue illegitimated. The king remembered an intrigue that had been between her and the earl of Northumberland, which was mentioned in the former book ; and that the then lord Piercy had said to the cardinal, " that he had gone so far before witnesses, that it lay upon his conscience, so that he could not go back : " this it's like might be some promise he made to marry her, *per verba de futuro*, which though it was no precontract in itself, yet it seems the poor queen was either so ignorant or so ill advised as to be persuaded afterwards it was one, though it's certain that nothing but a contract *per verba de presenti* could be of any force to annul the subsequent marriage. The king and his council, reflecting upon what it seems the cardinal had told him, resolved to try what could be made of it, and pressed the earl of Northumberland to confess a contract between him and her. But he took his oath before the two archbishops, that there was no contract nor promise of marriage ever between them, and received the sacrament upon it before the duke of Norfolk and others of the king's learned council in the law spiritual, wishing it might be to his damnation if there was any such thing (concerning which I have

* This is an error. The earl of Wiltshire was not one of her judges. See the Addenda at the end of this book. —Ed.

seen the original declaration under his own hand). Nor could they draw any confession from the queen before the sentence; for certainly if they could have done that, the divorce had gone before the trial; and then she must have been tried only as marchioness of Pembroke. But now she lying under so terrible a sentence, it is most probable that either some hopes

of life were given her, or at least she was wrought on by the assurances of mitigating that cruel part of her judgment, of being burnt, into the milder part of the sentence, of having her head cut off; so that she confessed a precontract, and on the 17th of May was brought to Lambeth; and in court, the afflicted

archbishop sitting judge, some persons of quality being present, she confessed some just and lawful impediments, by which it was evident that her marriage with the king was not valid.

Upon which confession, the marriage between the king and her was judged to have been null and void. The record of the sentence is burnt; but these particulars are repeated in the act that passed in the next parliament, touching the succession to the crown. It seems this was secretly done, for Spelman writes of it thus: "It was said there was a divorce made between the king and her, upon her confessing a precontract with another before her marriage with the king:" so then it was then only talked of, but not generally known.

The two sentences that were passed upon the queen, the one of attainder for adultery, the other of divorce because of a precontract, did so contradict one another, that it was apparent one, if not both, of them must be unjust. For if the marriage between the king and her was null from the beginning, then since she was not the king's wedded wife, there could be no adultery. And her marriage to the king was either a true marriage, or not: if it was true, then the annulling of it was unjust; and if it was no true marriage, then the attainder was unjust, for there could be no breach of that faith which was never given. So that it is plain, the king was resolved to be rid of her, and to illegitimate her daughter, and in that transport of his fury, did not consider that the very method he took discovered the injustice of his proceedings against her. Two days after this, she was ordered to be executed in the green on Tower-hill. How she received these tidings, and how steadfast she continued in the protestations of her innocence, will best appear by the following circumstances:—The day before she suffered, upon a strict search of her past life, she called to mind, that she had played the step-mother too severely to lady Mary, and had done her many injuries. Upon

Her preparation for death. which she made the lieutenant of the Tower's lady sit down in the chair of state; which the other, after some ceremony, doing, she fell down on her knees, and with many tears charged the lady, as she would answer it to God, to go in her name, and do, as she had done, to the lady Mary, and ask her forgiveness for the wrongs she had done her. And she said, she had no quiet in her conscience till she had done that. But though she did in this what became a Christian, the lady Mary could not so easily pardon these injuries, but retained the resentments of them her whole life.

This ingenuity and tenderness of conscience about lesser matters is a great presumption, that if she had been guilty of more eminent faults, she had not continued to the last denying them, and making protestations of her innocency. For that same night she sent her last message to the king, and acknowledged herself much obliged to him, that had continued still to advance her. She said he had, from a private gentlewoman, first made her a marchioness, and then a queen; and now, since he could raise her no higher, was sending her to be a saint in heaven: she protested her innocence, and recommended her daughter to his care. And her carriage that day she died will appear from the following letter, writ by the lieutenant of the Tower, copied from the original, which I insert, because the copier employed by the lord Herbert has not writ it out faithfully; for I cannot think that any part of it was left out on design.

"SIR,—These shall be to advertise you I have received your letter, wherein you would have strangers conveyed out of the Tower; and so they be, by the means of Richard Gressum and William Loke, and Wythspall. But the number of strangers past not thirty, and not many hoth^e*; and the ambassador of the emperor had a servant there, and honestly put out: sir, if we have not an hour certain, as it may be known in London, I think here will be but few, and I think a reasonable number were

The Lieutenant of the Tower's letter.

* *I. e.* of others.—Ed.

best, for I suppose she will declare herself to be a good woman, for all men but for the king, at the hour of her death. For this morning she sent for me, that I might be with her at such time as she received the good lord, to the intent I should hear her speak as touching her innocency alway to be clear. And in the writing of this she sent for me, and at my coming she said, ‘Mr. Kingston, I hear say I shall not die aforenoon, and I am very sorry therefore, for I thought to be dead by this time, and past my pain.’ I told her it should be no pain, it was so sottel. And then she said, ‘I heard say the executioner was very good, and I have a little neck,’ and put her hands about it, laughing heartily. I have seen many men, and also women, executed; and that they have been in great sorrow, and to my knowledge this lady has much joy and pleasure in death. Sir, her almoner is continually with her, and had been since two o’clock after midnight. This is the effect of anything that is here at this time, and thus fare-you-well.—Yours,

“WILLIAM KINGSTON.”

A little before noon, being the 19th of May, she was brought to the scaffold, where she made a short speech to a great company that came to look on the last scene of this fatal tragedy; the chief of whom were the dukes of Suffolk and Richmond, the lord chancellor, and secretary Cromwell, with the lord mayor, the sheriffs and aldermen of London. She said, “She was come to die, as she was judged by the law; she would accuse none, nor say anything of the ground upon which she was judged. She prayed heartily for the king; and called him a most merciful and gentle prince, and that he had been always to her a good, gentle, sovereign lord: and if any would meddle with her cause, she required them to judge the best. And so she took her leave of them, and of the world; and heartily desired they would pray for her.” After she had been some time in her devotions, her last words being, “*To Christ I commend my soul*,” her head was cut off by the hangman of Calais, who was brought over as more expert at beheading than any in England: her eyes and lips were observed to move after her head was cut off, as Spelman writes; but her body was thrown into a common chest of elm-tree that was made to put arrows in, and was buried in the chapel within the Tower before twelve o’clock.

Her brother with the other four did also suffer; none of them were quartered, but they were all beheaded, except Smeton, who was hanged. It was generally said, that he was corrupted into that confession, and had his life promised him; but it was not fit to let him live to tell tales. Norris had been much in the king’s favour, and an offer was made him of his life, if he would confess his guilt and accuse the queen. But he generously rejected that unhandsome proposition, and said, “that in his conscience he thought her innocent of these things laid to her charge; but whether she was or not, he would not accuse her of anything, and he would die a thousand times rather than ruin an innocent person.”

These proceedings occasioned as great variety of censures, as there were diversity of interests. The Popish party said, the justice of God was visible, that she who had supplanted queen Katharine met with the like and harder measure, by the same means. Some took notice of her faint justifying herself on the scaffold, as if her conscience had then prevailed so far, that she could no longer deny a thing for which she was so soon to answer at another tribunal. But others thought her care of her daughter made her speak so tenderly; for she had observed, that queen Katharine’s obstinacy had drawn the king’s indignation on her daughter; and therefore that she alone might bear her misfortunes, and derive no share of them on her daughter, she spake in a style that could give the king no just offence: and as she said enough to justify herself, so she said as much for the king’s honour as could be expected. Yet in a letter that she wrote to the king from the Tower (which will be found in the collection), she pleaded her innocence in a strain of so much wit, and moving passionate eloquence, as perhaps can scarce be paralleled: certainly her spirits were much exalted when she wrote it, for it is a pitch above her ordinary style. Yet the copy I take it from, lying among Cromwell’s other papers, makes me believe it was truly written by her.

Her carriage seemed too free, and all people thought that some freedoms and levities in her had encouraged those unfortunate persons to speak such bold things to her, since few

Her Execution.

The several censures that were then passed on those proceedings.

Collect. Numb. 4th.

attempt upon the chastity, or make declarations of love, to persons of so exalted a quality, except they see some invitations, at least in their carriage. Others thought that a free and jovial temper might, with great innocence, though with no discretion, lead one to all those things that were proved against her; and therefore they concluded her chaste, though indiscreet. Others blamed the king, and taxed his cruelty in proceeding so severely against a person whose chastity he had reason to be assured of, since she had resisted his addresses near five years, till he legitimated them by marriage. But others excused him. It is certain her carriage had given just cause of some jealousy, and that being the rage of a man, it was no wonder if a king of his temper, conceiving it against one whom he had so signally obliged, was transported into unjustifiable excesses*.

Others condemned Cranmer, as a man that obsequiously followed all the king's appetites; and that he had now divorced the king a second time, which showed that his conscience was governed by the king's pleasure as his supreme law. But what he did was unavoidable. For whatever motives drew from her the confession of that precontract, he was obliged to give sentence upon it: and that which she confessed being such as made her incapable to contract marriage with the king, he could not decline the giving of sentence upon so formal a confession. Some loaded all that favoured the Reformation, and said, it now appeared what a woman their great patroness and supporter had been. But to those it was answered, that her faults, if true, being secret, could cast no reflection on those, who being ignorant of them, made use of her protection. And the church of Rome thought not their cause suffered by the enraged cruelty and ambition of the cursed Irene, who had convened the second council of Nice, and set up the worship of images again in the East; whom the popes continued to court and magnify, after her barbarous murder of her son, with other acts of unsatiated spite and ambition. Therefore they had no reason to think the worse of persons for claiming the protection of a queen, whose faults (if she was at all criminal) were unknown to them when they made use of her.

Some have since that time concluded it a great evidence of her guilt, that during her daughter's long and glorious reign, there was no full nor complete vindication of her published. For the writers of that time thought it enough to speak honourably of her, and, in general, to call her innocent. But none of them ever attempted a clear discussion of the particulars laid to her charge. This had been much to her daughter's honour, and therefore, since it was not done, others concluded it could not be done; and that their knowledge of her guilt restrained their pens. But others do not at all allow of that inference, and think rather that it was the great wisdom of that time not to suffer such things to be called in question; since no wise government will admit of a debate about the clearness of the prince's title. For the very attempting to prove it, weakens it more than any of the proofs that are brought can confirm it; therefore it was prudently done of that queen and her great ministers, never to suffer any vindication or apology to be written. Some indiscretions could not be denied, and these would all have been caught hold of, and improved by the busy emissaries of Rome and Spain.

But nothing did more evidently discover the secret cause of this queen's ruin, than the king's marrying Jane Seymour, the day after her execution. She of all king Henry's wives gained most on his esteem and affection: but she was happy in one thing, that she did not outlive his love; otherwise she might have fallen as signally as her predecessor had done. Upon this turn of affairs a great change of counsels followed.

There was nothing now that kept the emperor and the king at a distance but the illegitimation of the lady Mary; and if that matter had been adjusted, the king was in no more hazard of trouble from him: therefore it was proposed that she might be again restored to the king's favour. She found this was the best opportunity she could ever look for, and therefore laid hold on it, and wrote an humble submission to the king, and desired again to be admitted to his presence. But her submissions had some reserves in them, therefore she was pressed to be more express

The Lady Mary endeavours a reconciliation with her father.

* It has been asserted that king Henry, when his life was drawing to a close, testified some remorse for his conduct towards Anne Boleyn. See further, part iii. book 3. an. 1536.

in her acknowledgments. At this she stuck long, and had almost embroiled herself again with her father. She freely offered to submit to the laws of the land about the succession, and confessed the fault of her former obstinacy. But the king would have her acknowledge that his marriage to her mother was incestuous and unlawful, and to renounce the pope's authority and to accept him as supreme head of the church of England. These things were of hard digestion with her, and she could not easily swallow them; so she wrote to Cromwell, to befriend her at the king's hands. Upon which many letters passed between them. He wrote to her, that it was impossible to recover her father's favour, without a full and clear submission in all points. So in the end she yielded, and sent the following paper, all written with her own hand, which is set down, as it was copied from the original yet extant.

"The confession of me, the lady Mary, made upon certain points and articles under written; in the which, as I do now plainly, and with all mine heart, confess and declare mine inward sentence, belief, and judgment, with a due conformity of obedience to the laws of the realm; so minding for ever to persist and continue in this determination, without change, alteration, or variance, I do most humbly beseech the king's highness my father, whom I have obstinately and inobediently offended in the denial of the same heretofore, to forgive mine offences therein, and to take me to his most gracious mercy.

"First, I confess and acknowledge the king's majesty to be my sovereign lord and king, in the imperial crown of this realm of England; and do submit myself to his highness, and to all and singular laws and statutes of this realm, as becometh a true and faithful subject to do; which I shall also obey, keep, observe, advance, and maintain, according to my bounden duty, with all the power, force, and qualities, that God hath endued me with, during my life.

"*Item*, I do recognise, accept, take, repute, and knowledge, the king's highness to be supreme head in earth, under Christ, of the church of England; and do utterly refuse the bishop of Rome's pretended authority, power, and jurisdiction within this realm heretofore usurped, according to the laws and statutes made in that behalf, and of all the king's true subjects humbly received, admitted, obeyed, kept, and observed; and also do utterly renounce and forsake all manner of remedy, interest, and advantage, which I may by any means claim by the bishop of Rome's laws, process, jurisdiction, or sentence, at this present time, or in anywise hereafter, by any manner of title, colour, mean, or case, that is, shall, or can be devised for that purpose.

MARY.

"*Item*, I do freely, frankly, and for the discharge of my duty towards God, the king's highness, and his laws, without other respect, recognise and knowledg, that the marriage heretofore had between his majesty, and my mother the late princess dowager, was by God's law, and man's law, incestuous and unlawful.

MARY."

Upon this she was again received into favour. One circumstance I shall add, that shows the frugality of that time. In the establishment that was made for her family, there was only 40*l.* a quarter assigned for her privy purse. I have seen a letter of hers to Cromwell, at the Christmas quarter, desiring him to let the king know, that she must be at some extraordinary expense that season, that so he might increase her allowance, since the 40*l.* would not defray the charge of that quarter.

For the lady Elizabeth, though the king divested her of the title of princess of Wales, yet he continued still to breed her up in the court, with all the care and tenderness of a father. And the new queen, what from the sweetness of her disposition, and what out of compliance with the king, who loved her much, was as kind to her as if she had been her mother: of which I shall add one pretty evidence, though the childishness of it may be thought below the gravity of a history; yet by it the reader will see, both the kindness that the king and queen had for her, and that they allowed her to subscribe "*daughter*." There are two original letters of hers yet remaining, writ to the queen when she was with child of king Edward; the one in Italian, the other in English; both writ in a fair hand, the same that she wrote all the rest of her life. But the

Her submission under her own hand. Cott. Lib. Otho, C. 10.

She is restored to his favour.

The lady Elizabeth well used by the king and queen.

conceits in that writ in English, are so pretty, that it will not be unacceptable to the reader to see this first blossom of so great a princess when she was not full four years of age ; she being born in September 1533, and this writ in July 1537.

“ Although your highness’ letters be most joyful to me in absence, yet considering what pain
 Her letter to it is to you to write, your grace being so great with child, and so sickly, your
 the queen commendation were enough in my lord’s letter. I much rejoice at your health,
 when not four with the well-liking of the country ; with my humble thanks that your grace
 years of age. wished me with you till I were weary of that country. Your highness were
 like to be combered, if I should not depart till I were weary being with you : although it
 were in the worst soil in the world, your presence would make it pleasant. I cannot
 reprove my lord for not doing your commendations in his letter, for he did it ; and although
 he had not, yet I will not complain on him, for that he shall be diligent to give me know-
 ledge from time to time how his busy child doth ; and if I were at his birth, no doubt I
 would see him beaten, for the trouble he has put you to. Mr. Denny, and my lady, with
 humble thanks prayeth most entirely for your grace, praying the Almighty God to send
 you a most lucky deliverance. And my mistress wisheth no less, giving your highness most
 humble thanks for her commendations. Writ with very little leisure, this last day of July.

“ Your humble daughter,

“ ELIZABETH.”

But to proceed to more serious matters. A parliament was summoned to meet the 8th
 of June. If full forty days be necessary for a summons, then the writs must
 A new Par- have been issued forth the day before the late queen’s disgrace ; so that it was
 liament called. designed before the justs at Greenwich, and did not flow from anything that
 then appeared. When the parliament met, the lord chancellor Audley, in his speech,
 Journal told them, “ that when the former parliament was dissolved, the king had no
 Procurement. thoughts of summoning a new one so soon. But for two reasons he had now
 called them. The one was, that he finding himself subject to so many infirmities,
 and considering that he was mortal (a rare thought in a prince), he desired to settle an
 apparent heir to the crown, in case he should die without children lawfully begotten. The
 other was, to repeal an act of the former parliament, concerning the succession of the crown,
 to the issue of the king by queen Ann Boleyn. He desired them to reflect on the great
 troubles and vexation the king was involved in by his first unlawful marriage, and the
 dangers he was in by his second ; which might well have frightened anybody from a third
 marriage. But Anne, and her conspirators, being put to death, as they well deserved ; the
 king, at the humble request of the nobility, and not out of any carnal concupiscence, was
 pleased to marry again, a queen, by whom there were very probable hopes of his having
 children : therefore he recommended to them to provide an heir to the crown by the king’s
 direction, who, if the king died without children lawfully begotten, might rule over them.
 He desired they would pray God earnestly, that he would grant the king issue of his own
 body ; and return thanks to Almighty God, that preserved such a king to them out of so
 many eminent dangers, who employed all his care and endeavours, that he might keep his
 whole people in quiet, peace, and perfect charity, and leave them so to those that should
 succeed him.”

But though this was the chief cause of calling the parliament, it seems the ministers met
 with great difficulties, and therefore spent much time in preparing men’s minds.
 The Act of Succession. For the bill about the succession to the crown was not brought into the house
 of lords before the 30th day of June, that the lord chancellor offered it to the house.
 It went through both houses without any opposition. It contained, first, “ a repeal of the
 former act of succession, and a confirmation of the two sentences of divorce, the issue of both
 the king’s former marriages being declared illegitimate, and for ever excluded from claiming the
 inheritance of the crown, as the king’s lawful heirs by lineal descent. The attainder of queen
 Anne and her complices is confirmed. Queen Anne is said to have been inflamed with pride,
 and carnal desires of her body ; and, having confederated herself with her complices, to have
 committed divers treasons, to the danger of the king’s royal person (with other aggravating

words), for which she had justly suffered death, and is now attainted by act of parliament. And all things that had been said or done against her, or her daughter, being contrary to an act of parliament then in force, are pardoned ; and the inheritance of the crown is established on the issue of queen Jane, whether male or female, or the king's issue by any other wife whom he might marry afterwards.

"But since it was not fit to declare to whom the succession of the crown belonged after the king's death, lest the person so designed might be thereby enabled to raise trouble and commotions ; therefore they considering the king's wise and excellent government, and confiding in the love and affection which he bore to his subjects, did give him full power to declare the succession to the crown, either by his letters patent under the great seal, or by his last will, signed with his hand, and promised all faithful obedience to the persons named by him. And if any, so designed to succeed in default of others, should endeavour to usurp upon those before them, or to exclude them, they are declared traitors, and were to forfeit all the right they might thereafter claim to the crown. And if any should maintain the lawfulness of the former marriages, or that the issue by them was legitimate, or refused to swear to the king's issue by queen Jane, they were also declared traitors."

By this act it may appear how absolutely this king reigned in England. Many questioned much the validity of it, and (as shall afterwards appear) the Scots said, that the succession to the crown was not within the parliament's power to determine about it, but must go by inheritance to their king, in default of issue by this king. Yet by this, the king was enabled to settle the crown on his children, whom he had now declared illegitimate, by which he brought them more absolutely to depend upon himself. He neither made them desperate, nor gave them any further right than what they were to derive purely from his own good pleasure. This did also much pacify the emperor, since his kinswoman was, though not restored in blood, yet put in a capacity to succeed to the crown.

At this time there came a new proposition from Rome, to try if the king would accommodate matters with the pope. Pope Clement VII. died two years before this, in the year 1534, and cardinal Farnese succeeded him, called pope Paul III. He had before this made one unsuccessful attempt upon the king ; but upon the beheading of the bishop (and declared cardinal) of Rochester, he had thundered a most terrible sentence of deposition against the king, and designed to commit the execution of it to the emperor: yet now, when queen Katharine and queen Anne, who were the occasions of the rupture, were both out of the way, he thought it was a proper conjuncture to try if a reconciliation could be effected. This he proposed to sir Gregory Cassali, who was no more the king's ambassador at Rome, but was still his correspondent there. The pope desired he would move the king in it, and let him know that he had ever favoured his cause in the former pope's time, and though he was forced to give out a sentence against him, yet he had never any intention to proceed upon it to further extremities.

But the king was now so entirely alienated from the court of Rome, that to cut off all hopes of reconciliation, he procured two acts to be passed in this parliament.

The one was for the utter extinguishing the authority of the bishop of Rome. It was brought into the house of lords on the 4th of July ; and was read the first time the 5th, and the second time on the 6th of July, and lay at the committee till the 12th. And on the 14th it was sent down to the commons; who, if there be no mistake in the Journal, sent it up that same day: they certainly made great haste, for the parliament was dissolved in four days.

"The preamble of this first act contains severe reflections on the bishop of Rome (whom some called the pope), who had long darkened God's word, that it might serve his pomp, glory, avarice, ambition, and tyranny ; both upon the souls, bodies, and goods of all Christians ; excluding Christ out of the rule of man's soul, and princes out of their dominions: and had exacted in England great sums, by dreams, and vanities, and other superstitious ways. Upon these reasons his usurpations had been by law put down in this nation ; yet many of his emissaries were still practising up and down the kingdom, and persuading people to acknowledge his pretended authority. Therefore every person so offending after the last of July next to come, was to incur the pains of a premunire ; and all officers,

both civil and ecclesiastical, were commanded to make inquiry about such offences, under several penalties."

On the 12th of July, a bill was brought in concerning privileges obtained from the see of Rome, and was read the first time. And on the 17th it was agreed to, and sent down to the commons, who sent it up again the next day. It bears, that the popes had, during their usurpation, "granted many immunities to several bodies and societies in England, which upon that grant had been now long in use: therefore all these bulls, breves, and everything depending on or flowing from them, were declared void and of no force. Yet all marriages celebrated by virtue of them, that were not otherwise contrary to the law of God, were declared good in law; and all consecrations of bishops by virtue of them were confirmed. And for the future, all who enjoyed any privileges by bulls, were to bring them in to the chancery, or to such persons as the king should appoint for that end. And the archbishop of Canterbury was lawfully to grant anew the effects contained in them; which grant was to pass under the great seal, and to be of full force in law."

This struck at the abbots' rights. But they were glad to bear a diminution of their greatness, so they might save the whole, which now lay at stake. By the thirteenth act, they corrected an abuse which had come in, to evade the force of a statute made in the twenty-first year of this king, about the residence of all ecclesiastical persons in their livings. One qualification that did excuse from residence, was their staying at the university for the completing of their studies. Now it was found, that many dissolute clergymen went and lived at the universities, not for their studies, but to be excused from serving their cures. So it was enacted, that none above the age of forty, that were not either heads of houses, or public readers, should have any exemption from their residence, by virtue of that clause in the former act. And those under that age should not have the benefit of it, except they were present at the lectures, and performed their exercises in the schools.

By another act, there was provision made against the prejudice the king's heirs might receive, before they were of age, by parliaments held in their non-age; that whatsoever acts were made before they were twenty-four years of age, they might at any time of their lives after that repeal and annul, by their letters patent, which should have equal force with a repeal by act of parliament. From these acts it appears that the king was absolute master both of the affections and fears of his subjects, when in a new parliament called on a sudden, and in a session of six weeks, from the 8th of June to the 18th of July, acts of this importance were passed without any protest or public opposition.

But having now opened the business of the parliament as it relates to the state, I must next give an account of the convocation, which sat at this time, and was very busy, as appears by the journal of the house of lords, in which this is given for a reason of many adjournments, because the spiritual lords were busy in the convocation. It sat down on the 9th of June, according to Fuller's extract, it being the custom of all this reign for that court to meet two or three days after the parliament. Hither Cromwell came as the king's vicar-general: but he was not yet vicegerent.* For he sat next the archbishop; but when he had that dignity, he sat above him. Nor do I find him styled in any writing vicegerent for some time after this; though the lord Herbert says, he was made vicegerent the 18th of July this year, the same day in which the parliament was dissolved.

Latimer, bishop of Worcester, preached the Latin sermon, on these words,—"The children of this world are wiser in their generation, than the children of light." He was the most celebrated preacher of that time; the simplicity and plainness of his matter, with a serious and fervent action that accompanied it, being preferred to more learned and elaborate composures. On the 21st of June, Cromwell moved that they would confirm the sentence of the invalidity of the king's marriage with queen Anne, which was accordingly done by both houses of convocation. But certainly Fuller was asleep when he wrote, "that ten days before that, the archbishop had passed the sentence of divorce, on the day before the queen was beheaded:"

* In a public instrument in Fuller's History of Cambridge, p. 109, dated Oct. 22, 1535, Cromwell is styled vicegerent that year; and in the writ of summons, in

1539 (in Dugdale), he is styled Vicarius Generalis. So that these two titles seem to have been used promiscuously. —ANON. CORRECT.

whereas if he had considered this more fully, he must have seen that the queen was put to death a month before this, and was divorced two days before she died. Yet with this animadversion, I must give him my thanks for his pains in copying out of the journals of convocation many remarkable things, which had been otherwise irrecoverably lost.

On the 23rd of June, the lower house of convocation sent to the upper house a collection of many opinions that were then in the realm; which, as they thought, were abuses, and errors, worthy of special reformation. But they began this representation with a protestation, "that they intended not to do or speak anything which might be unpleasant to the king, whom they acknowledged their supreme head, and were resolved to obey his commands, renouncing the pope's usurped authority, with all his laws and inventions, now extinguished and abolished; and did addict themselves to Almighty God, and his laws, and unto the king, and the laws made within this kingdom."

There are sixty-seven opinions set down, and are either the tenets of the old Lollards or the new reformers, together with the anabaptists' opinions. Besides all which, they complained of many unsavoury and indiscreet expressions, which were either feigned on design to disgrace the new preachers, or were perhaps the extravagant reflections of some illiterate and injudicious persons; who are apt upon all occasions, by their heat and folly, rather to prejudice than advance their party; and affect some petulant jeers which they think witty, and are perhaps well entertained by some others, who, though they are more judicious themselves, yet, imagining that such jests on the contrary opinions will take with the people, do give them too much encouragement. Many of these jests about confession, praying to saints, holy water, and the other ceremonies of the church, were complained of. And the last articles contained sharp reflections on some of the bishops, as if they had been wanting in their duty to suppress such things. This was clearly levelled at Cranmer, Latimer, and Shaxton, who were noted as the great promoters of these opinions. The first did it prudently and solidly; the second, zealously and simply; and the third, with much indiscreet pride and vanity. But now that the queen was gone, who had either raised or supported them, their enemies hoped to have advantages against them, and to lay the growth of these opinions to their charge. But this whole project failed, and Cranmer had as much of the king's favour as ever; for, instead of that which they had projected, Cromwell, by the king's order, coming to the convocation, declared to them, that it was the king's pleasure, that the rites and ceremonies of the church should be reformed by the rules of Scripture, and that nothing was to be maintained which did not rest on that authority; for it was absurd, since that was acknowledged to contain the laws of religion, that recourse should rather be had to glosses, or the decrees of popes, than to these. There was at that time one Alexander Alesse, a Scotchman, much esteemed for his learning and piety, whom

Antiq. Brit. Cranmer entertained at Lambeth. Him Cromwell brought with him to the in Vita Cran- convocation, and desired him to deliver his opinion about the sacraments. He mer.

enlarged himself much to convince them, that only baptism and the Lord's supper were instituted by Christ*.

Stokesley, bishop of London, answered him in a long discourse, in which he showed he was better acquainted with the learning of the schools and the canon-law than with the gospel; he was seconded by the archbishop of York, and others of that party.

But Cranmer, in a long and learned speech, showed how useless these niceties of the schools were, and of how little authority they ought to be; and discoursed largely of the authority of the Scriptures, of the use of the sacraments, of the uncertainty of tradition, and of the corruption which the monks and friars had brought into the Christian doctrine. He was vigorously seconded by the bishop of Hereford, who told them, the world would be no

* An account of this conference was published by Alesse in Latin, and translated into English by Edm. Alen. He was sent for into England by the lord Cromwell and the archbishop; sent to Cambridge, driven thence; withdrew to London, where he studied and practised physic certain years; met by chance with the lord Cromwell, who took him with him to Westminster, where he found all the bishops gathered together, unto whom all the bishops and

prelates rose up and did obedience as to their vicar-general, and he sat him down in the highest place: then follows an account of the debate, and how the bishops were divided. He places this meeting in the year 1537. The book is without date, so it does not appear when it was printed. —ANON. CORRECT. [Further mention is made of Alesse *infra*, under the year 1541.—ED.]

longer deceived with such sophisticated stuff as the clergy had formerly vented : the laity were now in all nations studying the Scriptures, and that not only in the vulgar translations, but in the original tongues ; and, therefore, it was a vain imagination to think they would be any longer governed by those arts which in the former ages of ignorance had been so effectual. Not many days after this, there were several articles brought into the upper house of convocation, devised by the king himself, about which there were great debates among them. The two archbishops heading two parties, Cranmer was for a reformation ; and with him joined, Thomas Goodrich bishop of Ely, Shaxton of Sarum, Latimer of Worcester, Fox of Hereford, Hilsey of Rochester, and Barlow of St. David's.

But Lee archbishop of York was a known favourer of the pope's interests ; which, as it first appeared in his scrupling so much, with the whole convocation of York, the acknowledging the king to be supreme head of the church of England, so he had since discovered it on all occasions in which he durst do it without the fear of losing the king's favour : so he, and Stokesley bishop of London, Tonstall of Durham, Gardiner of Winchester, Longland of Lincoln, Sherburn of Chichester, Nix of Norwich, and Kite of Carlisle, had been still against all changes. But the king discovered that those did in their hearts love the papal authority, though Gardiner dissembled it most artificially. Sherburn bishop of Chichester, upon what inducement I cannot understand, resigned his bishopric, which was given to Richard Sampson, dean of the chapel ; a pension of 400*l.* being reserved to Sherburn for his life, which was confirmed by an act of this parliament. Nix of Norwich had also offended the king signally, by some correspondence with Rome, and was kept long in the Marshalsea, and was convicted and found in a *prenunire* : the king, considering his great age, had, upon his humble submission, discharged him out of prison, and pardoned him. But he died the former year ; though Fuller, in his slight way, makes him sit in this convocation : for by the seventeenth act of the last parliament it appears that the bishopric of Norwich being vacant, the king had recommended William Abbot of St. Bennet's to it ; but took into his own hands all the lands and manors of the bishopric, and gave the bishop several of the priories in Norfolk in exchange, which was confirmed in parliament.

I shall next give a short abstract of the articles about religion, which were, after much consultation and long debating, agreed to.

“First, All bishops and preachers must instruct the people to believe the whole Bible, and the three creeds—that made by the apostles, the Nicene, and the Athanasian ; and interpret all things according to them, and in the very same words, and condemn all heresies contrary to them, particularly those condemned by the first four general councils.

Secondly, Of baptism the people must be instructed : that it is a sacrament instituted by Christ, for the remission of sins, without which none could attain everlasting life ; and that not only those of full age, but infants, may, and must be baptized, for the pardon of original sin, and obtaining the gift of the Holy Ghost, by which they became the sons of God. That none baptized ought to be baptized again. That the opinions of the Anabaptists and Pelagians were detestable heresies : and that those of ripe age, who desired baptism, must with it join repentance and contrition for their sins, with a firm belief of the articles of the faith.

“Thirdly, Concerning penance, they were to instruct the people that it was instituted by Christ, and was absolutely necessary to salvation. That it consisted of contrition, confession, and amendment of life, with exterior works of charity, which were the worthy fruits of penance. For contrition, it was an inward shame and sorrow for sin, because it is an offence of God, which provokes his displeasure. To this must be joined a faith of the mercy and goodness of God, whereby the penitent must hope that God will forgive him, and repute him justified and of the number of his elect children, not for the worthiness of any merit or work done by him, but for the only merits of the blood and passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ. That this faith is got and confirmed by the application of the promises of the gospel, and the use of the sacraments ; and for that end, confession to a priest is necessary, if it may be had, whose absolution was instituted by Christ, to apply the promises of God's

Act 17. 27
Regni.

Articles
agreed on
about reli-
gion.
Printed by
Fuller.

grace to the penitent : therefore the people were to be taught, that the absolution is spoken by an authority given by Christ in the gospel to the priest, and must be believed, as if it were spoken by God himself, according to our Saviour's words ; and therefore none were to condemn auricular confession, but use it for the comfort of their consciences. The people were also to be instructed, that though God pardoned sin only for the satisfaction of Christ, yet they must bring forth the fruits of penance, prayer, fasting, almsdeeds, with restitution and satisfaction for wrongs done to others, with other works of mercy and charity, and obedience to God's commandments, else they could not be saved ; and that by doing these, they should both obtain everlasting life, and mitigation of their afflictions in this present life, according to the Scriptures.

"Fourthly, As touching the sacrament of the altar, people were to be instructed that under the forms of bread and wine, there was truly and substantially given the very same body of Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary ; and therefore it was to be received with all reverence, every one duly examining himself, according to the words of St. Paul.

"Fifthly, The people were to be instructed, that justification signifieth remission of sins, and acceptation into the favour of God ; that is to say, a perfect renovation in Christ. To the attaining which they were to have contrition, faith, charity, which were both to concur in it, and follow it ; and that the good works necessary to salvation were not only outward civil works, but the inward motions and graces of God's holy Spirit, to dread, fear, and love him ; to have firm confidence in God, to call upon him, and to have patience in all adversities ; to hate sin, and have purposes and wills not to sin again ; with such other motions and virtues consenting and agreeable to the law of God."

The other articles were about the ceremonies of the church. "First, of images. The people were to be instructed that the use of them was warranted by the Scriptures, and that they served to represent to them good examples and to stir up devotion, and therefore it was meet that they should stand in the churches. But that the people might not fall into such superstition as it was thought they had done in time past, they were to be taught to reform such abuses, lest idolatry might ensue, and that in censuring, kneeling, offering, or worshipping them, the people were to be instructed not to do it to the image, but to God and his honour.

"Secondly, For the honouring of saints, they were not to think to attain these things at their hands, which were only obtained of God ; but that they were to honour them as persons now in glory, to praise God for them, and imitate their virtues, and not fear to die for the truth, as many of them had done.

"Thirdly, For praying to saints, the people were to be taught, that it was good to pray to them, to pray for and with us. And to correct all superstitious abuses in this matter, they were to keep the days appointed by the church for their memories, unless the king should lessen the number of them, which if he did, it was to be obeyed.

"Fourthly, Of ceremonies. The people were to be taught, that they were not to be condemned and cast away, but to be kept as good and laudable, having mystical significations in them, and being useful to lift up our minds to God. Such were the vestments in the worship of God : the sprinkling holy-water, to put us in mind of our baptism and the blood of Christ ; giving holy bread, in sign of our union in Christ, and to remember us of the Sacrament ; bearing candles on Candlemas-day, in remembrance that Christ was the spiritual light ; giving ashes on Ash-Wednesday, to put us in mind of penance and of our mortality ; bearing palms on palm-Sunday, to show our desire to receive Christ in our hearts, as he entered into Jerusalem ; creeping to the cross on Good-Friday, and kissing it, in memory of his death, with the setting up the sepulchre on that day ; the hallowing the font, and other exorcisms and benedictions.

"And lastly, As to purgatory, they were to declare it good and charitable to pray for the souls departed, which was said to have continued in the church from the beginning : and therefore the people were to be instructed, that it consisted well with the due order of charity to pray for them, and to make others pray for them, in masses and exequies, and to give alms to them for that end. But since the place they were in, and the pains they suffered, were uncertain by the Scripture, we ought to remit them wholly to God's mercy :

therefore all these abuses were to be put away, which, under the pretence of purgatory, had been advanced, as if the pope's pardons did deliver souls out of it, or masses said in certain places, or before certain images, had such efficiency : with other such-like abuses*.

These articles being thus conceived, and in several places corrected and tempered by the king's own hand, were signed by Cromwell, and the archbishop of Canterbury and seventeen other bishops, forty abbots and priors, and fifty archdeacons and proctors of the lower house of convocation ; among whom, Polydor Virgil and Peter Vannes signed with the rest, as

Published by appears by the original yet extant. They being tendered to the king, he the King's confirmed them, and ordered them to be published with a preface in his name. Authority.

It is said in the preface, " that he, accounting it the chief part of his charge, that the word and commandments of God should be believed and observed, and to maintain unity and concord in opinion ; and understanding, to his great regret, that there was great diversity of opinion arisen among his subjects, both about articles of faith and ceremonies ; had in his own person taken great pains and study about these things, and had ordered also the bishops, and other learned men of the clergy, to examine them ; who after long deliberation had concluded on the most special points, which the king thought proceeded from a good, right, and true judgment, according to the laws of God ; these would also be profitable for establishing unity in the church of England : therefore he had ordered them to be published, requiring all to accept of them, praying God so to illuminate their hearts, that they might have no less zeal and love to unity and concord in reading them, than he had in making them to be devised, set forth, and published ; which good acceptance should encourage him to take further pains for the future, as should be most for the honour of God, and the profit and the quietness of his subjects."

This being published, occasioned great variety of censures. Those that desired reformation, were glad to see so great a step once made, and did not doubt but this would make way for further changes. They rejoiced to see the Scriptures and the ancient creeds made the standards of the faith, without mentioning tradition or the decrees of the church. Then the foundation of Christian faith was truly stated, and the terms of the covenant between God and man in Christ were rightly opened, without the niceties of the schools of either side. Immediate worship of images and saints was also removed, and purgatory was declared uncertain by the Scripture. These were great advantages to them ; but the establishing the necessity of auricular confession, the corporal presence in the sacrament, the keeping up and doing reverence to images, and the praying to saints, did allay their joy ; yet they still counted it a victory to have things brought under debate, and to have some grosser abuses taken away.

The other party were unspeakably troubled. Four sacraments were passed over, which would encourage ill-affected people to neglect them. The gainful trade by the belief of purgatory was put down ; for though it was said to be good to give alms for praying for the dead, yet since both the dreadful stories of the miseries of purgatory, and the certainty of redeeming souls out of them by masses, were made doubtful, the people's charity and bounty that way would soon abate. And in a word, the bringing matters under dispute was a great mortification to them ; for all concluded that this was but a preamble to what they might expect afterwards.

When these things were seen beyond sea, the papal party made everywhere great use of it, to show the necessity of adhering to the pope ; since the king of England, though, when he broke off from his obedience to the apostolic see, he pretended he would maintain the catholic faith entire, yet was now making great changes in it. But others, that were more moderate, acknowledged that there was great temper and prudence in contriving these articles. And, it seems, the emperor, and the more learned divines about him, both approved of the precedent, and liked the particulars so well, that not many years after, the emperor published a work not unlike this, called " The Interim ;" because it was to be in force in that interim, till all things were more fully debated and determined by a general council, which, in many particulars agreed, with these articles. Yet some stricter persons censured

* See Addenda to this part, and the articles at length in Addenda (No. 1) to the collection of Records, &c. referred to in Part I.—ED.

this work much, as being a political daubing, in which, they said, there was more pains taken to gratify persons, and serve particular ends, than to assert truth in a free and unbiassed way, such as became divines. This was again excused, and it was said, that all things could not be attained on a sudden: that some of the bishops and divines, who afterwards arrived at a clear understanding of some matters, were not then so fully convinced about them, and so it was their ignorance, and not their cowardice or policy, that made them compliant in some things. Besides, it was said, that as our Saviour did not reveal all things to his disciples till they were able to bear them; and as the apostles did not of a sudden abolish all the rites of Judaism, but for some time, to gain the Jews, complied with them and went to the temple, and offered sacrifices; so the people were not to be over-driven in this change. The clergy must be brought out of their ignorance by degrees, and then the people were to be better instructed; but to drive furiously, and do all at once, might have spoiled the whole design, and totally alienated those who were to be drawn on by degrees; it might have also much endangered the peace of the nation, the people being much disposed by the practices of the friars to rise in arms: therefore these slow steps were thought the surer and better method.

On the last day of the convocation, there was another writing brought in by Fox bishop of Hereford, occasioned by the summons for a general council to sit at Mantua, to which the pope had cited the king to appear. The king had made his appeal from the pope to a general council, but there was no reason to expect any justice in an assembly so constituted as this was like to be. Therefore it was thought fit to publish somewhat of the reasons why the king could not submit his matter to the decision of such council as was then intended; and it was moved that the convocation should give their sense of it.

The substance of their answer (which the reader will find in the collection) was, "that as nothing was better instituted by the ancient fathers for the establishment of the faith, the extirpation of heresies, the healing of schisms, and the unity of the Christian church, than general councils, gathered in the Holy Ghost, duly called to an indifferent place; with other necessary requisites: so, on the other hand, nothing could produce more pestiferous effects than a general council called upon private malice, of ambition, or other carnal respects; which Gregory Nazianzen so well observed in his time, that he thought 'all assemblies of bishops were to be eschewed, for he never saw good come of any of them, and they had increased rather than healed the distempers of the church. For the appetite of vain-glory, and a contentious humour, bore down reason.' Therefore they thought Christian princes ought to employ all their endeavours to prevent so great a mischief. And it was to be considered, first, who had authority to call one; secondly, if the reasons for calling one were weighty; thirdly, who should be the judges; fourthly, what should be the manner of proceeding; fifthly, what things should be treated of in it. And as to the first of these, they thought neither the pope, nor any one prince of what dignity soever, had authority to call one without the consent of all other Christian princes; especially such as had entire and supreme government over all their subjects." This was signed on the 20th of July by Cromwell and the archbishop of Canterbury, with fourteen bishops, and forty abbots, priors, and clerks, of the convocation of Canterbury. Whether this and the former articles were also signed by the convocation of the province of York, does not appear by any record; but that I think is not to be doubted. This being obtained, the king published a long and sharp protestation against the council now summoned to Mantua*; in which he shows that the pope had no power to call one; "for as it was done by the emperors of old, so it pertained to Christian princes now: that the pope had no jurisdiction in England, and so could summon none of this nation to come to any such meeting: that the place was neither safe nor proper: that nothing could be done in a council to any purpose if the pope sate judge in chief in it, since one of the true ends why a council was to be desired

The Convocation declares against the Council called by the Pope.

Collect. Numb. 5.

The King publishes his Reasons against it.

Fox.

* The king's protestation was not published till about eight or nine months after these articles were agreed to by the convocation of Canterbury; and in April 1536, the king set on another protestation against a bull for the council at Vincenza.—FULMAN'S CORRECT.

was to reduce his power within its old limits. A free general council was that which he much desired, but he was sure this could not be such : and the present distractions of Christendom, and the wars between the emperor and the French king, showed this was no proper time for one. The pope, who had long refused or delayed to call one, did now choose this conjuncture of affairs, knowing that few would come to it, and so they might carry things as they pleased. But the world was now awake ; the Scriptures were again in men's hands, and people would not be so tamely cozened as they had been. Then he shows how unsafe it was for any Englishman to go to Mantua, how little regard was to be had to the pope's safe-conduct, they having so oft broken their oaths and promises. He also shows how little reason he had to trust himself to the pope, how kind he had been to that see formerly, and how basely they had requited it. And that now these three years past, they had been stirring up all Christian princes against him, and using all possible means to create him trouble. Therefore he declared, he would not go to any council called by the bishop of Rome ; but when there was a general peace among Christian princes, he would most gladly hearken to the motion of a true general council : and in the mean while, he would preserve all the articles of the faith in his kingdom, and sooner lose his life and his crown than suffer any of them to be put down. And so he protested against any council to be held at Mantua, or anywhere else, by the bishop of Rome's authority : that he would not acknowledge it, nor receive any of their decrees."

At this time Reginald Pole, who was of the royal blood, being by his mother descended from the duke of Clarence, brother to king Edward IV., and in the same degree of kindred with the king by his father's side, was in great esteem for his learning and other excellent virtues. It seems the king had determined to breed him up to the greatest dignity in the church ; and to make him as eminent in learning, and other acquired parts, as he was for quality, and a natural sweetness and nobleness of temper. Therefore the king had given him the deanery of Exeter, with several other dignities, towards his maintenance beyond sea ; and sent him to Paris, where he stayed several years : there he first incurred the king's displeasure. For, being desired by him to concur with his agents in procuring the subscriptions and seals of the French universities, he excused himself ; yet it was in such terms, that he did not openly declare himself against the king. After that he came over to England, and, as he writes himself, was present when the clergy made their submission, and acknowledged the king supreme head. In which, since he was then dean of Exeter, and kept his deanery several years after that, it is not to be doubted but that, as he was by his place obliged to sit in the convocation, so he concurred with the rest in making that submission. From thence he went to Padua, where he lived long, and was received into the friendship and society of some celebrated persons, who gave themselves much to the study of eloquence and of the Roman authors. These were, Centareno, Bembo, Caraffa, Sadoletti, with a great many more, that became afterwards well known over the world : but all those gave Pole the pre-eminence, and that justly too, for he was accounted one of the most eloquent men of his time.

The king called him oft home to assist him in his affairs, but he still declined it ; at length, finding delays could prevail no longer, he wrote the king word, that he did not approve of what he had done, neither in the matter of his divorce nor his separation from the apostolic see. To this the king answered, desiring his reasons why he disagreed from him, and sent him over a book which doctor Sampson had writ in defence of the proceedings in England. Upon which he wrote his book "De Unitate Ecclesiastica," and sent it over to the king ; and soon after printed it this year. In which book he condemned the king's actions, and pressed him to return to the obedience he owed the see of Rome, with many sharp reflections ; but the book was more considered for the author, and the wit and eloquence of it, than for any great learning or deep reasoning in it. He did also very much depress the royal, and exalt the papal authority : he compared the king to Nebuchadonosor, and addressed himself in the conclusion to the emperor, whom he conjured to turn his arms rather against the king than the Turk. And, indeed, the indecencies of his expressions against the king, not to mention the scurrilous language he bestows on Sampson, whose book he undertakes to answer, are such, that it

Cardinal
Pole opposes
the King's
proceedings.

And writes
his Book
against him.

appears how much the Italian air had changed him; and that his converse at Padua had, for some time, defaced that generous temper of mind which was otherwise so natural to him.

Upon this, the king desired him at first to come over and explain some passages in his book: but when he could not thus draw him into his toils, he proceeded severely against him, and divested him of all his dignities; but these were plentifully made up to him by the pope's bounty, and the emperor's. He was afterwards rewarded with a cardinal's hat, but he did not rise above the degree of a deacon. Some believe that the spring of this opposition he made to the king was a secret affection he had for the lady Mary. The publishing of

Many Books this book made the king set the bishops on work to write vindications of his
are written actions; which Stokesley and Tonstal did in a long and learned letter that they
for the King. wrote to Pole. And Gardiner published his book of "True Obedience;" to which Bonner, who was hot on the scent of preferment, added a preface. But the king designed sharper tools for Pole's punishment: yet an attainder in absence was all he could do against himself. But his family and kindred felt the weight of the king's displeasure very sensibly.

But now I must give an account of the dissolution of the monasteries, pursuant to the act of parliament, though I cannot fix the exact time in which it was done. I have seen the original instructions, with the commission, given to those who were to visit the monasteries in and about Bristol. All the rest were of the same kind: they bear date the 28th of April, after the session of parliament was over; and the report was to be made in the octaves of St. Michael the archangel. But I am inclined to think that the great concussion and disorder things were in by the queen's death made the commissioners unwilling to proceed in so invidious a matter till they saw the issue of the new parliament. Therefore I have delayed giving any account of the proceedings in that matter till this place. The instructions will be found in the collection. The substance of them was as follows:—

Collect. Numb. 6. Instructions about the Dissolution of Monasteries. "The auditors of the court of augmentations were the persons that were employed. Four, or any three of them, were commissioned to execute the instructions in every particular visitation. One auditor or receiver, and one of the clerks of the former visitation, were to call for three discreet persons in the county, who were also named by the king. They were to signify to every house the statute of dissolution, and show them their commission. Then they were to put the governor, or any other officer of the house, to declare upon oath the true state of it: and to require him speedily to appear before the court of augmentations, and, in the mean time, not to meddle with anything belonging to the house: then to examine how many religious persons were in the house, and what lives they led; how many of them were priests, how many of them would go to other religious houses, and how many of them would take capacities and go into the world. They were to estimate the state and fabric of the house, and the number of the servants they kept; and to call for the convent-seal and writings, and put them in some sure place; and take an inventory of all their plate and their moveable goods, and to know the value of all that, before the 1st of March last, belonged to the house, and what debts they owed. They were to put the convent-seal, with the jewels and plate, in safe keeping, and to leave the rest (an inventory being first taken) in the governors' hands, to be kept by them till further order. And the governors were to meddle with none of the rents of the house, except for necessary sustenance, till they were another way disposed of. They were to try what leases and deeds had been made for a whole year before the 4th of February last. Such as would still live in monasteries were to be recommended to some of the great monasteries that lay next: and such as would live in the world must come to the archbishop of Canterbury, or the lord chancellor, to receive capacities." (From which it appears that Cromwell was not at this time lord vicegerent, for he granted these capacities when he was in that power.) "And the commissioners were to give them a reasonable allowance for their journey, according to the distance they lived at. The governor was to be sent to the court of augmentations, who were to assign him a yearly pension for his life."

What report those commissioners made, or how they obeyed their instructions, we know

not; for the account of it is razed out of the records. The writers that lived near that time represent the matter very odiously, and say, about ten thousand persons were set to seek for their livings; only forty shillings in money and a gown being given to every religious man. The rents of them all rose to about thirty-two thousand pounds; and the goods, plate, jewels, and other moveables, were valued at a hundred thousand pounds: and it is generally said, and not improbably, that the commissioners were as careful to enrich themselves as to increase the king's revenue. The churches and cloisters were for the most part pulled down; and the lead, bells, and other materials were sold; and this must needs have raised great discontents everywhere.

The religious persons that were undone went about complaining of the sacrilege and injustice of this suppression; that what the piety of their ancestors had dedicated to God and his saints, was now invaded and converted to secular ends. They said, the king's severity fell first upon some particular persons of their orders, who were found delinquents; but now, upon the pretended miscarriages of some individual persons to proceed against their houses and suppress them, was an unheard-of practice. The nobility and gentry, whose ancestors had founded or enriched these houses, and who provided for their younger children or impoverished friends, by putting them into these sanctuaries, complained much of the prejudice they sustained by it. The people, that had been well entertained at the abbots' tables, were sensible of their loss: for generally, as they travelled over the country, the abbays were their stages, and were houses of reception to travellers and strangers. The devouter sort of people of their persuasion thought their friends must now lie in purgatory without relief, except they were at the charge to keep a priest, who should daily say mass for their souls. The poor, that fed on their daily alms, were deprived of that supply.

But to compose these discontents, first many books were published to show what crimes, cheats, and impostures those religious persons were guilty of. Yet that wrought not much on the people; for they said, why were not these abuses severely punished and reformed? But must whole houses, and the succeeding generations, be punished for the faults of a few? Most of these reports were also denied, and even those who before envied the ease and plenty in which the abbots and monks lived, began now to pity them, and condemned the proceedings against them. But to allay this general discontent, Cromwell advised the king to sell their lands at very easy rates to the gentry in the several counties, obliging them, since they had them upon such terms, to keep up the wonted hospitality. This drew in the gentry apace both to be satisfied with what was done, and to assist the crown for ever in the defence of these laws; their own interest being so interwoven with the rights of the crown. The commoner sort, who, like those of old that followed Christ for the loaves, were most concerned for the loss of a good dinner on a holiday, or when they went over the country about their business, were now also in a great measure satisfied, when they heard that all to whom these lands were given, were obliged under heavy forfeitures to keep up the hospitality; and when they saw that put in practice, their discontent, which lay chiefly in their stomach, was appeased.

And to quiet other people, who could not be satisfied with such things, the king made use of a clause in the act that gave him the lesser monasteries, which empowered him to continue such as he should think fit. Therefore on the 17th of August, he, by his letters patent, did of new give back *in perpetuam eleemosynam*, for perpetual alms, five abbays. The first of these was the abbey of St. Mary of Betlesden of the Cistercian order in Buckinghamshire; ten more were afterwards confirmed. Sixteen nunneries were also confirmed; in all, thirty-one houses. The patents (in most of which some manors are excepted that had been otherwise disposed of) are all enrolled, and yet none of our writers have taken any notice of this. It seems these houses had been more regular than the rest: so that in a general calamity they were rather reprieved than excepted: for two years after this, in the suppression of the rest of the monasteries, they fell under the common fate of other houses. By these new endowments, they were obliged to pay tenths and first fruits, and to obey all the statutes and rules that should be sent to them from the king, as supreme head of the church. But it is not unlike that some presents to the commissioners

Great dis-
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Endeavours
are used to
quiet these.

Collect.
Numb. 3.
sect. 2.

or to Cromwell made these houses outlive this ruin : for I find great trading in bribes at this time, which is not to be wondered at when there was so much to be shared.

But great disorders followed upon the dissolution of the other houses. People were still generally discontented. The suppression of religious houses occasioned much outrying, and the articles then lately published about religion increased the distaste they had conceived at the government. The old clergy were also very watchful to improve all opportunities, and to blow upon every spark. And the pope's power of deposing kings had been for almost five hundred years received as an article of faith. The same council that established transubstantiation had asserted it : and there were many precedents not only in Germany, France, Spain, and Italy, but also in England, of kings that were deposed by popes, whose dominions were given to other princes. This had begun in the eighth century in two famous deprivations : the one in France, of Childeric III., who was deprived and the crown given to Pepin ; and about the same time, those dominions in Italy which were under the Eastern emperors renounced their allegiance to them. In both these the popes had a great hand ; yet they rather confirmed and approved of those treasonable mutations, than gave the first rise to them. But after pope Gregory VII.'s time, it was clearly assumed, as a right and prerogative of the papal crown, to depose princes, and absolve subjects from the oaths of allegiance, and set up others in their stead. And all those emperors or kings that contested anything with popes, sat very uneasy and unsafe in their thrones ever after that. But if they were tractable to the demands of the court of Rome, then they might oppress their subjects and govern as unjustly as they pleased : for they had a mighty support from that court. This made princes more easily bear the pope's usurpations, because they were assisted by them in all their other proceedings. And the friars, having the consciences of people generally in their hands, as they had the word given by their general at Rome, so they disposed people either to be obedient or seditious, as they pleased.

Now, not only their own interests, mixed with their zeal for the ancient religion, but the pope's authority, gave them as good a warrant to incline the people to rebel as any had in former times, of whom some were canonized for the like practices. For in August the former year, the pope had summoned the king to appear within ninety days, and to answer for putting away his queen and taking another wife ; and for the laws he had made against the church, and putting the bishop of Rochester and others to death for not obeying these laws : and if he did not reform these faults, or did not appear to answer for them, the pope excommunicated him and all that favoured him, deprived the king, put the kingdom under an interdict, forbade all his subjects to obey and other states to hold commerce with him, dissolved all his leagues with foreign princes, commanded all the clergy to depart out of England, and his nobility to rise in arms against him. But now, the force of those thunders which had formerly produced great earthquakes and commotions was much abated ; yet some storms were raised by this, though not so violent as had been in former times.

The people were quiet till they had reaped their harvest ; and though some injunctions were published a little before to help it the better forward, most of the holidays in harvest being abolished by the king's authority, yet that rather inflamed them the more. Other injunctions were also published in the king's name by Cromwell his vicegerent, which was the first act of pure supremacy done by the king. For in all that went before, he had the concurrence of the two convocations. But these, it is like, were penned by Cranmer. The reader is referred to the collection of papers for them, as I transcribed them out of the register.

The substance of them was, " that first, all ecclesiastical incumbents were for a quarter of a year after that once every Sunday, and ever after that twice every quarter, to publish to the people, that the bishop of Rome's usurped power had no ground in the law of God, and therefore was on good reasons abolished in this kingdom ; and that the king's power was by the law of God supreme over all persons in his dominions. And they were to do their uttermost endeavour to extirpate the pope's authority, and to establish the king's.

" Secondly,—They were to declare the articles lately published, and agreed to by the

Yet People
generally
incline to
rebel.

The King's
injunctions
about Reli-
gion.

Collect.
Numb. 7.

convocation ; and to make the people know which of them were articles of faith, and which of them rules for the decent and politic order of the church.

“Thirdly,—They were to declare the articles lately set forth for the abrogation of some superfluous holidays, particularly in harvest-time.

“Fourthly,—They were no more to extol images or relics for superstition or gain ; nor to exhort people to make pilgrimages, as if blessings and good things were to be obtained of this or that saint or image. But instead of that, the people were to be instructed to apply themselves to the keeping of God’s commandments, and doing works of charity ; and to believe that God was better served by them when they staid at home and provided for their families than when they went pilgrimages, and that the moneys laid out on these were better given to the poor.

“Fifthly,—They were to exhort the people to teach their children the Lord’s prayer, the creed, and the ten commandments, in English : and every incumbent was to explain these, one article a-day, till the people were instructed in them. And to take great care that all children were bred up to some trade or way of living.

“Sixthly,—They must take care that the sacraments and sacramentals be reverently administered in their parishes, from which when at any time they were absent, they were to commit the cure to a learned and expert curate, who might instruct the people in wholesome doctrine ; that they might all see that their pastors did not pursue their own profits or interests so much as the glory of God, and the good of the souls under their cure.

“Seventhly*,—They should not, except on urgent occasion, go to taverns or alehouses ; nor sit too long at any sort of games after their meals : but give themselves to the study of the Scripture, or some other honest exercise ; and remember that they must excel others in purity of life, and be examples to all others to live well and christianly.

“Eighthly,—Because the goods of the church were the goods of the poor ; every beneficed person that had twenty pound or above, and did not reside, was yearly to distribute the fortieth part of his benefice to the poor of the parish.

“Ninthly,—Every incumbent that had an hundred pound a year must give an exhibition for one scholar at some grammar-school or university ; who after he had completed his studies, was to be partner of the cure and charge, both in preaching and other duties : and so many hundred pounds as any had, so many students he was to breed up.

“Tenthly,—Where parsonage or vicarage-houses were in great decay, the incumbent was every year to give a fifth part of his profits to the repairing of them till they were finished ; and then to maintain them in the state they were in.

“Eleventhly,—All these injunctions were to be observed, under pain of suspension and sequestration of the mean profits till they were observed.”

These were equally ingrateful to the corrupt clergy and to the laity that adhered to the old doctrine. The very same opinions about pilgrimages, images, and saints departed, and instructing the people in the principles of Christian religion in the vulgar tongue, for which the Lollards were not long ago either burnt or forced to abjure them, were now set up by the king’s authority. From whence they concluded, that whatsoever the king said of his maintaining the old doctrine, yet he was now changing it. The clergy also were much troubled at this precedent of the king’s giving such injunctions to them, without the consent of the convocation : from which they concluded they were now to be slaves to the lord vicegerent. The matter of these injunctions was also very uneasy to them. The great profits they made by their images and relics, and the pilgrimages to them, were now taken away : and yet severe impositions and heavy taxes were laid on them ; a fifth part for repairs, a tenth at least for an exhibitioner, and a fortieth for charity, which were cried out on as intolerable burdens. Their labour was also increased, and they were bound up to many severities of life : all these things touched the secular clergy to the quick, and made them concur with the regular clergy in disposing the people to rebel.

This was secretly fomented by the great abbots. For though they were not yet struck at,

* The seventh article, for providing a Bible in Latin and English, and laying it in the quire, is wholly omitted.—
STRYPE’S CORRECT. [All the articles are given at length

in the collection of Records, No. 7, referred to in this book.—ED.]

yet the way was prepared to it ; and their houses were oppressed with crowds of those who were sent to them from the suppressed houses. There was some pains taken to remove their fears. For a letter was sent to them all in the king's name to silence the reports that were spread abroad, as if all monasteries were to be quite suppressed. This they were required not to believe, but to serve God according to their order, to obey the king's injunctions, to keep hospitality, and make no wastes nor dilapidations. Yet this gave them small comfort, and, as all such things do, rather increased than quieted their jealousies and fears. So many secret causes concurring, no wonder the people fell into mutinous and seditious practices.

The first rising was in Lincolnshire in the beginning of October, where a churchman, disguised into a cobbler, and directed by a monk, drew a great body of men after him. About 20,000 were gathered together. They swore to be true to God, the king and the commonwealth, and digested their grievances into a few articles, which they sent to the king, desiring a redress of them.

"They complained of some things that related to secular concerns, and some acts of parliament that were uneasy to them : they also complained of the suppression of so many religious houses ; that the king had mean persons in high places about him, who were ill counsellors : they also complained of some bishops who had subverted the faith ; and they apprehended the jewels and plate of their churches should be taken away. Therefore they desired the king would call to him the nobility of the realm, and by their advice redress their grievances ; concluding with an acknowledgment of the king's being their supreme head, and that the tenths and first fruits of all livings belonged to him of right."

When the king heard of this insurrection, he presently sent the duke of Suffolk with a commission to raise forces for dispersing them : but with him he sent an answer to their petition. "He began with that about his counsellors, and said, it was never before heard of that the rabble presumed to dictate to their prince what counsellors he should choose : that was the prince's work, and not theirs ; the suppression of religious houses was done pursuant to an act of parliament, and was not set forth by any of his counsellors : the heads of these religious houses had under their own hands confessed those horrid scandals which made them a reproach to the nation ; and in many houses there were not above four or five religious persons : so it seemed they were better pleased that such dissolute persons should consume their rents in riotous and idle living, than that their prince should have them for the common good of the whole kingdom. He also answered their other demands in the same high and commanding strain ; and required them to submit themselves to his mercy, and to deliver their captains and lieutenants into the hands of his lieutenants ; and to disperse and carry themselves as became good and obedient subjects, and to put an hundred of their number into the hands of his lieutenants, to be ordered as they had deserved."

When this answer was brought to them, it raised their spirits higher. The practising clergymen continued to inflame them. They persuaded them that the Christian religion would be very soon effaced, and taken away quite, if they did not vigorously defend it ; that it would come to that, that no man should marry a wife, receive any of the sacraments, nor eat a piece of roast meat, but he should pay for it ; that it were better to live under the Turk than under such oppression : therefore there was no cause in which they could with more honour and a better conscience hazard their lives than for the holy faith. This encouraged and kept them together a little longer. They had forced many of the gentry of the country to go along with them. These sent a secret message to the duke of Suffolk, letting him know what ill effects the king's rough answer had produced ; that they had joined with the people only to moderate them a little, and they knew nothing that would be so effectual as the offer of a general pardon. So the duke of Suffolk, as he moved towards them with the forces which he had drawn together, sent to the king to know his pleasure, and earnestly advised a gentle composing of the matter without blood. At that same time the king was advertised from the North that there was

A new Rebellion in the North. a general and formidable rising there ; of which he had the greater apprehensions, because of their neighbourhood to Scotland, whose king, being the king's nephew, was the heir presumptive of the crown, since the king had illegitimated

both his daughters. And though the king's firm alliance with France made him less apprehensive of trouble from Scotland, and their king was at this time in France, to marry the daughter of Francis ; yet he did not know how far a general rising might invite that king to send orders to head and assist the rebels in the North. Therefore he resolved first to quiet Lincolnshire. And as he had raised a great force about London, with which he was marching in person against them ; so he sent a new proclamation, requiring them to return to their obedience, with secret assurances of mercy. By these means they were melted away. Those who had been carried in the stream submitted to the king's mercy, and promised all obedience for the future ; others, that were obstinate, and knew themselves unpardonable, fled northward, and joined themselves to the rebels there : some of their other leaders were apprehended, in particular the cobbler, and were executed.

But for the Northern rebellion, as the parties concerned, being at a greater distance from the court, had larger opportunities to gather themselves into a huge body ; so the whole contrivance of it was better laid. One Ask commanded in chief. He was a gentleman of an ordinary condition, but understood well how to draw on and govern a multitude. Their march was called the Pilgrimage of Grace. And to inveigle the people, some priests marched before them with crosses in their hands. In their banners they had a crucifix with the five wounds, and a chalice : and every one wore on his sleeve, as the badge of the party, an emblem of the five wounds of Christ, with the name Jesus wrought in the midst. All that joined to them took an oath, "that they entered into this pilgrimage of grace for the love of God, the preservation of the king's person and issue, the purifying the nobility, and driving away all base-born and ill counsellors ; and for no particular profit of their own, nor to do displeasure to any, nor to kill any for envy ; but to take before them the cross of Christ, his faith, the restitution of the church, and the suppression of heretics and their opinions."

These were specious pretences, and very apt to work upon a giddy and discontented multitude. So people flocked about their crosses and standards in great numbers ; and they grew to be 40,000 strong. They went over the country without any great opposition. The archbishop of York and the lord Darcy were in Pomfret castle ; which they yielded to them, and were made to swear their covenant. They were both suspected of being secret promoters of the rebellion : the latter suffered for it, but how the former excused himself I cannot give any account. They also took York and Hull ; but though they summoned the castle of Skipton, yet the earl of Cumberland, who would not degenerate from his noble ancestors, held it out against all their force : and though many of the gentlemen, whom he had entertained at his own cost, deserted him, yet he made a brave resistance. Scarborough castle was also long besieged ; but there sir Ralph Evers, that commanded it, gave an unexampled instance of his fidelity and courage ; for though his provisions fell short, so that for twenty days he and his men had nothing but bread and water, yet they stood out till they were relieved.

This rising in Yorkshire encouraged those of Lancashire, the bishopric of Durham, and Westmoreland, to arm. Against these the earl of Shrewsbury, that he might not fall short of the gallantry and loyalty of his renowned ancestors, made head : though he had no commission from the king. But he knew his zeal and fidelity would easily procure him a pardon, which he modestly asked for the service he had done. The king sent him not only that, but a commission to command in chief all his forces in the North. To his assistance he ordered the earl of Derby to march ; and sent Courtney, marquis of Exeter, and the earls of Huntington and Rutland, to join him. He also ordered the duke of Suffolk, with the force that he had led into Lincolnshire, to lie still there ; lest they, being but newly quieted, should break out again and fall upon his armies behind ; when the Yorkshiremen met them before.

On the 20th of October, he sent the duke of Norfolk with more forces to join the earl of Shrewsbury : but the rebels were very numerous and desperate. When the duke of Norfolk understood their strength, he saw great reason to proceed with much caution : for if they had got the least advantage of the king's troops, all the discontents in England would upon the report of that have broken out. He saw their numbers were now such, that the gaining some time was their ruin : for such a great

Which grew
very formidable.

The Duke of
Norfolk and
others sent
against them.

body could not subsist long together without much provisions ; and that must be very hard for them to bring in : so he set forward a treaty. It was both honourable for the king to offer mercy to his distracted subjects, and of great advantage to his affairs : for as their numbers did every day lessen, so the king's forces were still increasing. He wrote to the king, that, considering the season of the year, he thought the offering some fair conditions might persuade them to lay down their arms and disperse themselves : yet when the earl of Shrewsbury sent a herald with a proclamation, ordering them to lay down their arms and submit to the king's mercy, Ask received him sitting in state, with the archbishop on the one hand and the lord Darcy on the other, but would not suffer any proclamation to be made till he knew the contents of it. And when the herald told what they were, he sent him away without suffering him to publish it. And then the priests used all their endeavours to engage the people to a firm resolution of not dispersing themselves till all matters about religion were fully settled.

As they went forward, they everywhere repossessed the ejected monks of their houses ; and this encouraged the rest, who had a great mind to be in their old nests again. They published also many stories among them of the growing burdens of the king's government, and made them believe that impositions would be laid on everything that was either bought or sold. But the king hearing how strong they were, sent out a general summons to all the nobility to meet him at Northampton the 7th of November. And the forces
They advance to Doncaster. sent against the rebels advanced to Doncaster, to hinder them from coming further southward ; and took the bridge, which they fortified, and laid their forces along the river to maintain that pass.

The writers of that time say, that the day of battle was agreed on ; but that the night before, excessive rains falling, the river swelled so that it was unpassable next day, and they could not force the bridge. Yet it is not likely the earl of Shrewsbury, having in all about 5000 men about him, would agree to a pitched battle with those who were six times his number, being then 30,000. Therefore it is more likely that the rebels only intended to pass the river the next day, which the rain that fell hindered : but the duke of Norfolk continued to press a treaty, which was hearkened to by the other side, who were reduced to great straits ; for their captain would not suffer them to spoil the country, and they were no longer able to subsist without doing that. The duke of Norfolk directed some that were secretly gained, or had been sent over to them as deserters, to spread reports among them ; that their leaders were making terms for themselves, and would leave the rest to be undone. This, joined to their necessities, made many fall off every day. The duke of Norfolk finding
The Duke of Norfolk breaks them by delays. his arts had so good an operation, offered to go to court with any whom they would send with their demands, and to intercede for them. This he knew would take up some time, and most of them would be dispersed before he could return. So they sent two gentlemen, whom they had forced to go with them, to the king to Windsor. Upon this the king discharged the rendezvous at Northampton, and delayed the sending an answer as much as could be : but at last, hearing that though most of them were dispersed, yet they had engaged to return upon warning, and that they took it ill that no answer came, he sent the duke of Norfolk to them with a general pardon, six only excepted by name, and four others that were not named. But in this the king's counsels were generally censured, for every one was now in fear, and so the rebels rejected the proposition. The king also sent them word by their own messenger, " that he took it very ill at their hands, that they had chosen rather to rise in arms against him, than to petition him about these things that were uneasy to them." And to appease them a little, the king, by new injunctions, commanded the clergy to continue the use of all the ceremonies of the church. This, it is like, was intended for keeping up the four sacraments, which had not been mentioned in the former articles. The clergy that were with the rebels met at Pomfret to draw up articles to be offered at the treaty that was to be at Doncaster, where three hundred were ordered to come from the rebels to treat with the king's commissioners. So great a number was called, in hopes that they would disagree about their demands, and so fall out among themselves. On the 6th of December they met to treat, and, it seems, had so laid their matter before, that they agreed upon these following demands :—

“A general pardon to be granted : a parliament to be held at York ; and courts of justice to be there, that none on the north of Trent might be brought to London upon any lawsuit. They desired a repeal of some acts of parliament : those for the last subsidy, for uses, for making words misprision of treason, and for the clergy’s paying their tenths and first-fruits to the king. They desired the princess Mary might be restored to her right of succession ; the pope to his wonted jurisdiction, and the monks to their houses again : that the Lutherans might be punished ; that Audley, the lord chancellor, and Cromwell, the lord privy-seal, might be excluded from the next parliament ; and Lee and Leighton, that had visited the monasteries, might be imprisoned for bribery and extortion.”

But the lords, who knew that the king would by no means agree to these propositions, rejected them. Upon which the rebels took heart again, and were growing more enraged and desperate ; so that the duke of Norfolk wrote to the king, that if some content were not given them, it might end very ill, for they were much stronger than his forces were : and both he, and the other commanders of the king’s forces, in their hearts wished that most of their demands were granted ; being persons who though they complied with the king, and were against that rebellion, yet were great enemies to Lutheranism, and wished a reconciliation with Rome ; of which the duke of Norfolk was afterwards accused by the lord Darcy, as if he had secretly encouraged them to insist on these demands. The king seeing the humour was so obstinate, resolved to use gentler remedies, and so sent to the duke of Norfolk a general pardon, with a promise of a parliament, ordering him not to make use of these except in extremity. This was no easy thing to that duke, since he might be afterwards made to answer for it, whether the extremity was really such as to justify his granting these things. But the rebels were become again as numerous as ever, and had resolved to cross the river, and to force the king’s camp, which was still much inferior to theirs in number. But rains falling the second time, made the fords again unpassable. This was spoken of by the king’s party as little less than a miracle, that God’s providence had twice so opportunely interposed for the stopping of the progress of the rebels : and it is very probable that, on the other side, it made great impression on the superstitious multitude, and both discouraged them and disposed them to accept of the offer of pardon, and a parliament to be soon called for considering their other demands. The king signed the pardon at Richmond the 9th of December ; by which all their treasons and rebellion to that day were pardoned, provided they made their submission to the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Shrewsbury, and lived in all due obedience for the future. The king sent likewise a long answer to their demands as to what they complained about the subversion of the faith. He protested his zeal for the true Christian faith, and that he would live and die in the defence and preservation of it ; but the ignorant multitude were not to instruct him what the true faith was, nor to presume to correct what he and the whole convocation had agreed on. That as he had preserved the church of England in her true liberties, so he would do still ; and that he had done nothing that was so oppressive as many of his progenitors had done upon lesser grounds. But that he took it very ill of them, who had rather one churl or two should enjoy the profits of their monasteries, to support them in their dissolute and abominable course of living, than that their king should have them for defraying the great charge he was at for their defence against foreign enemies. For the laws, it was high presumption in a rude multitude to take on them to judge what laws were good, and what not. They had more reason to think that he, after twenty-eight years’ reign, should know it better than they could. And for his government, he had so long preserved his subjects in peace and justice, had so defended them from their enemies, had so secured his frontier, had granted so many general pardons, had been so unwilling to punish his subjects and so ready to receive them into mercy, that they could show no parallel to his government among all their former kings. And whereas it was said, that he had many of the nobility of his council in the beginning of his reign, and few now ; he showed them in that one instance how they were abused by the lying slanders of some disaffected persons : for when he came to the crown, there were none that were born noble of his council but only the earl of Surrey and the earl of Shrewsbury ; whereas now, the

The King’s
Answer to
them.

dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the lord Steward, the earls of Oxford and Sussex, and the lord Sands, were of the privy-council: and for the spirituality, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Winchester, Hereford, and Chichester, were also of it: and he and his whole council judging it necessary to have some at the board who understood the law of England, and the treaties with foreign princes, he had by their unanimous advice brought in his chancellor and the lord privy-seal. He thought it strange that they, who were but brutes, should think they could better judge who should be his counsellors than himself and his whole council: therefore he would bear no such thing at their hands, it being inconsistent with the duty of good subjects to meddle in such matters. But if they or any of his other subjects could bring any just complaint against any about him, he was ready to hear it; and if it were proved, he would punish it according to law. As for the complaints against some of the prelates for preaching against the faith, they could know none of these things but by the report of others; since they lived at such a distance, that they themselves had not heard any of them preach. Therefore he required them not to give credit to lies, nor be misled by those who spread such calumnies and ill reports: and he concluded all with a severe expostulation; adding that such was his love to his subjects, that imputing this insurrection rather to their folly and lightness than to any malice or rancour, he was willing to pass it over more gently, as they would perceive by his proclamation."

Now the people were come to themselves again, and glad to get off so easily; and they all cheerfully accepted the king's offers, and went home again to their several dwellings. Yet the clergy were no way satisfied, but continued still to practise amongst them, and kept the rebellion still on foot; so that it broke out soon

1537.
The Rebel-
lion quieted.

after. The duke of Norfolk and the earl of Shrewsbury were ordered to lie still in the country with their forces till all things were more fully composed. They made them all come to a full submission; and first, to revoke all oaths and promises made during the rebellion, for which they asked the king's pardon on their knees; secondly, to swear to be true to the king, and his heirs and successors; thirdly, to obey and maintain all the acts of parliament made during the king's reign; fourthly, not to take arms again but by the king's authority; fifthly, to apprehend all seditious persons; sixthly, to remove all the monks, nuns, and friars, whom they had placed again in the dissolved monasteries. There were also orders given to send Ask their captain, and the lord Darcy, to court. Ask was kindly received, and well used by the king. He had showed great conduct in commanding the rebels; and it seems the king had a mind either to gain him to his service, or, which I suspect was the true cause, to draw from him a discovery of all those who in the other parts of the kingdom had favoured or relieved them. For he suspected, not without cause, that some of the great abbots had given secret supplies of money to the rebels; for which many of them were afterwards tried and attainted. The lord Darcy was under great apprehensions, and studied to purge himself that he was forced to a compliance with them; but pleaded, that the long and important services he had done the crown for fifty years, he being then fourscore, together with his great age and infirmity, might mitigate the king's displeasure. But he was made prisoner. Whether this gave those who had been in arms new jealousies, that the king's pardon would not be inviolably observed; or whether the

New Risings,
but soon dis-
persed.

clergy had of new prevailed on them to rise in arms, I cannot determine: but it broke out again, though not so dangerously as before. Two gentlemen of the North, Musgrave and Tilby, raised a body of 8000 men, and thought to have surprised Carlisle, but were repulsed by those within. And, in their return, the duke of Norfolk fell upon them and routed them. He took many prisoners, and by martial law hanged up all their captains, and seventy other prisoners, on the walls of Carlisle. Others, at that same time, thought to have surprised Hull; but it was prevented, and the leaders of that party were also taken and executed.

Many other risings were in several places of the country, which were all soon repressed: the ground of them all was, that the parliament which was promised was not called; but the king said, they had not kept conditions with him, nor would he call a parliament till all things were quieted. But the duke of Norfolk's vigilance everywhere prevented their gathering together in any great body; and, after several unsuccessful attempts, at length

the country was absolutely quieted in January following. And then the duke of Norfolk proceeded according to the martial law against many whom he had taken. Ask had also left the court without leave, and had gone amongst them, but was quickly taken. So he and many others were sent to several places, to be made public examples. He suffered at York, others at Hull, and in other towns in Yorkshire. But the lord Darcy and the lord Hussy were arraigned at Westminster, and attainted of treason; the former for the northern, and the other for the Lincolnshire insurrection. The lord Darcy was beheaded at Tower-hill, and was much lamented; everybody thought that, considering his merits, his age, and former services, he had hard measure. The lord Hussy was beheaded at Lincoln. The lord Darcy, in his trial, accused the duke of Norfolk, that, in the treaty at Doncaster, he had encouraged the rebels to continue in their demands. This the duke denied, and desired a trial by combat, and gave some presumptions to show that the lord Darcy bore him ill-will and said this out of malice. The king either did not believe this, or would not seem to believe it; and the duke's great diligence in the suppression of these commotions set him beyond all jealousies. But after those executions, the king wrote to the duke in July next, to proclaim an absolute amnesty over all the North; which was received with great joy, everybody being in fear of himself: and so this threatening storm was dissipated without the effusion of much blood, save what the sword of justice drew. At the same time the king of Scotland, returning from France with his queen, and touching on the coast of England, many of the people fell down at his feet, praying him to assist them, and he should have all. But he was, it seems, bound up by the French king, and so went home without giving them any encouragement. And thus ended this rebellion, which was chiefly carried on by the clergy under pretence of religion.

And now the king was delivered of all his apprehensions that he had been in for some years in fear of stir at home. But they being now happily composed; as he knew it would so overawe the rest of his discontented subjects, that he needed fear nothing from them for a great while; so it encouraged him to go on in his other designs, of suppressing the rest of the monasteries, and reforming some other points of religion. Therefore there was a new visitation appointed for all the monasteries of England. And the visiters were ordered to examine all things that related either to their conversation, to their affection to the king, and the supremacy, or to their superstition, in their several houses; to discover what cheats and impostures there were, either in their images, relics, or other miraculous things, by which they had drawn people to their houses on pilgrimages, and gotten from them any great presents: also to try how they were affected during the late commotions, and to discover everything that was amiss in them, and report it to the lord vicegerent. In the records of the whole twenty-eighth year of the king's reign, I find but one original surrender of any religious house; the abbot of Furness in Lincolnshire, valued at 960*l.*, with thirty monks, resigning up that house to the king, on the 9th of April, which was very near the end of the year of the king's reign, for it commenced on the 22nd of April. Two other surrenders are enrolled that year. The one was of Bermondsey in Surrey, the 1st of June, in the twenty-eighth of the king's reign. The preamble was, that they surrendered in hopes of greater benevolence from the king. But this was the effect of some secret practice, and not of the act of parliament; for it was valued at 548*l.*, and so fell not within the act. The other was of Bushligham, or Bishtam, in Berkshire, made by Barlow, bishop of St. David's, that was commendator of it, and a great promoter of the Reformation. It was valued at 327*l.* But in the following year they made a quicker progress, and found strange enormities in the greater houses. It seems all the houses under 200*l.* of rent were not yet suppressed; for I find many within that value afterwards resigning their houses. So that I am inclined to believe, that the first visitation being made towards the suppression of the lesser monasteries, and that (as appears by their instructions) being not to be finished till they had made a report of what they had done to the court of augmentations, who were after the report made to determine what pensions were to be reserved to the abbot and other officers; (which report was to be made in the octaves of St. Michael, and after that, a new commission was to be given for their suppression;) when that was done, they went no further at that time, that so I cannot think there were many

houses suppressed when these stirs began : and after their first rising, it is not likely that great progress would be made in a business that was likely to inflame the people more, and increase the number of the rebels. Neither do I find any houses suppressed by virtue of the former act of parliament till the twenty-ninth year of the king's reign.

And yet they made no great haste this year; for there are but twenty-one surrenders Some of the great Abbots surrender their Houses. all this year, either in the rolls or augmentation office. And now, not only small abbeys, but greater ones were surrendered to the king. The abbots were brought to do it upon several motives. Some had been faulty during the late rebellion, and were liable to the king's displeasure : and these, to redeem themselves, compounded the matter by a resignation of their house. Others began to like the Reformation, and that made them the more willing to surrender their houses : such as Barlow, bishop of St. David's, who not only surrendered up his own house of Bushligham, but prevailed on many others to do the like. Others were convicted of great disorders in their conversation ; and these, not daring to stand a trial, were glad to accept of a pension for life, and deliver up their house. Others were guilty of making great wastes and dilapidations. For they all saw the dissolution of their houses approaching, and so every one was induced to take all the care he could to provide for himself and his kindred ; so that the visiters found in some of the richest abbeys of England, as St. Alban's and Battle, such depredations made, that at St. Alban's an abbot could not subsist any longer, the rents were so low ; and in Battle, as all their furniture was old and torn, not worth an 100*l.*, so both in house and chapel they had not 400 marks' worth of plate. In other houses they found not above twelve or fifteen ounces of plate, and no furniture at all, but only such things as they could not embezzle ; as the walls and windows, bells and lead. In other houses, the abbot and monks were glad to accept of a pension for themselves during life ; and so, being only concerned for their own particular interest, resigned their house to the king. Generally, the monks had eight marks a-year pension till they were provided for. The abbots' pensions were proportioned to the value of their house and to their innocence. The abbots of St. Albans and Tewkesbury had 400 marks a-year a-piece. The abbot of St. Edmundsbury was more innocent, for the visiters wrote from thence, that they could find no scandals in that house : so he (it seems) was not easily brought to resign his house, and had 500 marks' pension reserved to him. And for their inferior officers some had thirty, some ten or eight, and the lowest six pounds pension.

In other places, upon a vacancy either by death or deprivation, they did put in an abbot only to resign up the house. For after the king's supremacy was established, all those abbots that had been formerly confirmed by the pope were placed in this manner. The king granted a *cong   d'  lire* to the prior and convent, with a missive letter, declaring the name of the person whom they should choose : then they returned an election to the king, who, upon that, gave his assent to it by a warrant under the great seal, which was certified to the lord vicegerent ; who thereupon confirmed the election, and returned him back to the king, to take the oaths : upon which the temporalities were restored. Thus all the abbots were now placed by the king, and were generally picked out to serve this turn. Others, in hope of advancement to bishoprics, or to be suffragan bishops, as the inferior sort of them were made generally, were glad to recommend themselves to the king's favour by a quick and cheerful surrender of their monastery. Upon some of these inducements it was that the greatest number of the religious houses were resigned to the king before there was any act of parliament made for their suppression. In several houses, the visiters, who were generally either masters of chancery or auditors of the court of augmentations, studied not only to bring them to resign their houses, but to sign confessions of their past lewd and dissolute lives. Of these there is only one now extant, which (it is like) escaped the general rasure and destruction of all papers of that kind in queen Mary's time. But from the letters that

Confessions
of horrid
Crimes made
in several
Houses.

I have seen, I perceive there were such confessions made by many other houses. That confession of the prior and Benedictines of St. Andrew's in Northampton is to be seen in the records of the court of augmentations ; in which, with the most aggravating expressions that could be devised, they acknowledged their past ill life. "for which the pit of hell was ready to swallow them up. They

confessed that they had neglected the worship of God, lived in idleness, gluttony, and sensuality," with many other woful expressions to that purpose.

Other houses, as the monastery of Betlesden, resigned with this preamble: "that they did
 Collect. profoundly consider that the manner and trade of living which they, and others
 Numb. 3. of their pretended religion, had for a long time followed, consisted in some dumb
 sect. 4. ceremonies, and other constitutions of the bishops of Rome, and other foreign
 potentates; as the abbot of Cisteaux, by which they were blindly led, having no true
 knowledge of God's laws; procuring exemptions from their ordinary and diocesan, by the
 power of the bishop of Rome, and submitting themselves wholly to a foreign power, who
 never came hither to reform their abuses, which were now found among them. But that
 now knowing the most perfect way of living is sufficiently declared by Christ and his
 apostles; and that it was most fit for them to be governed by the king, who was their
 supreme head on earth; they submitted themselves to his mercy, and surrendered up their
 monastery to him on the 25th of September, in the thirtieth year of his reign." This writing
 was signed by the abbot, the sub-prior, and nine monks. There are five other surrenders to
 the same purpose, by the grey and white friars of Stamford—the grey friars of Coventry,
 Bedford, and Aylesbury, yet to be seen. Some are resigned upon this preamble: "that they
 hoped the king would of new found their house; which was otherwise like to be ruined, both
 in spirituals and temporal." So did the abbot of Chertsey in Surrey, with fourteen monks,
 on the 14th of July, in the twenty-ninth year of this reign, whose house was valued at 744*l*.
 I have some reason to think that this abbot was for the Reformation, and intended to have
 had his house new founded to be a house of true and well-regulated devotion: and so I find
 the prior of great Malvern in Worcestershire offered such a resignation. He was
 recommended by bishop Latimer to Cromwell, with an earnest desire that his house might
 stand, not in monkery, but so as to be converted to preaching, study, and prayer. And the
 good prior was willing to compound for his house by a present of 500 marks to the king,
 and of 200 to Cromwell. He is commended for being an old worthy man, a good
 housekeeper, and one that daily fed many poor people. To this Latimer adds, "Alas my
 good lord! shall we not see two or three in every shire changed to such remedy?"

But the resolution was taken once to extirpate all. And therefore though the visitors
 interceded earnestly for one nunnery in Oxfordshire, Godstow, where there was great
 strictness of life; and to which most of the young gentlewomen of the county were sent
 to be bred, so that the gentry of the country desired the king would spare the house; yet
 all was ineffectual.

The general form in which most of these resignations begins is: "that the abbot and
 The Form of brethren, upon full deliberation, certain knowledge, of their own proper motion,
 most Surren- for certain just and reasonable causes, specially moving them in their souls and
 ders. consciences, did freely, and of their own accord, give and grant their houses to
 Collect. the king." Others (it seems) did not so well like this preamble, and therefore
 Numb. 3. did, without any reason or preamble, give away their houses to the visitors, as
 sect. 1. feoffees in trust for the king's use. And thus they went on procuring daily more surrenders,
 so that in the thirtieth year of the king's reign there were one hundred and fifty-nine
 resignations enrolled, of which the originals of one hundred and fifty-five do yet remain.

Collect. And for the reader's further satisfaction, he shall find, in the collection at the end
 Numb. 3. of this book, the names of all these houses so surrendered, with other particulars
 sect. 3. relating to them, which would too much weary him if inserted in the thread of
 this work. But there was no law to force any to make such resignations; so that many
 of the great abbots would not comply with the king in this matter, and stood it out till after
 the following parliament, that was in the thirty-first year of his reign.

It was questioned by many whether these surrenders could be good in law, since the
 abbots were but trustees and tenants for life. It was thought they could not absolutely
 alienate and give away their house for ever. But the parliament afterwards declared the
 Divers Op- resignations were good in law; for by their foundations all was trusted to the
 nions about abbot and the senior brethren of the house, who putting the convent-seal to
 these. any deed, it was of force in law. It was also said, that they thus surrendering,

had forfeited their charters and foundations ; and so the king might seize and possess them with a good title, if not upon the resignation, yet upon forfeiture. But others thought that, whatsoever the nicety of law might give the king, yet there was no sort of equity in it, that a few trustees, who were either bribed or frightened, should pass away that which was none of theirs, but only given them in trust and for life. Other abbots were more roughly handled. The prior of Wooburn was suspected of favouring the rebels ; of being attainted of treason. ^{Some Abbots} against the king's supremacy, and for the pope's ; and of being for the general council then summoned to Mantua. And he was dealt with to make a submission and acknowledgment. In an account of a long conference which he had with a privy-councillor under his own hand, I find that the great thing which he took offence at was, that Latimer and some other bishops preached against the veneration of the Blessed Virgin, and the other saints ; and that the English Bible then set out differed in many things from the Latin ; with several lesser matters. So that they looked on their religion as changed, and wondered that the judgments of God upon queen Anne had not terrified others from going on to subvert the faith : yet he was prevailed with, and did again submit to the king and acknowledge his supremacy ; but he afterwards joined himself to the rebels, and was taken with them, together with the abbot of Whaley, and two monks of his house ; and the abbot of Gervaux, with a monk of his house ; and the abbot of Sawley in Lancashire, with the prior of that house ; and the prior of Burlington ; who were all attainted of high treason, and executed. The abbots of Glastonbury and Reading were men of great power and wealth. The one was rated at 3508*l.* and the other at 2116*l.* They seeing the storm like to break out on themselves, sent a great deal of the plate and money that they had in their house to the rebels in the North ; which being afterwards discovered, they were attainted of high treason a year after this ; but I mention it here for the affinity of the matter : further particulars about the abbot of Reading I have not yet discovered. But there is an account given to Cromwell of the proceedings against the abbot of Glastonbury in two letters which I have seen : the one was writ by the sheriff of the county, the other by sir John Russell, who was present at his trial, and was reputed a man of as great integrity and virtue as any in that time ; which he seems to have left as an inheritance to that noble family that has descended from him. These inform that he was indicted of burglary as well as treason ; for having broken the house in his monastery where the plate was kept, and taken it out, which, as sir William Thomas says, was sent to the rebels. The evidence being brought to the jury, who (as sir John Russell writes) were as good and worthy men as had ever been on any jury in that county, they found him guilty. He was carried to the place of execution, near his own monastery ; where (as the sheriff writes) he acknowledged his guilt, and begged God and the king pardon for it. The abbot of Colchester was also attainted of high-treason. What the particulars were I cannot tell. For the record of their attainders was lost ; but some of our own writers deserve a severe censure, who write it was for denying the king's supremacy ; whereas, if they had not undertaken to write the history without any information at all, they must have seen that the whole clergy, but most particularly the abbots, had over and over again acknowledged the king's supremacy.

For clearing which and discovering the impudence of Sanders' relation of this matter, I shall lay before the reader the evidences that I find of the submission of these and all the other abbots to the king's supremacy : First, in the convocation in the 22d year of this reign, they all acknowledged the king supreme head of the church of England. They did all also swear to maintain the act of the succession of the crown, made in the 25th year of his reign, in which the pope's power was plainly condemned. For in the proceedings against More and Fisher, it was frequently repeated to them that all the clergy had sworn it. It is also entered in the journal of the house of lords, that all the members of both houses swore it at their breaking up : and the same journals inform us, that the abbots of Colchester and Reading sate in that parliament, and as there was no protestation made against any of the acts passed in that session, so it is often entered that the acts were agreed to by the unanimous consent of the lords. It appears also by several original letters, that the heads of all the religious houses in England had signed that position, that the pope had no more jurisdiction in this kingdom than any foreign bishop whatsoever. And it was rejected by

none but some Carthusians, and Franciscans of the Observance, who were proceeded against, for refusing to acknowledge it: when they were so pressed in it none can imagine that a parliamentary abbot would have been dispensed with. And in the last parliament in which the second oath about the succession to the crown was enacted, it was added that they should also swear the king to be the supreme head of the church. The abbots of Glastonbury and Reading were then present, as appears by the journals, and consented to it: so little reason there is for imagining that they refused that, or any other compliance that might secure them in their abbeys.

In particular, the abbot of Reading had so got into Cromwell's good opinion, that in some differences between him and Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, that was Cromwell's creature, he had the better of the bishop. Upon which Shaxton, who was a proud ill-natured man, wrote a high expostulating letter to Cromwell, "complaining of an injunction he had granted against him at the abbot's desire. He also showed that in some contests between him and his residentiaries, and between him and the mayor of Salisbury, Cromwell was always against him: he likewise challenged him for not answering his letters. He tells him God will judge him for abusing his power as he did; he prays God to have pity on him and to turn his heart;" with a great deal more provoking language. He also adds many insolent praises of himself; and his whole letter is as extravagant a piece of vanity and insolence as ever I saw. To this Cromwell wrote an answer, that shows him

Collect.
Numb. 8.

to have been indeed a great man. The reader will find it in the collection, and see from it how modestly and discreetly he carried his greatness.

But how justly soever these abbots were attainted, the seizing on their abbey-lands pursuant to those attainders, was thought a great stretch of law; since the offence of an ecclesiastical incumbent is a personal thing, and cannot prejudice the church; no more than a secular man, who is in an office, does by being attainted, bring any diminution of the rights of his office on his successors. It is true there were some words cast into the thirteenth act of the parliament in the 26th year of this reign, by which divers offences were made treason, that seemed to have been designed for such a purpose. The words are, that whatsoever lands any traitor had of any estate of inheritance in use or possession, by any right, title, or means, should be forfeited to the king. By which, as it is certain estates in tail were comprehended, so the lands that any traitor had in possession or use, seem to be included; and that the rather, because by some following words their heirs and successors are for ever excluded. This either was not thought on when the bishop of Rochester was attainted, or perhaps was not claimed, since the king intended not to lessen the number of bishoprics, but rather to increase them. Besides, the words of the statute seem only to belong to an estate of inheritance; within which church-benefices could not be included, without a great force put on them. 'Tis true the word successor favoured these seizures, except that be thought an expletory word put in out of form, but still to be limited to an estate of inheritance. That word does also import, that such criminals might have successors: but if the whole abbey was forfeited, these abbots could have no successors; yet it seems the seizures of these abbeys were founded on that statute, and this stretch of the law occasioned that explanation which was added of the words estate of inheritance, in the statute made in Edward VI.'s reign about treasons,—where it is expressed, that traitors should forfeit to the crown what lands they had of any estate of inheritance, to which is added in their own right, it seems, on design to cut off all pretence for such proceedings for the future, as had been in this reign. But if there was any illegality in these seizures, the following parliament did at least tacitly justify them; for they excepted out of the provisos made concerning the abbeys that were suppressed, such as had been forfeited and seized on by any attainders of treason.

Another surrender is not unlike these, but rather less justifiable. Many of the Carthusian monks of London were executed for their open denying of the king's supremacy, and for receiving books from foreign parts against his marriage, and other proceedings: divers also of the same house that favoured them, but so secretly that clear proof could not be found to convict them, were kept prisoners in their cells till they died. But the prior was a worthy man, of whom Thomas Bedyl, one of the visitors, writes, "that he was a man of such charity that he had not seen the like, and that the eyes of the people were much on that

house, and therefore he advised that the house might be converted to some good use." But the prior was made to resign, with this preamble, "that many of that house had offended the king, so that their goods might be justly confiscated, and themselves adjudged to a severe death; which they desired to avoid, by an humble submission, and surrender of their house to the king." But there were great complaints made of the visitors, as if they had practised with the abbots and priors to make these surrenders; and that they had conspired with them to cheat the king, and had privately embezzled most of the plate and furniture. The abbess of Chepstow complained in particular of doctor London, one of the visitors, that he had been corrupting her nuns; and generally it was cried out on, that underhand and ill practices were used: therefore, to quiet these reports, and to give some colour to justify what they were about, all the foul stories that could be found out were published to defame these houses. Battle abbey was represented to be a little Sodom; so was Christ-church in Canterbury, with several other houses. But for whoredom and adultery they found instances without number; and of many other unnatural practices and secret lusts, with arts to hinder conceptions and make abortions. But no story became so public as a discovery made of the prior of the Crossed-friars in London, who on a Friday, at eleven o'clock in the day, was found in bed with a whore. He fell down on his knees, and prayed those who surprised him not to publish his shame; but they had a mind to make some advantage by it, and asked him money. He gave them 30*l.*, which he protested was all he had,—but he promised them 30*l.* more: yet failing in the payment, a suit followed on it; and in a bill which I have seen given to Cromwell, then master of the rolls, the case is related.

But all stories of this kind served only to disgrace those abbots or monks that were so faulty; and the people generally said, these were personal crimes which ought to be punished; but they were no way satisfied with the justice of the king's proceedings, against whole houses for the faults of a few. Therefore another way was thought on, which indeed proved more effectual, both for recovering the people out of the superstitious fondness they had for their images and relics, and for discovering the secret impostures that had been long practised in these houses,—and this was, to order the visitors to examine well all the relics and feigned images to which pilgrimages were wont to be made. In this doctor London did great service. From Reading he writes, "That the chief relics of idolatry in the nation were there; an angel with one wing, that brought over the spear's head that pierced our Saviour's side. To which he adds a long inventory of their other relics, and says there were as many more as would fill four sheets of paper. He also writes from other places that he had everywhere taken down their images and trinkets." At St. Edmundsbury, as John-ap-Rice informed, they found some of the coals that roasted St. Laurence, the parings of St. Edmund's toes, St. Thomas à Becket's penknife and boots; with as many pieces of the cross of our Saviour as would make a large whole cross. They had also relics against rain, and for hindering weeds to spring. But to pursue this further were endless, the relics were so innumerable: and the value which the people had of them may be gathered from this, that a piece of St. Andrew's finger, set in an ounce of silver, was laid to pledge by the house of Westacre for 40*l.*,—but the visitors, when they suppressed that house, did not think fit to redeem it at so high a rate.

For their images, some of them were brought to London, and were there, at St. Paul's cross, in the sight of all the people, broken, that they might be fully convinced of the juggling impostures of the monks. And in particular, the crucifix of Boxley in Kent, commonly called the Rood of Grace; to which many pilgrimages had been made, because it was observed sometimes to bow, and to lift itself up, to shake, and to stir head, hands, and feet, to roll the eyes, move the lips, and bend the brows; all which were looked on by the abused multitude as the effects of a Divine power. These were now publicly discovered to have been cheats; for the springs were showed by which all these motions were made. Upon which John Hilsey, then bishop of Rochester, made a sermon, and broke the rood in pieces. There was also another famous imposture discovered at Hales, in Gloucestershire, where the blood of Christ was showed in a phial of crystal, which the people sometimes saw, but sometimes they could not see it; so they were made believe that

The Superstition and cheats of these Houses discovered.

Images publicly broken.

they were not capable of so signal a favour, as long as they were in mortal sin ; and so they continued to make presents till they bribed Heaven to give them the sight of so blessed a relic. This was now discovered to have been the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week ; and the one side of the phial was so thick that there was no seeing through it, but the other was clear and transparent : and it was so placed near the altar, that one in a secret place behind could turn either side of it outward ; so when they had drained the pilgrims that came thither of all they had brought with them, then they afforded them the favour of turning the clear side outward, who upon that went home very well satisfied with their journey and the expense they had been at. There was brought out of Wales a huge image of wood called Darvel Gatheren, of which one Ellis Price, visitor of the diocese of St. Asaph, gave this account, on the 6th of April 1537,—“That the people of the country had a great superstition for it, and many pilgrimages were made to it ; so that the day before he wrote, there were reckoned to be above five or six hundred pilgrims there : some brought oxen and cattle, and some brought money ; and it was generally believed, that if any offered to that image, he had power to deliver his soul from hell.” So it was ordered to be brought to London, where it served for fuel to burn friar Forrest. There was a huge image of our Lady at Worcester, that was had in great reverence ; which when it was stripped of some veils that covered it was found to be the statue of a bishop.

Barlow, bishop of St. Davids, did also give many advertisements of the superstition of his country, and of the clergy and monks of that diocese, who were guilty of heathenish idolatry, gross impiety, and ignorance, and of abusing the people with many evident forgeries,—about which, he said, he had good evidence when it should be called for. But that which drew most pilgrims and presents in those parts, was an image of Our Lady with a taper in her hand, which was believed to have burned nine years, till one forswearing himself upon it, it went out ; and was then much revered and worshipped. He found all about the cathedral so full of superstitious conceits, that there was no hope of working on them ; therefore he proposed the translating the Episcopal seat from St. David's to Caermarthen, which he pressed by many arguments, and in several letters, but with no success. Then many rich shrines of Our Lady of Walsingham, of Ipswich, and Islington, with a great many more, were brought up to London, and burnt by Cromwell's orders.

But the richest shrine of England was that of Thomas à Becket, called St. Thomas of Canterbury, the martyr ; who, being raised up by king Henry II. to the archbishopric of Canterbury, did afterwards give that king much trouble, by opposing his authority and exalting the pope's. And though he once consented to the articles agreed on at Clarendon, for bearing down the papal, and securing the regal power, yet he soon after repented of that only piece of loyalty of which he was guilty all the while he was archbishop. He fled to the pope, who received him as a confessor for the dearest article of the Roman belief. The king and kingdoms were excommunicated, and put under an interdict upon his account. But afterwards, upon the intercession of the French king, king Henry and he were reconciled, and the interdict was taken off. Yet his unquiet spirit could take no rest, for he was no sooner at Canterbury than he began to embroil the kingdom again ; and was proceeding by censures against the archbishop of York and some other bishops, for crowning the king's son in his absence. Upon the news of that, the king, being then in Normandy, said, “If he had faithful servants he would not be so troubled with such a priest ;” whereupon some zealous or officious courtiers came over and killed him ; for which, as the king was made to undergo a severe penance, so the monks were not wanting in their ordinary arts to give out many miraculous stories concerning his blood. This soon drew a canonisation from Rome ; and he being a martyr for the papacy, was more extolled than all the apostles or primitive saints had ever been : so that for 300 years he was accounted one of the greatest saints in heaven, as may appear from the accounts in the leger books of the offerings made to the three greatest altars in Christ's-church in Canterbury. The one was to Christ, the other to the Virgin, and the third to St. Thomas. In one year there was offered at Christ's altar, 3*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* : to the Virgin's altar, 63*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* : but to St. Thomas's altar, 832*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* But the next year the odds grew greater,

for there was not a penny offered at Christ's altar, and at the Virgin's only 4*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*—but at St. Thomas's, 954*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* By such offerings it came, that his shrine was of inestimable value. There was one stone offered there by Louis VII. of France, who came over to visit it in a pilgrimage, that was believed the richest in Europe. Nor did they think it enough to give him one day in the calendar, the 29th of December, but unusual honours were devised for this martyr of the liberties of the Church, greater than any that had been given to the martyrs for Christianity. The day of raising his body, or, as they called it, of his translation, being the 7th of July, was not only a holiday, but every fiftieth year there was a jubilee for fifteen days together, and indulgence was granted to all that came to visit his shrine; as Somner's appears from the record of the sixth jubilee, after his translation, anno 1420,—Antiquities of which bears, that there were then about a hundred thousand strangers come to Canterbury. visit his tomb. The jubilee began at twelve o'clock on the vigil of the feast, and lasted fifteen days; by such arts they drew an incredible deal of wealth to his shrine. The riches of that, together with his disloyal practices, made the king resolve both to unshrine and unsaint him at once. And then his skull, which had been much worshipped, was found an imposture; for the true skull was lying with the rest of his bones in his grave. The shrine was broken down and carried away; the gold that was about it filling two chests, which were so heavy that they were a load to eight strong men to carry them out of the church; and his bones were, as some say, burnt; so it was understood at Rome: but others say they were so mixed with other dead bones, that it would have been a miracle indeed to have distinguished them afterwards. The king also ordered his name to be struck out of the calendar, and the office for his festivity to be dashed out of all breviaries. And thus was the superstition of England to images and relics extirpated.

Yet the king took care to qualify the distaste which the articles published the former year had given. And though there was no parliament in the year 1537, yet there New Articles about Religion published. was a commission from the king to bishops and other learned divines; upon the conclusion of which, there was printed an explanation of the chief points of religion, signed by both the archbishops, seventeen bishops, eight archdeacons, and seventeen doctors of divinity and law. In which there was an exposition of the creed, the seven sacraments, the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer, and the salutation of the Virgin, with an account of justification and purgatory. But this work was put in a better form afterwards, where the reader will find a more particular account of it. When all these proceedings of the king's were known at Rome, all the satirical pens there were employed to paint him out as the most infamous sacrilegious tyrant that ever was. They represented him as one that made war with heaven and the saints that were there: that committed outrages on the bodies of the saints, which the heathenish Romans would have punished severely for any that committed the like on those that were dead, how mean or bad soever they had been. All his proceedings against the priests or monks that were attainted and executed for high treason, were represented as the effects of savage and barbarous cruelty. His suppressing the monasteries, and devouring what the devotion of former ages had consecrated to God and his saints, was called ravenous and impious sacrilege; nor was there anything omitted that could make him appear to posterity the blackest tyrant that ever wore a crown. They compared him to Pharaoh, Nabuchadonosor, Belshazar, Nero, Domitian, and Diocletian; but chiefly to Julian the apostate. This last parallel liked them best, and his learning, his apostacy, and pretence of reforming, were all thought copied from Julian; only they said his manners were worse. These things were every day printed at Rome, and the informations that were brought out of England were generally addressed to cardinal Pole, whose style was also known in some of them: all which possessed the king with the deepest and most implacable hatred to him that ever he bore to any person, and did provoke him to all those severities that followed on his kindred and family.

But the malice of the court of Rome did not stop there. For now the pope published all Collect. these thunders which he had threatened three years before. The bull of Deposition is printed in Cherubin's *Bulla rerum Romanarum*, which, since many have the confidence to deny matters of fact, though most publicly acted, shall be found in the collec-

tion of papers. The substance of it is as follows: "The pope being God's vicar on earth, and according to Jeremiah's prophecy, set over nations and kingdoms, 'to root out and destroy;' and having the supreme power over all the kings in the whole world, was bound to proceed to due correction, when milder courses were ineffectual; therefore since king Henry, who had been formerly a defender of the faith, had fallen from it, had, contrary to an inhibition made, put away his queen, and married one Anne Boleyn, and had made impious and hurtful laws; denying the pope to be the supreme head of the church, but assuming that title to himself, and had required all his subjects under pain of death to swear to it; and had put the cardinal of Rochester to death, because he would not consent to these heresies; and by all these things had rendered himself unworthy of his regal dignity; and had hardened his heart (as Pharaoh did) against all the admonitions of pope Clement VII.; therefore, since these his crimes were so notorious, he in imitation of what the apostle did to Elymas the magician, proceeds to such censures as he had deserved; and with the advice of his cardinals, does first exhort him and all his complices to return from their errors, to annul the acts lately made, and to proceed no farther upon them; which he requires him and them to do, under the pains of excommunication and rebellion, and of the king's losing his kingdom, whom he required within ninety days to appear at Rome, by himself or proxy, and his complices within sixty days, to give an account of their actions, otherwise he would then proceed to a further sentence against them: and declares, that if the king and his complices do not appear, he has fallen from the right to his crown, and they from the right to their estates, and when they die, they were to be denied christian burial. He puts the whole kingdom under an interdict; and declares all the king's children by the said Anne, and the children of all his complices, to be under the same pains, though they be now under age, and incapacitates them for all honours or employments, and declares all the subjects or vassals of the king's, or his complices, absolved from all oaths or obligations to them, and requires them to acknowledge them no more. And declares him and them infamous, so that they might neither be witnesses nor make wills. He requires all other persons to have no dealings with him or them, neither by trading, nor any other way, under the pain of excommunication,—the annulling their contracts, and the exposing goods so traded in to all that should catch them. And that all clergymen should within five days after the expiration of the time prefixed go out of the kingdom; (leaving only so many priests as would be necessary for baptizing infants, and giving the sacrament to such as died in penitence) under the pains of excommunication and deprivation; and charges all noblemen and others in his dominions, under the same pains, to rise up in arms against him and to drive him out of his kingdom, and that none should take up arms for him, or any way assist him, and declares all other princes absolved from any confederacies made, or to be made with him; and earnestly obtests the emperor and all kings, and requires other princes under the former pains to trade no more with him; and in case of their disobedience he puts their kingdoms under an interdict: and requires all princes and military persons, in the virtue of holy obedience, to make war upon him, and to force him to return to the obedience of the apostolic see; and to seize on all goods or merchandises belonging to the king or his complices wherever they could find them; and that such of his subjects that were seized on should be made slaves. And requires all bishops, three days after the time that was set down was elapsed, to intimate this sentence in all their churches with putting out of candles, and other ceremonies that ought to be used, in the most solemn and public manner that might be: and all who hindered the publication of this sentence are put under the same pains. He ordained this sentence to be affixed at Rome, Tournay, and Dunkirk, which should stand for a sufficient publication; and concludes, that if any should endeavour to oppose or enervate any of the premises, he should incur the indignation of Almighty God and the holy apostles, St. Peter and Paul. Dated at Rome the 30th of August, 1535." But the pope found the princes of Christendom liked the precedent, of using a king in that manner, so ill, that he suspended the execution of this bull till this time, that the suppression of abbeyes, and the burning of Thomas à Becket's bones, did so inflame the pope, that he could forbear no longer, and therefore by a new sentence he did all he could to shake him in his throne.

The preamble of it was, “that, as our Saviour had pity on St. Peter after his fall, so it became St. Peter’s successors to imitate our Saviour in his clemency; and that therefore though he having heard of king Henry’s crimes, had proceeded to a sentence against him (here the former bull was recited); yet some other princes, who hoped he might be reclaimed by gentler methods, had interposed for a suspension of the sentence: and he being easy to believe what he so earnestly desired, had upon their intercession suspended it. But now he found they had been deceived in their hopes, and that he grew worse and worse, and had done such dishonour to the saints, as to raise St. Thomas of Canterbury’s body, to arraign him of high treason, and to burn his body, and sacrilegiously to rob the riches that had been offered to his shrine, as also to suppress St. Austin’s abbey in Canterbury; and that having thrust out the monks, he had put in wild beasts into their grounds, having transformed himself into a beast. Therefore he takes off the suspension, and publishes the bull, commanding it to be executed: declaring that the affixing it at Dieppe or Boulogne in France, at St. Andrew’s or Callistren, (that is Coldstream, a town near the border of England,) in Scotland or Tuam, or Artifert in Ireland, or any two of these, should be a sufficient publication. Dated the 7th of December, Anno Dom. 1538.”

No man can read these bulls but he must conclude that if the pope be the infallible and universal pastor of the church, whom all are bound to obey, he has a full authority over all kings, to proceed to the highest censures possible: and since the matters of fact, enumerated in the sentence as the grounds of it, were certainly true; then, the pope is either clothed with the powers of deposing princes, or if otherwise, he lied to the world when he pretended to it thus, and taught false doctrine, which cannot stand with infallibility,—and the pretended grounds of the sentence as to matter of fact being evidently true, this must be a just sentence; and therefore all that acknowledged the infallibility of that see, were bound to obey it, and all the rebellions that followed, during the reign of the king or his children, were founded on this sentence, and must be justified by it; otherwise the pope’s infallibility must fall to the ground. But this was to be said for the pope, that though he had raised the several branches of this sentence higher than any of his predecessors had ever done; yet, as to the main, he had very good and authentic precedents for what he did, from the depositions of emperors or kings that were made by former popes for about five hundred years together. This I thought needful to be more fully opened, because of the present circumstances we are now in; since hereby every one that will consider things must needs see that the belief of the pope’s infallibility does necessarily infer the acknowledgment of their power of deposing heretical kings. For it is plain, the pope did this *ex cathedra*, and as a pastor feeding and correcting his flock.

But not content with this, he also wrote to other princes, inflaming them against the king, Lesley, Hist. particularly to the kings of France and Scotland. To the last of these he sent a Scot. breve, declaring king Henry a heretic, a schismatic, a manifest adulterer, a public murderer, a rebel, and convict of high treason against him, the pope his lord; for which crimes he had deposed him, and offered his dominions to him if he would go and invade them. And thus the breach between him and the pope was past reconciling; and at Rome it was declared equally meritorious to fight against him as against the Turk. But cardinal Pole made it more meritorious, in his book. Yet the thunders of the Vatican had now lost their force, so that these had no other effect but to enrage the king more against all such as were suspected to favour their interests, or to hold any correspondence with cardinal Pole. Therefore he first procured a declaration against the pope’s pretensions, to be signed by all the bishops of England: in which, after they declared against the pope’s ecclesiastical jurisdiction, upon

The Clergy in England declared against these. the grounds formerly touched, they concluded, “That the people ought to be instructed, that Christ did expressly forbid his apostles or their successors to take to themselves the power of the sword, or the authority of kings. And that, if the bishop of Rome, or any other bishop, assumed any such power, he was a tyrant and usurper of other men’s rights, and a subverter of the kingdom of Christ.” This was subscribed by nineteen bishops (all that were then in England), and twenty-five doctors of divinity and law. It was at some time before May 1538; for Edward Fox, bishop of Hereford, who was one that signed it, died the 8th of May that year. There was no convocation

called by writ for doing this. For as there is no mention of any such writ in the registers, so if it had been done by convocation, Cromwell had signed it first; but his hand not being at it, it is more probable that a meeting of the clergy was called by the king's missive letters; or that, as was once done before, the paper was drawn at London, and sent over the kingdom to the episcopal sees for the bishops' hands to it.

There is another original paper extant, signed at this time by eight bishops: from which I conjecture those were all that were then about London. It was to show, "That by the commission which Christ gave to churchmen, they were only ministers of his gospel, to instruct the people in the purity of the faith; but that by other places of scripture the authority of Christian princes over all their subjects, as well bishops and priests as others, was also clear. And that the bishops and priests have charge of souls within their cures, power to administer sacraments, and to teach the word of God: to the which word of God, Christian princes acknowledge themselves subject; and that in case the bishops be negligent, it is the Christian princes' office to see them do their duty." This, being signed by John Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, must be after the year 1537, in which he was consecrated; and Latimer and Shaxton also signing, it must be before the year 1539, in which they resigned. But I believe it was signed at the same time that the other was; and the design of it was to refute those calumnies spread at Rome, as if the king had wholly suppressed all ecclesiastical offices, and denied them any divine authority, making them wholly dependent on the civil power, and acting by commission only from him. And therefore they explained the limits of both these powers, in so clear and moderate a way, that it must have stopped the mouths of all opposers. But whether there was any public use made of this paper I can by no means discover*.

The king did also set forward the printing of the English Bible, which was finished this year, at London, by Grafton the printer, who printed 1500 of them at his own charge. This Bible Cromwell presented to the king, and procured his warrant, allowing all his subjects in all his dominions to read it without control or hazard. For which the archbishop wrote Cromwell a letter of most hearty thanks, dated the 13th of August. Who "did now rejoice that he saw this day of Reformation, which he concluded was now risen in England, since the light of God's word did shine over it without any cloud." The translation had been sent over to France to be printed at Paris, the workmen in England not being judged able to do it as it ought to be. Therefore, in the year 1537, it was recommended to Bonner's care, who was then ambassador at Paris, and was much in Cromwell's favour, who was setting him up against Gardiner. He procured the king of France's leave to print it at Paris, in a large volume: but upon a complaint made by the French clergy, the press was stopped, and most of the copies were seized on and publicly burnt; but some copies were conveyed out of the way, and the workmen and forms were brought over to England, where it was now finished and published. And injunctions were given out in the king's name, by Cromwell, to all incumbents, "to provide one of these Bibles, and set it up publicly in the church, and not to hinder or discourage the reading of it, but to encourage all persons to peruse it, as being the true lively word of God, which every Christian ought to believe, embrace, and follow, if he expected to be saved. And all were exhorted not to make contests about the exposition or sense of any difficult place, but to refer that to men of higher judgment in the Scriptures. Then some other rules were added, about the instructing the people in the principles of religion, by teaching the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, in English. And that in every church there should be a sermon made every quarter of a year at least, to declare to the people the true gospel of Christ, and to exhort them to the works of charity, mercy, and faith; and not to trust in other men's works, or pilgrimages, to images, or relics, or saying over beads, which they did not understand; since these things tended to idolatry and superstition, which, of all offences, did most provoke God's indignation. They were to take down all images which were abused by pilgrimages, or offerings made to them; and to suffer no candles to be set before any image; only there might be candles before the cross,

Collect.
Numb. 10.

The Bible
printed in
English.

New injunctions
set out
by the King.
Collect.
Numb. 11.

* See Addenda at the end of Part I.—Ed.

and before the sacrament, and about the sepulchre. And they were to instruct the people, that images served only as the books of the unlearned, to be remembrances of the conversations of them whom they represented : but if they made any other use of images, it was idolatry : for remedying whereof, as the king had already done in part, so he intended to do more for the abolishing such images, which might be a great offence to God, and a danger to the souls of his subjects. And if any of them had formerly magnified such images or pilgrimages to such purposes, they were ordered openly to recant, and acknowledge that in saying such things they had been led by no ground in Scripture ; but were deceived by a vulgar error which had crept into the church through the avarice of those who had profit by it. They were also to discover all such as were letters of the reading of God's word in English, or hindered the execution of these injunctions. Then followed orders for keeping of registers in their parishes, for reading all the king's injunctions once every quarter at least ; that none were to alter any of the holidays without directions from the king ; and all the eves of the holidays formerly abrogated, were declared to be no fasting-days : the commemoration of Thomas à Becket was to be clean omitted : the kneeling for the *aves* after sermon were also forbidden ; which were said in hope to obtain the pope's pardon. And whereas in their processions they used to say so many suffrages with an *ora pro nobis* to the saints, by which they had not time to say the suffrages to God himself, they were to teach the people that it were better to omit the *ora pro nobis*, and to sing the other suffrages which were most necessary and most effectual."

These injunctions struck at three main points of popery : containing encouragements to the vulgar to read the Scriptures in a known tongue, and putting down all worship of images, and leaving it free for any curate to leave out the suffrages to the saints. So that they were looked on as a deadly blow to that religion. But now those of that party did so artificially comply with the king, that no advantages could be found against any of them for their disobedience. The king was master at home, and no more to be disobeyed. He had not only broken the rebellion of his own subjects, and secured himself by alliance from the dangers threatened him by the pope, but all their expectations from the lady Mary were now clouded : for on the 12th of October 1537, queen Jane had borne him a son, who was christened Edward, the archbishop of Canterbury being one of his god-fathers. This very much encouraged all that were for reformation, and disheartened those who were against it. But the joy for this young prince was qualified by the queen's death two days after *, which afflicted the king very much : for of all his wives, she was the dearest to him. And his grief for that loss is given as the reason why he continued two years a widower. But others thought he had not so much tenderness in his nature as to be much or long troubled for anything : therefore the slowness of his marrying was ascribed to some reasons of state. But the birth of the prince was a great disappointment to all those whose hopes rested on the lady Mary's succeeding her father : therefore they submitted themselves with more than ordinary compliance to the king.

Gardiner was as busy as any in declaiming against the religious houses, and took occasion in many of his sermons to commend the king for suppressing them. The arch-bishop of York had recovered himself at court : and I do not find that he interposed in the suppression of any of the religious houses, except Hexham ; about which he wrote to Cromwell, that it was a great sanctuary when the Scots made inroads : and so he thought that the continuing of it might be of great use to the king. He added in that letter, "that he did carefully silence all the preachers of novelties. But some of these boasted that they would shortly have licences from the king, as he heard they had already from the archbishop of Canterbury ; but he desired Cromwell to prevent that mischief." This is all that I find of him.

There is a pardon granted to Stokesly, bishop of London, on the 3rd of July, in the thirtieth year of his reign, being this year, for having acted by commission from Rome, and sued out bulls from thence. If these crimes were done before the separation from Rome, they were remitted by the general pardon. If he took a particular pardon, it seems strange that it was

* See Note in the first page of Book 1, Part 2, showing that the Queen probably survived the birth of the prince twelve days.—Ed.

not enrolled till now. But I am apt to believe it was rather the omission of a clerk, than his being guilty of such a transgression about this time ; for I see no cause to think the king would have pardoned such a crime in a bishop in those days. All that party had now, by their compliance and submission, gained so much on the king, that he began to turn more to their councils than he had done of late years. Gardiner was returned from France, where he had been ambassador for some years. He had been also in the emperor's court ; and there were violent presumptions that he had secretly reconciled himself to the pope, and entered into a correspondence with him. For one of the legate's servants discoursed of it at Ratisbon, to one of sir Henry Knevet's retinue (who was joined in the embassy with Gardiner), whom he took to be Gardiner's servant, and with whom he had an old acquaintance. The matter was traced, and Knevet spoke with the Italian that had first let it fall, and was persuaded of the truth of the thing. But Gardiner smelling it out, said that Italian, upon whose testimony the whole matter depended, was corrupted to ruin him ; and complained of it to the emperor's chancellor, Granvel : upon which Ludovico (that was the Italian's name) was put in prison. And it seems the king either looked on it as a contrivance of Gardiner's enemies, or at least seemed to do so, for he continued still to employ him. Yet on many occasions he expressed great contempt of him, and used him not as a counsellor, but as a slave. But he was a man of great cunning, and had observed the king's temper exactly, and knew well to take a fit occasion for moving the king in anything, and could improve it dexterously. He therefore represented to the king, that nothing would so secure him, both at home and abroad, against all the mischief the pope was contriving, as to show great zeal against heretics, chiefly the Sacramentaries (by that name they branded all that denied the corporal presence of Christ in the Eucharist). And the king being all his life zealous for the belief of the corporal presence, was the more easily persuaded to be severe on that head : and the rather because the princes of Germany, whose friendship was necessary to him, being all Lutherans, his proceedings against the Sacramentaries would give them no offence.

Gardiner stirs up the King against those called Sacramentaries.

An occasion at that time presented itself as opportunely as they could have wished : one John Nicolson, alias Lambert, was then questioned by the archbishop of Canterbury for that opinion. He had been minister of the English company at

And Lambert in particular.

Antwerp, where, being acquainted with Tindal and Frith, he improved that knowledge of religion which was first infused in him by Bilney. But chancellor More ordered the merchants to dismiss him ; so he came over to England, and was taken by some of archbishop Warham's officers, and many articles were objected to him. But Warham died soon after, and the change of counsels that followed occasioned his liberty. So he kept a school at London, and hearing doctor Taylor, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, preach of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, he came to him upon it, and offered his reasons why he could not believe the doctrine he had preached : which he put in writing, digesting them into ten arguments. Taylor showed this to doctor Barnes, who, as he was bred among the Lutherans, so had not only brought over their opinions, but their temper with him. He thought that nothing would more obstruct the progress of the Reformation than the venting that doctrine in England. Therefore Taylor and he carried the paper to Cranmer, who was at that time also of Luther's opinion *, which he had drunk in from his friend Osiander. Latimer was of the same belief. So Lambert was brought before them, and they studied to make him retract his paper : but all was in vain, for Lambert, by a fatal resolution, appealed to the king.

Who had appealed to the King.

This Gardiner laid hold on, and persuaded the king to proceed solemnly and severely in it. The king was soon prevailed with, and both interest and vanity concurred to make him improve this opportunity for showing his zeal and learning. So letters were written to many of the nobility and bishops to come and see this trial ; in which the king intended to sit in person, and to manage some part of the argument. In November, on the day that was prefixed, there was a great appearance in Westminster-Hall of the bishops and clergy, the

* Cranmer at his trial being asked what doctrine he taught concerning this sacrament, when he condemned Lambert the Sacramentary, expressly says, "I maintained

then the Papists' doctrine." Fox, vol. 3, p. 656. Nor could he well otherwise have argued against Lambert as he then did. To name no more authorities.—ANON. CORRECT.

nobility, judges, and the king's council, with an incredible number of spectators. The king's guards were all in white, and so was the cloth of state.

When the prisoner was brought to the bar, the trial was opened by a speech of doctor
And was publicly tried at Westminster. Dayes, which was to this effect: "That this assembly was not at all convened to dispute about any point of faith, but that the king, being supreme head, intended openly to condemn and confute that man's heresy in all their presence."

Then the king commanded him to declare his opinion about the sacrament. To which Lambert began his answer with a preface, acknowledging the king's great goodness that he would thus hear the causes of his subjects, and commending his great judgment and learning. In this the king interrupted him, telling him in Latin that he came not there to hear his own praises set forth, and therefore commanded him to speak to the matter. This he uttered with a stern countenance; at which Lambert being a little disordered, the king asked him again, whether was Christ's body in the sacrament or not? He answered in the words of St. Austin, "It was his body in a certain manner." But the king bade him answer plainly,

Arguments brought against him. whether it was Christ's body or not? So he answered, "That it was not his body." Upon which the king urged him with the words of Scripture, "This is my body;" and then he commanded the archbishop to confute his opinion, who spoke only to that part of it which was grounded on the impossibility of a body's being in two places at once. And that he confuted from Christ's appearing to St. Paul; showing, that though he is always in heaven, yet he was seen by St. Paul in the air. But Lambert affirmed that he was then only in heaven, and that St. Paul heard a voice, and saw a vision, but not the very body of Christ. Upon this they disputed for some time; in which it seems the bishop of Winchester thought Cranmer argued but faintly, for he interposed in the argument.

Tonstal's arguments run all upon God's omnipotency; that it was not to be limited by any appearances of difficulties, which flowed from our want of a right understanding of things; and our faculties being weak, our notions of impossibilities were proportioned to these. But Stokesley thought he had found out a demonstration that might put an end to the whole controversy; for he showed, that in nature we see one substance changed into another, and yet the accidents remain. So when water is boiled till it evaporates into air, one substance is changed into another, and moisture, that was the accident, remains, it being still moist. This (as one of the eye-witnesses relates) was received with great applause, and much joy appeared in the bishop's looks upon it. But whether the spectators could distinguish well between laughter for joy and a scornful smile, I cannot tell: for certainly this crotchet must have provoked the latter rather, since it was a sophism not to be forgiven any above a junior sophister; thus, from an accidental conversion, where the substance was still the same, only altered in its form and qualities, (according to the language of that philosophy which was then most in vogue,) to infer a substantial mutation, where one substance was annihilated, and a new one produced in its place. But these arguments, it seems, disordered Lambert somewhat; and either the king's stern looks, the variety of the disputants, ten, one after another, engaging with him, or the greatness of the presence, with the length of the action, which continued five hours, put him in some confusion; it is not improbable but they might in the end bring him to be quite silent. This, one that was present said, flowed from his being spent and wearied; and that he saw what he said was little considered: but others ascribed it to his being confounded with the arguments that were brought against him. So the general applause of the hall gave the victory on the king's side. When he was thus silent, the king asked him if he was convinced by these arguments, and whether he would live or die? He answered, That he committed his soul to God, and submitted his body to the king's clemency. But the king told him, if he did not recant he must die, for he would not be a patron of heretics; and since he would not do that, the king ordered Cromwell to read the sentence, (which he as the king's vice-gerent did,) declaring him an incorrigible heretic, and condemning him to be burnt.

He is condemned.

Which was soon after executed in Smithfield, in a most barbarous manner; for when his legs and thighs were burned to the stumps, there not being fire enough to consume the rest of him suddenly, two of the officers raised up his body on their halberds,

he being yet alive, and crying out, None but Christ, none but Christ; and then they let him fall down into the fire, where he was quickly consumed to ashes. He was And burned. a learned and good man. His answers to the articles objected to him by Warham, and a book which in his imprisonment he wrote for justifying his opinion, which he directed to the king, do show both great learning for those times, and a very good judgment.

This being done, the party that opposed the Reformation persuaded the king that he had got so much reputation to himself by it, that it would effectually refute all aspersions which had been cast on him, as if he intended to change the faith: neither did they forget to set on him in his weak side, and magnify all that he had said, as if the oracle had uttered it: by which they said it appeared he was indeed a defender of the faith, and the supreme head of the church. And he had so good a conceit of what was then done, that he intended to pursue these severities further; and therefore soon after he resolved on summoning a parliament, partly for confirming what he had done, and completing what remained to be done further, in the suppression of the monasteries; and likewise for making a new law for punishing some opinions which were then spreading about the sacrament, and some other articles, as will soon appear.

Now the archbishop of Canterbury's interest at court suffered a great diminution. His chief friend among the bishops was Fox, bishop of Hereford, who was much The popish party gain ground at Court. esteemed and employed by the king. He was a privy-councillor, and had been employed in a negotiation with the princes of Germany, to whom he was a very acceptable minister. They proposed, That the king would receive the Augsburg Confession, except in such things as should be altered in it by common consent, and defend it in a free council, if any such were called; and that neither of them should acknowledge any council called by the pope: that the king should be called the patron of their league, and they should mutually assist one another, the king giving 100,000 crowns a-year towards the defence of the league.

The bishop of Winchester being then in France, did much dissuade the king from making a religious league with them; against which he gave some plausible politic reasons, for his conscience never struggled with a maxim of state. But the king liked most of the propositions, only he would not accept the title of defender of their league, till some differences in the doctrine were agreed. So they were to have sent over Sturmius as their agent, and Melancthon, Bucer, and George Draco, to confer with the king's divines. But upon queen Anne's fall this vanished; and though the king entered into a civil league with them, and had frequently a mind to bring over Melancthon, for whom he had a great value, yet it never took effect. There were three things in which the Germans were more positive than in any other point of reformation. These were, the communion in both kinds, the worship in a known tongue, and an allowance for the marriage of the clergy. All the people had got these things in their heads; so that it was generally believed, that if the pope had in time consented to them, the progress of the Reformation had been much stopped. The express words of the institution, and the novelty of the contrary practice, had engaged that nation very early for communion in both kinds. Common sense made them all desire to understand what they did and said in the worship of God; and the lewd and dissolute practices of the unmarried clergy were so public, that they thought the honour of their families, of which that nation is extremely sensible, could not be secured, unless the clergy might have wives of their own. But at these the king stuck more than at other things that were more disputable. For in all other points that were material, he had set up the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession; and there was good ground to hope that the evidence of at least two of these would have brought over the king to a fuller agreement and firmer union with them*. But the bishop of Hereford's death gave a great blow to that design. For though that party thought they had his room well filled, when they had got Bonner to be his successor, yet they found afterwards what a fatal mistake they committed in raising him now to Hereford, and translating him within a few months to London, vacant by Stokesley's death.

Bonner's dissimulation.

* See Addenda, at the end of Part I.

But during the vacancy of the see of Hereford, Cranmer held a visitation in it, where he left some injunctions (to be found in the Collection) which chiefly related to the encouraging of reading the Scriptures, and giving all due obedience to the king's injunctions. For the other bishops that adhered to Cranmer, they were rather clogs than helps to him. Latimer's simplicity and weakness made him be despised: Shaxton's proud and litigious humour drew hatred on him: Barlow was not very discreet; and many of the preachers whom they cherished, whether out of an unbridled forwardness of temper, or a true zeal that would not be managed and governed by politic and prudent measures, were flying at many things that were not yet abolished. Many complaints were brought of these to the king. Upon which letters were sent to all the bishops in the king's name, to take care that as the people should be instructed in the truth, so they should not be unwarily charged with too many novelties; since the publishing these, if it was not tempered with great discretion, would raise much contention, and other inconveniences that might be of dangerous consequence. But it seems this caveat did not produce what was designed by it, or at least the opposite party were still bringing in new complaints: for I have seen an original letter of Cromwell's to the bishop of Landaff, bearing date the 6th of January, in which he makes mention of the king's letters * sent to that purpose and requires him to look to the execution of them, both against the violence of the new preachers, and against those that secretly carried on the pretended authority of the bishop of Rome; otherwise he threatens to proceed against him in another manner. All these things concurred to lessen Cranmer's interest in the court; nor had he any firm friend there but Cromwell, who was also careful to preserve himself: there was not a queen now in the king's bosom to favour their motions. Queen Jane had been their friend, though she came in Anne Boleyn's room, that had supported them most. The king was observed to be much guided by his wives, as long as they kept their interest with him. Therefore Cromwell thought the only way to retrieve a design that was almost lost, was to engage the king in an alliance with some of the princes of Germany, from whence he had heard much of the beauty of the lady Anne of Cleves, the duke of Cleves' sister, whose elder sister was married to the duke of Saxony.

But while he was setting this on foot, a parliament was summoned to meet the 28th of April. To which all the parliamentary abbots had their writs. The abbots of Westminster, St. Albans, St. Mary, York, Glastonbury, Gloucester, Ramsey, Evesham, Peterborough, Reading, Malmesbury, Croyland, Selby, Thorny, Winchester, Waltham, Cirencester, Tewkesbury, and Colchester, sate in it. On the 5th of May the lord chancellor acquainted them that the king, being most desirous to have all his subjects of one mind in religion, and to quiet all controversies about it, had commanded him to move to them, that a committee might be appointed for examining these different opinions, and drawing up articles for an agreement, which might be reported and considered by the house. To this the lords agreed, and named for a committee, Cromwell the vicegerent, the two archbishops, the bishops of Durham, Bath and Wells, Ely, Bangor, Carlisle, and Worcester; who were ordered to go about it with all haste, and were dispensed with for their attendance in the house, till they had ended their business. But they could come to no agreement; for the archbishop of Canterbury, having the bishops of Ely and Worcester to second him, and being favoured by Cromwell, the other five could carry nothing against them: nor would either party yield to the other, so that eleven days passed in these debates. On the 16th of May, the duke of Norfolk told the lords, that the committee that was named had made no progress, for they were not of one mind, which some of the lords had objected, when they were first named. Therefore he offered some articles to the lords' consideration, that they might be examined by the whole house, and that there might be a perpetual law made for the observation of them, after the lords had freely delivered their minds about them. The articles were,

"First, Whether in the eucharist Christ's real body was present without any transubstantiation? (so it is in the journal *absque transubstantiatione*). It seems so the corporal presence had been established, they would have left the manner of it indefinite.

* See Addenda, at the end of Part I.

“ Secondly, Whether that sacrament was to be given to the laity in both kinds ?

“ Thirdly, Whether the vows of chastity, made either by men or women, ought to be observed by the law of God ?

“ Fourthly, Whether by the law of God private masses ought to be celebrated ?

“ Fifthly, Whether priests by the law of God might marry ?

“ Sixthly, Whether auricular confession were necessary by the law of God ? ”

Against these the archbishop of Canterbury argued long. For the first, he was then in his opinion a Lutheran, so he was not like to say much against it. But certainly he opposed the second much, since there was not anything for which those with whom he held correspondence were more earnest, and seemed to have greater advantages, both from Reasons against them. Christ's own words in the institution and the constant practice of the church for twelve ages.

For the Third, It seemed very hard to suppress so many monasteries and set the religious persons at liberty, and yet bind them up to chastity. That same parliament by another act absolved them from their vow of poverty, giving them power to purchase lands : now it was not reasonable to bind them up to some parts of their vow, when they absolved them from the rest. And it was no ways prudent to bind them up from marriage, since as long as they continued in that state, they were still capable to re-enter into their monasteries when a fair occasion should offer ; whereas they upon their marrying did effectually lay down all possible pretensions to their former houses.

For the Fourth, The asserting the necessity of private masses, was a plain condemnation of the king's proceedings in the suppression of so many religious houses, which were societies chiefly dedicated to that purpose. For if these masses did profit the souls departed, the destroying so many foundations could not be justified. And for the living, these private masses were clearly contrary to the first institution, by which that which was blessed and consecrated was to be distributed ; and it was to be a communion, and so held by the primitive church, which admitted none so much as to see the celebration of that sacrament but those who received it, laying censures upon such as were present at the rest of that office, and did not stay and communicate.

For the Fifth, it touched Cranmer to the quick, for he was then married. The Scripture did in no place enjoin the celibat of the clergy. On the contrary, Scripture speaks of their wives, and gives the rules of their living with them. And St. Paul in express words condemns all men's leaving their wives, without exception, saying “ That the man hath not power over his own body but the wife.” In the primitive church, though those that were in orders did not marry, yet such as were married before orders kept their wives, of which there were many instances ; and when some moved in the council of Nice, that all that had been married when they entered into orders should put away their wives, it was rejected, and ever since the Greek churches have allowed their priests to keep their wives. Nor was it ever commanded in the western church, till the popes began their usurpation. Therefore the prohibition of it being only grounded on the papal constitutions, it was not reasonable to keep it up, since that authority on which it was built was now overthrown.

What was said concerning auricular confession*, I cannot so easily recover. For though Cranmer argued three days against these articles, I can only gather the substance of his arguments from what himself wrote on some of these heads afterwards. For nothing remains of what passed there, but what is conveyed to us in the journal, which is short and defective.

On the 24th of May the parliament was prorogued to the 30th, upon what reason it does not appear. It was not to set any of the bills backward ; for it was agreed, that the bills should continue in the state in which they were then, till their next meeting. When they met again, on the 30th of May, being Friday, the lord chancellor intimated to them, that not only the spiritual lords but the king himself had taken much pains to bring things to an agreement, which was effected. Therefore he moved in the king's name, that a bill might be brought in for punishing such as offended against these articles. So the lords appointed the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Ely and St. David's, and doctor

* See Addenda, at the end of Part I.

Peter, a master of chancery, (afterwards secretary of state,) to draw one bill; and the archbishop of York, the bishops of Durham and Winchester, and doctor Tregonnel, another master of chancery, to draw another bill about it; and to have them both ready, and to offer them to the king by Sunday next. But the bill that was drawn by the archbishop of York, and those with him, was best liked; yet it seems the matter was long contested, for it was not brought to the house before the 7th of June, and then the lord chancellor offered it, and it was read the first time. On the 9th of June it had the second reading, and on the 10th it was engrossed and read the third time. But when it passed, the king desired the archbishop of Canterbury to go out of the house, since he could not give his consent to it; but he humbly excused himself, for he thought he was bound in conscience to stay and vote against it. It was sent down to the house of commons, where it met with no great opposition; for on the 14th it was agreed to, and sent up again; and on the 28th it had the force of a law by the royal assent.

The title of it was an act for abolishing diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning Christian religion. It is said in the preamble, the king, "considering the blessed effects of union, and the mischiefs of discord, since there were many different opinions, both among the clergy and laity about some points of religion, had called this parliament and a synod at the same time, for removing these differences, where six articles were proposed, and long debated by the clergy: and the king himself had come in person to the parliament and council, and opened many things of high learning and great knowledge about them; and that he, with the assent of both houses of parliament, had agreed on the following articles. First, That in the sacrament of the altar after the consecration there remained no substance of bread and wine, but under these forms, the natural body and blood of Christ were present. Secondly, That communion in both kinds was not necessary to salvation to all persons by the law of God; but that both the flesh and blood of Christ were together in each of the kinds. Thirdly, That priests after the order of priesthood might not marry by the law of God. Fourthly, That vows of chastity ought to be observed by the law of God. Fifthly, That the use of private masses ought to be continued; which, as it was agreeable to God's law, so men received great benefit by them. Sixthly, That auricular confession was expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained in the church. The parliament thanked the king for the pains he had taken in these articles; and enacted, that if any after the 12th of July did speak, preach, or write against the first article, they were to be judged heretics, and to be burnt without any abjuration, and to forfeit their real and personal estates to the king. And those who preached or obstinately disputed against the other articles, were to be judged felons; and to suffer death as felons, without benefit of clergy. And those, who either in word or writing spake against them, were to be prisoners during the king's pleasure, and forfeit their goods and chattels to the king for the first time; and if they offended so the second time, they were to suffer as felons. All the marriages of priests are declared void, and if any priest did still keep any such woman, whom he had so married and lived familiarly with her as with his wife, he was to be judged a felon: and if a priest lived carnally with any other woman, he was upon the first conviction to forfeit his benefices, goods, and chattels, and to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure; and upon the second conviction was to suffer as a felon. The women so offending, were also to be punished in the same manner as the priests; and those who contemned or abstained from confession or the sacrament at the accustomed times, for the first offence were to forfeit their goods and chattels, and be imprisoned; and for the second, were to be adjudged felony. And for the execution of this act, commissions were to be issued out to all archbishops and bishops, and their chancellors and commissaries, and such others in the several shires as the king should name, to hold their sessions quarterly or oftener, and they were to proceed upon presentments and by a jury. Those commissioners were to swear that they should execute their commission indifferently, without favour, affection, corruption, or malice. All ecclesiastical incumbents were to read this act in their churches once a quarter. And in the end a proviso was added, concerning vows of chastity. That they should not oblige any, except such as had taken them at or above the age of twenty-one years, or had been compelled to take them."

An Act passed
for them.

This act was received by all that secretly favoured popery with great joy; for now they hoped to be revenged on all those who had hitherto set forward a reformation. It very much quieted the bigots, who were now persuaded that the king would not set up heresy, since he passed so severe an act against it, and it made the total suppression of monasteries go the more easily through. The popish clergy liked all the act very well, except that severe branch of it against their unchaste practices. This was put in by Cromwell to make it cut with both edges. (Some of our inconsiderate writers who never perused the statutes tell us it was done by a different act of parliament; but greater faults must be forgiven them who write upon hearsay.) There was but one comfort that the poor reformers could pick out of the whole act, that they were not left to the mercy of the clergy and their ecclesiastical courts, but were to be tried by a jury, where they might expect more candid and gentle dealing. Yet the denying them the benefit of abjuration, was a severity beyond what had ever been put in practice before: so now they began to prepare for new storms and a heavy persecution.

The other chief business of this parliament was the suppression of monasteries. It is said in the preamble of that act, "That divers abbots, priors, and other heads of religious houses, had, since the 4th of February in the twenty-seventh year of the king's reign, without constraint, of their own accord, and according to the due course of the common law, by sufficient writings of record under their convent-seals, given up their houses and all that belonged to them to the king. Therefore all houses that were since that time suppressed, dissolved, relinquished, forfeited, or given up, are confirmed to the king and his successors for ever: and all monasteries that should thereafter be suppressed, forfeited, or given up, are also confirmed to the king and his successors. And all these houses, with the rents belonging to them, were to be disposed of by the court of augmentations for the king's profit, excepting only such as were come into the king's hands by attainders of treason, which belonged to the exchequer,—reserving to all persons, except the patrons, founders, and donors of such houses, the same right to any parts of them or jurisdiction in them, which they could have claimed if that act had never been made. Then followed many clauses for annulling all deeds and leases, made within one year before the suppression of any religious house, to the prejudice of it, or different from what had been granted formerly. And all churches or chapels which belonged to these monasteries, and were formerly exempted from the visitation or jurisdiction of their ordinary, are declared to be within the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese, or of any other that should be appointed by the king."

This act passed in the house of peers, without any protestation made by any of the abbots, though it appears by the journal that at the first reading of it there were eighteen abbots present, at the second reading twenty, and seventeen at the third reading, and the abbots of Glastonbury, Colchester, and Reading, were among those who were present; so little reason there is to think they were attainted for any open withstanding the king's proceedings, when they did not protest against this act, which was so plainly levelled at them. It was soon despatched by the commons, and offered to the royal assent. By it no religious houses were suppressed, as is generally taken for granted; but only the surrenders that either had been or were to be made, were confirmed. The last proviso for annulling all exemptions of churches and chapels had been a great happiness to the church, if it had not been for that clause, that the king might appoint others to visit them, which in a great degree did enervate it. For many of those who afterwards purchased these lands with the impropriated tithes, got this likewise in their grants, that they should be the visitors of the churches and chapels formerly exempted, from whence great disorders have since followed in these churches, which not falling within the bishop's jurisdiction, are thought not liable to his censures,—so that the incumbents in them being under no restraints, have often been scandalous to the church, and given occasion to those who were disaffected to the hierarchy, to censure the prelates for these offences which they could not punish, since the offenders were thus excepted out of their jurisdiction. This abuse, which first sprang from the ancient exemptions that were confirmed or granted by the see of Rome, has not yet met with an effectual remedy.

Upon the whole matter, this suppression of abbeyes was universally censured; and besides the common exceptions which those that favoured the old superstition made, it was ques-

which is variously censured.

An Act about the suppression of the greater Monasteries.

tioned whether the lands that formerly belonged to religious houses ought to have returned to the founders and donors by way of reverter, or to have fallen to the lords of whom the lands were holden by way of escheat, or to have come to the crown. It is true, by the Roman law, or at least by a judgment of the senate in Theodosius's time, the endowments of the heathenish temples were upon a full debate, whether they should return to the right heirs or be confiscated, in the end adjudged to the fisc or the emperor's exchequer, upon this reason, that by the will of the donors they were totally alienated from them and their heirs. But in England it went otherwise: and when the order of the knights-templars was dissolved, it was then judged in favour of the lord by escheat*. For though the founders and donors had totally alienated these lands from themselves and their heirs, yet there was no reason from thence to conclude anything that might wrong the superior lord of his right in the case of an escheat. And this must have held good, if those alienations and endowments had been absolute without any condition. But the endowments being generally rather of the nature of covenants and contracts, and made in consideration of so many masses to be said for their souls, then it was most just, that, upon a non-performance of the condition, and when that public error and cheat which the monks had put upon the world was discovered, the lands should have returned to the founders and patrons, and their heirs and successors. Nor was there any grounds for the lords to pretend to them by escheat, especially where their ancestors had consented to and confirmed those endowments,—therefore there was no need of excluding them by any special proviso. But for the founders and donors, certainly if there had not been a particular proviso made against them, they might have recovered the lands which their ancestors had superstitiously given away; and the surrenders which religious persons made to the crown could not have cut off their title. But this act did that effectually. It is true, many of the greatest of them were of royal foundation, and these would have returned to the crown without dispute.

On the 23d of May, in this session of parliament, a bill was brought in by Cromwell, for giving the king power to erect new bishoprics by his letters patent. It was read that day for the first, second, and third time, and sent down to the Commons. The preamble of it was, "That it was known what slothful and ungodly life had been led by those who were called religious. But that these houses might be converted to better uses; that God's word might be better set forth, children brought up in learning, clerks nourished in the universities, and that old decayed servants might have livings, poor people might have alms-houses to maintain them; readers of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, might have good stipends; daily alms might be ministered, and allowance might be made for mending of the highways, and exhibitions for ministers of the church; for these ends, if the king thought fit to have more bishoprics or cathedral churches erected out of the rents of these houses, full power was given to him to erect, and found them, and to make rules and statutes for them, and such translations of sees, or divisions of them †, as he thought fit." But on this act I must add a singular remark. The preamble and material parts of it were drawn by the king himself, and the first draught of it under his hand is yet extant, which shows his extraordinary application and understanding of business. But in the same paper there is a list of the sees which he intended to found; of which what was done afterwards came so far short, that I know nothing to which it can be so reasonably imputed as the declining of Cranmer's interest at court, who had proposed the erecting of new cathedrals and sees, with other things mentioned in the preamble of the statute, as a great mean for reforming the church. The sees which the king then designed, with the abbeys out of which they were to be erected, follow, as it is in the paper under the king's own hand.

Essex	Waltham, Hartford, St. Albans.	Northampton	} Peterborough.
Bedfordshire	Dunstable.	and	
and	Newenham.	Huntingdon.	
Buckinghamshire.	Clowstown.		

* Quære? Because by the statute *De Terris Templariorum*, neither the king nor the lords were to have by escheat the lands that were the Templars'; but those lands were to remain to the prior and brethren of the Order of

the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.—GRANGER'S CORRECT.

† See Addenda, at the end of Part I.

Leicester and Rutland, Lancashire,	}	Leicester.	Oxford and Berkshire.	}	Osney and Tame.
Suffolk. Nottingham and Derby. Hartford.		Fountaines and the Arch- deaconry of Richmond. Edmonds-bury. Welbeck. Werkop. Thurgarton. St. Albau's.	Middlesex. Gloucestershire. Stafford and Salop. Cornwall.		Westminster. St. Peters.
					Shrewsbury.
					Lanceton. Bedmyne. Wardreth.

Over these is written, "The bishoprics to be made." In another corner of the page he writes as follows :—

"Places to be altered according to our device, which have sees in them : Christ's-church in Canterbury, St. Swithin's, Ely, Durham, Rochester, with a part of Leeds, Worcester, and all others having the same." Then a little below : "Places to be altered into colleges and schools—Burton super Trent." More is not written in that paper. But I wonder much that in this list Chester was forgotten ; yet it was erected before any of them. For I have seen a commission under the privy seal to the bishop of Chester, to take the surrender of the monastery of Hamond in Shropshire, bearing date the 24th of August this year. So it seems the see of Chester was erected and endowed before the act passed, though there is among the rolls a charter for endowing and founding of it afterwards. Bristol is not mentioned in this paper, though a see was afterwards erected there. It was not before the end of the next year that these sees were founded ; and there was in that interval so great a change made, both of the councils and ministers, that no wonder the things now designed were never accomplished.

Another act passed in this parliament concerning the obedience due to the king's proclamations. There had been great exceptions made to the legality of the king's proceedings, in the articles about religion, and other injunctions published by his authority, which were complained of as contrary to law ; since by these the king had without consent of parliament altered some laws, and had laid taxes on his spiritual subjects. Upon which an act passed, which sets forth in the preamble, "the contempt and disobedience of the king's proclamations, by some who did not consider what a king by his royal power might do ; which, if it continued, would tend to the disobedience of the laws of God and the dishonour of the king's majesty (who may full ill bear it). Considering also, that many occasions might require speedy remedies, and that delaying these till a parliament met might occasion great prejudices to the realm, and that the king, by his royal power given of God, might do many things in such cases ; therefore it is enacted, that the king for the time being, with advice of his council, might set forth proclamations with pains and penalties in them, which were to be obeyed as if they were made by an act of parliament. But this was not to be so extended that any of the king's subjects should suffer in their estates, liberties, or persons, by virtue of it ; nor that by it any of the king's proclamations, laws, or customs, were to be broken and subverted." Then follow some clauses about the publishing of proclamations, and the way of prosecuting those who contemned and disobeyed them. It is also added, "That if any offended against them, and in further contempt went out of the realm, he was to be adjudged a traitor. This also gave power to the councillors of the king's successor, if he were under age, to set forth proclamations in his name, which were to be obeyed in the same manner with these set forth by the king himself." This act gave great power to the judges, since there were such restrictions in some branches of it, which seemed to lessen the great extent of the other parts of it, so that the expositors of the law had much referred to them ; upon this act were the great changes of religion in the nonage of Edward VI. grounded.

There is another act, which but collaterally belongs to ecclesiastical affairs, and therefore shall be but slightly touched. It is the act of the precedence of the officers of Precedence. state, by which the lord vicegerent has the precedence of all persons in the kingdom next the royal family : and on this I must make one remark, which may seem very improper for one of my profession, especially when it is an animadversion on one of the

greatest men that any age has produced, the most learned Mr. Selden. He in his *Titles of Honour* says, "That this statute was never printed in the statute-book, and but incorrectly by another, and that therefore he inserts it literally as is in the record." In which there are two mistakes: for it is printed in the statute-book, that was set down in that king's reign, though left out in some latter statute-books, and that which he prints is not exactly according to the record. For as he prints it, the bishop of London is not named in the precedence; which is not according to the parliament-roll, in which the bishop of London has the precedence next the archbishop of York; and though this is corrected in a posthumous edition, yet in that set out by himself it is wanting. Nor is that omission among the errors of the press, for though there are many of these gathered to be amended, this is none of them. This I do not take notice of out of any vanity, or humour of censuring a man so great in all sorts of learning; but my design is only to let ingenious persons see, that they ought not to take things on trust easily, no, not from the greatest authors.

These are all the public acts that relate to religion which were passed in this parliament. *Some Acts* With these there passed an act of attainder of the marquess of Exeter and the of attainders. lord Montacute, with many others, that were either found to have had a great hand in the late rebellion, or were discovered to hold correspondence with cardinal Pole, who was then trafficking with foreign princes, and projecting a league among them against the king. But of this I shall give a more full account at the end of this book,—being there to open the grounds of all the attainders that were passed in these last years of the king's reign. There is one remarkable thing that belongs to this act.

Some were to be attainted in absence; others they had no mind to bring to make their answer, but yet designed to attain them. Such were the marchioness of Exeter, and the countess of Sarum, mother to cardinal Pole, whom by a gross mistake Speed fancies to have been condemned without arraignment or trial, as Cromwell had been by parliament,—for she was now condemned a year before him. About the justice of doing this there was some debate; and to clear it Cromwell sent for the judges and asked their opinions, whether a man might be attainted in parliament without being brought to make his answer? They said it was a dangerous question. That the parliament ought to be an example to all inferior courts; and that when any person was charged with a crime, he, by the common rule of justice and equity, should be heard to plead for himself. But the parliament being the supreme court of the nation, what way soever they proceeded, it must be good in law; and it could never be questioned whether the party was brought to answer or not: and thus a very ill precedent was made, by which the most innocent person in the world might be ruined. And this, as has often been observed in the like cases, fell very soon heavily on the author of the counsel, as shall appear.

When the Parliament was prorogued, on the 28th of June, the king apprehending that the archbishop of Canterbury might be much cast down with the act for the six articles, sent for him and told him, that he had heard how much, and with what learning, he had argued against it; and therefore he desired he would put all his arguments in writing, and bring them to him. Next day he sent the *The King's care of Cran-* dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the lord Cromwell, to dine with him; order- *Antiq. Brit. in vita Cran-* ing them to assure him of the king's constant and unshaken kindness to him, and to encourage him all they could. When they were at table with him at Lambeth, they run out much on his commendation, and acknowledged he had opposed the act with so much learning, gravity, and eloquence, that even those that differed from him were much taken with what he said, and that he needed fear nothing from the king. Cromwell saying, that this difference the king put between him and all his other councillors, that when complaints were brought of others, the king received them, and tried the truth of them; but he would not so much as hearken to any complaint of the archbishop. From that he went on to make a parallel between him and cardinal Wolsey: that the one lost his friends by his haughtiness and pride, but the other gained on his enemies by his gentleness and mildness. Upon which the duke of Norfolk said, he might best speak of the cardinal, for he knew him well, having been his man. This nettled Cromwell, who answered, that though he had served him, yet he never liked his manners; and that though the cardinal had designed, (if his attempt for the pope-

dom had been successful), to have made him his admiral, yet he had resolved not to accept of it, nor to leave his country *. To which the duke of Norfolk replied, with a deep oath, that he lied; with other reproachful language. This troubled Cranmer extremely, who did all he could to quiet and reconcile them. But now the enmity between those two great ministers broke out to that height, that they were never afterwards hearty friends.

But Cranmer went about that which the king had commanded: and made a book of the reasons that led him to oppose the six articles, in which the places out of the Scriptures, the authorities of the ancient doctors, with the arguments drawn from these, were all digested in a good method. This he commanded his secretary to write out in a fair hand, that it might be given the king. The secretary returning with it from Croydon, where the archbishop was then, to Lambeth,

found the key of his chamber was carried away by the archbishop's almoner; so that he being obliged to go over to London, and not daring to trust the book to any other's keeping, carried it with himself, where both he and the book met with an unlooked-for encounter. Some others that were with him in the wherry would needs go to the Southwark side, to look on a bear-baiting that was near the river, where the king was in person. The bear broke loose into the river, and the dogs after her. They that were in the boat leaped out, and left the poor secretary alone there. But the bear got into the boat, with the dogs about her, and sunk it. The secretary, apprehending his life was in danger, did not mind his book, which he lost in the water. But being quickly rescued and brought to land, he begun to look for his book, and saw it floating in the river. So he desired the bearward to bring it to him; who took it up, but before he would restore it, put it into the hands of a priest that stood there, to see what it might contain. The priest reading a little in it found it a confutation of the six articles; and told the bearward that whosoever claimed it would be hanged for his pains. But the archbishop's secretary, thinking to mend the matter, said it was his lord's book. This made the bearward more intractable, for he was a spiteful papist, and hated the archbishop; so that no offers nor intreaties could prevail with him to give it back. Whereupon Morice (that was the secretary's name) went and opened the matter to Cromwell the next day; Cromwell was then going to court, and he expected to find the bearward there, looking to deliver the book to some of Cranmer's enemies; he therefore ordered Morice to go along with him; where, as they had expected, they found the fellow with the book about him; upon whom Cromwell called, and took the book out of his hands, threatening him severely for his presumption in meddling with a privy councillor's book.

But though Cranmer escaped this hazard, yet in London the storm of the late act was falling heavily on them that were obnoxious. Shaxton and Latimer, the bishops of Salisbury and Worcester, within a week after the session of Parliament, as it appears, resigned their bishoprics. For on the 7th of July the chapters of these churches petitioned the king for his leave to fill those sees, they being then vacant by the free resignation of the former bishops. Upon which the *congé d'élire* for both was granted. Nor was this all, but they being presented as having spoken against the six articles, were put in prison, where the one lay till the king died, and the other till a little before his death, as shall be shown in its proper place. There were also commissions issued out for proceeding upon that statute; and those who were commissioned for London were all secret favourers of popery; so they proceeded most severely, and examined many witnesses against all who were presented; whom they interrogated not only upon the express words of the statute, but upon all such collateral or presumptive circumstances as might entangle them, or conclude them guilty. So that in a very little while five hundred persons were put in prison, and involved in the breach of the statute. Upon this not only Cranmer and Cromwell, but the duke of Suffolk and Audley the chancellor, represented to the king how hard it would be, and of what ill consequence, to execute the law upon so many persons. So the king was prevailed with to pardon them all; and I find no further proceeding upon this statute till Cromwell fell.

* Fox adds another passage of that discourse between Cromwell and the duke of Norfolk: "that he was never so far in love with Wolsey as to have waited on him to

Rome, as he understood the Duke of Norfolk would have done."—FELMAN'S CORRECT.

But the opposite party used all the arts possible to insinuate themselves into the king. And therefore, to show how far their compliance would go, Bonner took a strange commission from the king on the 12th of November this year. It has been certainly enrolled, but it is not there now, so that I judge it was rased in that suppression of records which was in queen Mary's time. But, as men are commonly more careless at home, Bonner has left it on record in his own register. Whether the other bishops took such commissions from this king, I know not. But I am certain there is none such in Cranmer's register: and it is not likely, if any such had been taken out by him, that ever it would have been rased. The commission itself will be found in the collection of papers at the end. The substance of it is, "That since all jurisdictions, both ecclesiastical and civil, flowed from the king as supreme head, and he was the foundation of all power, it became those who exercised it only (*precario*) at the king's courtesy, gratefully to acknowledge, that they had it only of his bounty; and to declare that they would deliver it up again when it should please him to call for it. And since the king had constituted the lord Cromwell his vicegerent in ecclesiastical affairs, yet because he could not look into all those matters, therefore the king, upon Bonner's petition, did empower him in his own stead, to ordain such as he found worthy to present and give institution, with all the other parts of episcopal authority, for which he is duly commissioned; and this to last during the king's pleasure only. And all the parts of the episcopal function being reckoned up, it concluded with a strict charge to the bishop to ordain none but such of whose integrity, good life, and learning, he had very good assurance. For as the corruptions of the Christian doctrine, and of men's manners, had chiefly proceeded from ill pastors, so it was not to be doubted but good pastors, well chosen, would again reform the Christian doctrine and the lives of Christians." After he had taken this commission, Bonner might have been well called one of the king's bishops. The true reason of this profound compliance was, that the popish party apprehended that Cranmer's great interest with the king was chiefly grounded on some opinions he had of the ecclesiastical officers being as much subject to the king's power as all other civil officers were. And this having endeared him so much to the king, therefore they resolved to outdo him in that point. But there was this difference, that Cranmer was once of that opinion, and if he followed it at all, it was out of conscience; but Bonner, against his conscience (if he had any), complied with it.

Now followed the final dissolution of the abbeys; there are fifty-seven surrenders upon record this year. The originals of about thirty of these are yet to be seen. Thirty-seven of them were abbeys or priories, and twenty nunneries. The good house of Godstow now fell with the rest, though among the last of them. Now the great parliament abbots surrendered apace, as those of Westminster, St. Albans, St. Edmundsbury, Canterbury, St. Mary in York, Selby, St. Peter's in Gloucester, Cirencester, Waltham, Winchcombe, Malmsbury, and Battel. Three others were attained, Glastonbury, Reading, and Colchester. The deeds of the rest are lost. Here it will not be unacceptable to the reader to know who were the parliamentary abbots. There were in all twenty-eight, as they were commonly given. Fuller has given a catalogue of them in three places of his history of abbeys; but as every one of these differs from the others, so none of them are according to the journals of parliament; the lord Herbert is also mistaken in his account. I shall not rise higher in my inquiry than this reign, for anciently many more abbots and priors sate in parliament, beside other clergy that had likewise their writs, and of whose right to sit in the house of commons there was a question moved in Edward the Sixth's reign, as shall be opened in its proper place. Much less will I presume to determine so great a point in law, whether they sate in the house of lords, as being a part of the ecclesiastical state, or as holding their lands of the king by baronage. I am only to observe the matter of fact, which is, that in the journals of parliament in this reign these twenty-eight abbots had their writs: Abingdon, St. Alban's, St. Austin's Canterbury, Battle, St. Bennet's in the Holm, Berdeny, Cirencester, Colchester, Coventry, Croyland, St. Edmundsbury, Evesham, Glastonbury, Gloucester, Hyde, Malmsbury, St. Mary's in York, Peterborough, Ramsey, Reading, Selby, Shrewsbury, Tavistock, Tewkesbury, Thorney, Waltham, Westminster, and Wincheleomb; to whom also the prior of St. John's may be added. But besides all

Collect.
Numb. 14.



Engraved by J. Smith

SIR NICHOLAS BACON.

OB. 1579.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF ZUCCHERO, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London: Published by J. Bland, in Pall Mall, 1796.

these, I find that in the twenty-eighth year of this king the abbot of Burton-upon-Trent sat in parliament. Generally Coventry and Burton were held by the same man, as one bishop held both Coventry and Litchfield; but in that year they were held by two different persons, and both had their writs to that parliament. The method used in the suppression of these houses will appear by one complete report made of the suppression of the abbey of Tewksbury, which, out of many I copied, is in the collection. From it the reader will see what

Collect. provision was made for the abbot, the prior, the other officers, and the monks,
 Numb. 3. and other servants of the house; and what buildings they ordered to be defaced,
 Sect. 5. and what to remain; and how they did estimate the jewels, plate, and other ornaments. But monasteries were not sufficient to stop the appetite of some that were about

Some hospi- the king, for hospitals were next looked after. One of these was this year
 tals surren- surrendered by Thomas Thirleby, with two other priests; he was master of St.
 dered. Thomas's hospital in Southwark, and was designed bishop of Westminster, to which he made his way by that resignation. He was a learned and modest man, but of so fickle or cowardly a temper, that he turned always with the stream in every change that was made, till queen Elizabeth came to the crown; but then, being ashamed of so many turns, he resolved to show he could once be firm to somewhat.

Now were all the monasteries of England suppressed, and the king had then in his hand the greatest opportunity of making royal and noble foundations that ever king of England had. But, whether out of policy to give a general content to the gentry, by selling to them at low rates, or out of easiness to his courtiers, or out of an unmeasured lavishness in his expense, it came far short of what he had given out he would do, and what himself seemed once to have designed. The clear yearly value of all the suppressed houses is cast up, in an account then stated to be, viz. 131,607*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* as the rents were then rated, but was at least ten times so much in true value. Of which he designed to convert 18,000*l.* into a revenue for eighteen bishopricks and cathedrals. But of these he only erected six, as shall be afterwards shown. Great sums were indeed laid out on building and fortifying many ports in the channel, and other parts of England, which were raised by the sale of abbey-lands.

At this time many were offering projects for noble foundations, on which the king seemed very earnest: but it is very likely, that before he was aware of it he had so outrun himself in his bounty that it was not possible for him to bring these to any effect. Yet I shall set down one of the projects, which shows the greatness of his mind that designed it; that is, of sir Nicholas Bacon, who was afterwards

one of the wisest ministers that ever this nation bred. The king designed to found a house for the study of the civil law, and the purity of the Latin and French tongues. So he ordered sir Nicholas Bacon and two others, Thomas Denton and Robert Cary, to make a full project

In Biblioth. of the nature and orders of such a house, who brought it to him in a writing; the
 Nob. D. D. original whereof is yet extant. The design of it was, that there should be
 Guil. Pier- frequent pleadings, and other exercises, in the Latin and French tongues; and
 point. when the king's students were brought to some ripeness, they should be sent with

his ambassadors to foreign parts, and trained up in the knowledge of foreign affairs; and so the house should be the nursery for ambassadors. Some were also to be appointed to write the history of all embassies, treaties, and other foreign transactions: as also of all arraignments, and public trials at home. But before any of them might write on these subjects, the lord chancellor was to give them an oath, that they should do it truly, without respect of persons, or any other corrupt affection. This noble design miscarried; but if it had been well laid and regulated, it is easy to gather what great and public advantages might have flowed from it. Among which, it is not inconsiderable, that we should have been delivered from a rabble of ill-writers of history, who have without due care or inquiry delivered to us the transactions of that time so imperfectly, that there is still need of inquiring into registers and papers for these matters: which in such a house had been more certainly and clearly conveyed to posterity than can be now expected at such a distance of time; and after such a rasure of records, and other confusions, in which many of these papers have been lost. And this help was the more necessary, after the suppression of religious houses, in most of which

a chronicle of the times was kept, and still filled up as new transactions came to their knowledge. It is true, most of these were written by men of weak judgments, who were more punctual in delivering fables and trifles than in opening observable transactions. Yet some of them were men of better understandings, and it is like were directed by their abbots, who, being lords of parliament, understood affairs well: only an invincible humour of lying, when it might raise the credit of their religion, or order, or house, runs through all their manuscripts.

One thing was very remarkable, which was this year granted at Cranmer's intercession.

A Proclamation about the free use of the Scriptures. Collect. Numb. 15.

There was nothing could so much recover reformation, that was declining so fast, as the free use of the Scriptures; and though these had been set up in the churches a year ago, yet he pressed, and now procured leave, for private persons to buy Bibles, and keep them in their houses. So this was granted by letters-patent directed to Cromwell, bearing date the 13th of November. The substance of which was, "That the king was desirous to have his subjects attain the knowledge of God's word, which could not be effected by any means so well as by granting them the free and liberal use of the Bible in the English tongue; which, to avoid dissension, he intended should pass among them only by one translation. Therefore Cromwell was charged to take care, that for the space of five years there should be no impression of the Bible, or any part of it, but only by such as should be assigned by him. But Gardiner opposed this all he could; and one day, in a conference before the king, he provoked Cranmer to show any difference between the authority of the Scriptures and of the apostolical canons, which he pretended were equal to the other writings of the apostles: upon which they disputed for some time. But the king perceived solid learning tempered with great modesty in what Cranmer said, and nothing but vanity and affectation in Gardiner's reasonings. So he took him up sharply, and told him that Cranmer was an old and experienced captain, and was not to be troubled by freshmen and novices.

The great matter of the king's marriage came on at this time. Many reports were brought the king of the beauty of Anne of Cleves, so that he inclined to ally himself with that family. Both the emperor and the king of France had courted him to matches which they had projected. The emperor proposed the duchess of Milan, his kinswoman, and daughter to the king of Denmark. He was then designing to break the league of Smalcald, and to make himself master of Germany: and therefore he took much pains with the king to divide him from the princes there, which was in great part effected by the statute for the six articles. Upon which the ambassadors of the princes had complained, and said, that whereas the king had been in so fair a way of union with them, he had now broke it off, and made so severe a law about communion in one kind, private masses, and the celibate of the clergy, which differed so much from their doctrine, that they could entertain no further correspondence with him if that law was not mitigated. But Gardiner wrought much on the king's vanity and passions, and told him that it was below his dignity and high learning to have a company of dull Germans and small princes dictate to him in matters of religion. There was also another thing which he oft made use of (though it argues somewhere a great ignorance of the constitution of the empire), that the king could not expect these princes would ever be for his supremacy; since, if they acknowledged that in him, they must likewise yield it to the emperor. This was a great mistake: for as the princes of Germany never acknowledged the emperor to have a sovereignty in their dominions, so they did acknowledge the diet, in which the sovereignty of the empire lies, to have the power of making or changing what laws they pleased about religion. And in things that were not determined by the diet, every prince pretended to it as highly in his own dominions as the king could do in England. But as untrue as this allegation was, it served Gardiner's turn; for the king was sufficiently irritated with it against the princes, so that there was now a great coldness in their correspondence. Yet the project of a match with the duchess of Milan failing, and those proposed by France not being acceptable, Cromwell moved the king about an alliance with the duke of Cleves; who, as he was the emperor's neighbour in Flanders, had also a pretension to the duchy of Guelders, and his eldest daughter was married to the duke of Saxony. So that the king having then some

apprehensions of a war with the emperor, this seemed a very proper alliance to give him a diversion.

There had been a treaty between her father and the duke of Lorraine, in order to a match between the duke of Lorraine's son and her. But they both being under age, it went no further than a contract between their fathers. Hans Holbein having taken her picture, sent it over to the king: but in that he bestowed the common compliment of his art somewhat too liberally on a lady that was in a way to be queen. The king liked the picture better than the original when he had the occasion afterwards to compare them. The duke of Saxony, who was very zealous for the Augsburg confession, finding the king had declined so much from it, dissuaded the match. But Cromwell set it on mightily, expecting a great support from a queen of his own making: whose friends being all Lutherans, it tended also to bring down the popish party at court, and again to recover the ground they had now lost. Those that had seen the lady did much commend her beauty and person; but she could speak no language but Dutch, to which the king was a stranger; nor was she bred to music, with which the king was much taken. So that except her person had charmed him, there was nothing left for her to gain upon him by. After some months' treaty, one of the counts palatine of the Rhine, with other ambassadors from the duke of Saxony, and her brother the duke of Cleves (for her father was lately dead), came over, and concluded the match.

In the end of December, she was brought over to England; and the king, being impatient to see her, went down incognito to Rochester. But when he had a sight of her, finding none of those charms which he was made believe were in her, he was so extremely surprised, that he not only did not like her, but took an aversion to her, which he could never after overcome. He swore they had brought over a Flanders mare to him, and was very sorry he had gone so far, but glad it had proceeded no further. And presently he resolved, if it were possible, to break off the matter, and never to yoke himself with her. But his affairs were not then in such a condition that he could safely put that affront on the dukes of Saxony and Cleves, which the sending back of this lady would have done. For the Germans being of all nations most sensible of everything in which the honour of their family is touched, he knew they would resent such an injury. And it was not safe for him to adventure that at such a time; for the emperor was then in Paris, whither he had gone to an interview with Francis. And his reception was not only as magnificent as could be, but there was all the evidence possible of hearty friendship and kindness. The king also understood that between them there was somewhat projected against himself. And now Francis, that had been as much obliged by him as possibly one prince could be by another, was not only forgetful of it, but intended to take advantage, from the distractions and discontents of the English, to drive them out of France if it were possible. And it is not to be doubted, but the emperor would gladly have embroiled these two kings, that he might have a better opportunity both to make himself master of Germany, and to force the king of England into an alliance by which the lady Mary should be legitimated, and the princes of Germany be left destitute of a support which made them insolent and intractable. The king apprehended the conjunction of those two great princes against himself, which was much set forward by the pope; and that they would set up the king of Scotland against him, who, with that foreign assistance, and the discontents at home, would have made war upon great advantages; especially those in the north of England being ill affected to him: and therefore he judged it necessary for his affairs not to lose the princes of Germany. Only he resolved, first, to try if any nullities or pre-contracts could excuse him fairly at their hands. He returned to Greenwich very melancholy. He much blamed the earl of Southampton, who, being sent over to receive her at Calais, had written a high commendation of her beauty. But he excused himself, that he thought the thing was so far gone that it was decent to write as he had done. The king lamented his condition in that marriage, and expressed great trouble both to the lord Russell, sir Anthony Brown, sir Anthony Denny, and others about him. The last of those told him, "this was one advantage that mean persons had over princes: that great princes must take such wives as are brought them, whereas meaner persons go and choose wives for themselves." But when the king saw Cromwell, he gave his grief a freer vent to him. He, finding the king

so much troubled, would have cast the chief blame on the earl of Southampton, for whom he had no great kindness : and said, when he found her so far short of what reports and pictures had made her, he should have stayed her at Calais till he had given the king notice of it. But the earl's commission being only to bring her over, he said, it had been too great a presumption in him to have interposed in such a manner. And the king was convinced he was in the right. So now, all they had to insist on was the clearing of that contract that had passed between her and the marquis of Lorraine : which the ambassadors, who had been with the king, had undertaken should be fully done, and brought over with her in due form of law. So after the lady was brought in great state to Greenwich, the council met, and sent for the ambassadors of the duke of Cleves that conducted her over ; and desired to see what they had brought for clearing the breach of that contract with the marquis of Lorraine. But they had brought nothing, and made no account of it ; saying, that the contract was in their minority, when they could give no consent ; and that nothing had followed on it after they came to be of age. But this did not satisfy the king's council, who said these were but their words, and they must see better proofs. The king's marriage was annulled with Anne Boleyn upon a pre-contract ; therefore he must not again run the like hazard. So Olisleger and Hogesden, the ambassadors from Cleves, did by a formal instrument protest before Cromwell, that in a peace made between their late master John duke of Cleves and Anthony duke of Lorraine one of the conditions was, that this lady, being then under age, should be given in marriage to Francis, son to the duke of Lorraine, who was likewise under age ; which treaty they affirmed they saw and read. But that afterwards Henry de Groffe, ambassador of Charles duke of Guelders, upon whose mediation that peace had been concluded, declared in their hearing that the espousals were annulled and of no effect ; and that this was registered in the chancery of Cleves, of which they promised to bring an authentical extract within three months to England. Some of the councillors, who knew the king's secret dislike of her person, would have insisted more on this ; but the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Durham said, if there was no more than that, it could be no just hinderance to the solemnisation of the marriage. So the king, seeing there was no remedy, and being much pressed both by the ministers of Cleves and by the lord Cromwell,

1540. married her on the 6th of January : but expressed so much aversion and dislike
 But yet mar- of her, that everybody about him took notice of it. Next day the lord Cromwell
 ries her. asked him how he liked her then : he told him he was not every man, therefore
 he would be free with him : he liked her worse than he did. He suspected she was no
 maid, and had such ill smells about her, that he loathed her more than ever, and did not
 And could believe he should ever consummate the marriage. This was sad news to Cromwell,
 never love who knew well how delicate the king was in these matters ; and that so great
 her. a misfortune must needs turn very heavy on him, that was the chief promoter of
 it. He knew his enemies would draw great advantages from this, and understood the king's
 temper too well to think his greatness would last long if he could not induce the king to like
 the queen better. But that was not to be done ; for though the king lived five months with
 her in that state, and very oft lay in the bed with her, yet his aversion rather increased than
 abated. She seemed not much concerned at it ; and as their conversation was not great, so
 she was of a heavy composition, and was not much displeased to be delivered from a marriage
 in which she had so little satisfaction. Yet one thing shows that she wanted not capacity ;
 for she learned the English language very soon : and before her marriage was annulled, she
 spoke English freely, as appears by some of the depositions.

There was an instrument brought over from Cleves, taken out of the chancery there ; by which it appeared, that Henry de Groffe, ambassador from the duke of Gueldres, had, on the 15th of February, in the year 1535, declared the nullity of the former contract in express words, which are set down in high Dutch, but thus put in Latin : "*Sponsalia illa progressum suum non habitura* (I will not answer for the Latin), *ex quo dictus Dux Carolus admodum doleret, et propterea quædam fecisset, et amplius facturus esset.*" And Pallandus, that was ambassador from the duke of Cleves in the duke of Gueldres's court, wrote to his master, "*Illustrissimum Ducem Gueldriæ certo scire prima illa Sponsalia inter Domicellam Annam fore inania et progressum suum non habitura.*" When this was showed the king, his council

found great exceptions to it, upon the ambiguity of the word *Sponsalia* ; it not being expressed whether they were espousals by the words of the present or of the future tense, and intended to make use of that when there should be a fit opportunity for it.

On the 12th of April, a session of parliament was held. The Journal shows that neither the abbot of Westminster nor any other abbot was present. After the lord chancellor had opened the reasons for the king's meeting them at that time, as they related to the civil government, Cromwell, as lord vicegerent, spake next in the king's name, and said : " There was nothing which the king so much desired as a firm union among all his subjects, in which he placed his chief security. He knew there were many incendiaries, and much cockle grew up with the wheat. The rashness and licentiousness of some, and the inveterate superstition and stiffness of others in the ancient corruptions, had raised great dissensions, to the sad regret of all good Christians. Some were called papists, other heretics ; which bitterness of spirit seemed the more strange, since now the holy Scriptures, by the king's great care of his people, were in all their hands, in a language which they understood. But these were grossly perverted by both sides, who studied rather to justify their passions out of them than to direct their belief by them. The king leaned neither to the right nor to the left hand, neither to the one nor the other party, but set the pure and sincere doctrine of the Christian faith only before his eyes : and therefore was now resolved to have this set forth to his subjects without any corrupt mixtures ; and to have such decent ceremonies continued, and the true use of them taught, by which all abuses might be cut off, and disputes about the exposition of the Scriptures cease ; that so all his subjects might be well instructed in their faith, and directed in the reverent worship of God ; and resolved to punish severely all transgressors, of what sort or side soever they were. The king was resolved, that Christ, that the gospel of Christ, and the truth, should have the victory ; and therefore had appointed some bishops and divines to draw up an exposition of those things that were necessary for the institution of a Christian man : who were, the two archbishops, the bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Rochester, Hereford, and St. David's ; and doctors Thirleby, Robertson, Cox, Day, Oglethorp, Redmayn, Edgeworth, Crayford, Symonds, Robins, and Tresham. He had also appointed others to examine what ceremonies should be retained, and what was the true use of them : who were, the bishops of Bath and Wells, Ely, Sarum, Chichester, Worcester, and Llandaff. The king had also commanded the judges, and other justices of the peace, and persons commissioned for the execution of the act formerly passed, to proceed against all transgressors, and punish them according to law." And he concluded with a high commendation of the king, whose due praises, he said, a man of far greater eloquence than himself was, could not fully set forth. The lords approved of this nomination, and ordered that these committees should sit constantly on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays ; and on other days they were to sit in the afternoon. But their proceedings will require so full a relation, that I shall first open the other affairs that passed in this session, and leave these to the last.

On the 14th of April the king created Cromwell earl of Essex ; the male line of the Bouchiers that had carried that title being extinguished. This shows that the true causes of Cromwell's fall must be found in some other thing than his making up the king's marriage, who had never thus raised his title if he had intended so soon to pull him down.

On the 22d of April a bill was brought in for suppressing the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. Their first foundation was to be a guard to the pilgrims that went to the Holy Land. For some ages that was extolled as the highest expression of devotion and reverence to our Saviour, to go and view the places of his abode, and chiefly the places where he was crucified, buried, and ascended to heaven. Upon which many entered into a religious knighthood, who were to defend the Holy Land and conduct the pilgrims. Those were of two sorts ; the knights-templars and hospitallers. The former were the greater and richer, but the other were also very considerable. The popes and their clergy did everywhere animate all princes and great persons to undertake expeditions into these parts ; which were very costly and dangerous, and proved fatal to almost all the princes that made them. Yet the belief of the pains of

A Parli-
ament called.

Where Crom-
well speaks as
Lord vicege-
rent.

He is made
Earl of Essex.

The Sup-
pression of
the Knights
of St. John of
Jerusalem.

purgatory, from which all were delivered by the pope's power, who went on this expedition ; such as died in it being also reckoned martyrs, wrought wonderfully on a blind and superstitious age. But such as could not go were persuaded, that if on their deathbeds they vowed to go upon their recovery, and left some lands to maintain a knight that should go thither and fight against the infidels, it would do as well. Upon this great and vast endowments were made. But there were many complaints made of the templars for betraying and robbing the pilgrims and other horrid abuses, which may reasonably be believed to have been true ; though other writers of that age lay the blame rather on the covetousness of the king of France and the pope's malice to them : yet in a general council the whole order was condemned and suppressed, and such of them as could be taken were cruelly put to death. The order of the hospitalers stood, yet did not grow much after that. They were beaten out of the Holy Land by the Sultans, and lately out of the Isle of Rhodes, and were at this time in Malta. Their great master depended on the pope and the emperor : so it was not thought fit to let a house that was subject to a foreign power stand longer ; and it seems they would not willingly surrender up their house as others had done. Therefore it was necessary to force them out of it by an act of parliament ; which on the 22d of April was read the first time, and on the 26th the second time, and on the 29th the third time ; by which both their house in England, and another they had in Kilmainham in Ireland, were suppressed ; great pensions being reserved by the act to the priors, 1000*l.* to him of St. John's near London, and 500 marks to the other, with very considerable allowances for the knights, which in all amounted near to 3000*l.* yearly. But on the 14th of May the parliament was prorogued to the 25th, and a vote passed that their bills should remain in the state they were in.

Upon their next meeting, as they were going on their business, a great change of court broke out. For on the 13th of June, at the council table, the duke of Norfolk in the king's name challenged the lord Cromwell of high treason, and arresting him, sent him prisoner to the Tower. He had many enemies among all sorts of persons. The nobility despised him, and thought it lessened the greatness of their titles to see the son of a blacksmith raised so many degrees above them. His aspiring to the order of the garter was thought inexcusable vanity : and his having so many places heaped on him, as lord privy seal, lord chamberlain of England, and lord vicegerent, with the mastership of the Rolls, with which he had but lately parted, drew much envy on him. All the popish party hated him out of measure. The suppression of the abbeys was laid wholly at his door : the attainders and all other severe proceedings were imputed to his counsels. He was also thought to be the person that had kept the king and the emperor at such distance : and therefore the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner, beside private animosities, hated him on that account. And they did not think it impossible, if he were out of the way, to bring on a treaty with the emperor, which they hoped would open the way for one with the pope. But other more secret reasons wrought his ruin with the king. The fear he was in of a conjunction between the emperor and France did now abate ; for he understood that it went no further than compliments. And though he clearly discovered, having sent over the duke of Norfolk to Francis, that he was not to depend much on his friendship ; yet at the same time he knew that the emperor would not yield up the duchy of Milan to him, upon which his heart was much set. So he saw they could come to no agreement ; therefore he made no great account of the loss of France, since he knew the emperor would willingly make an alliance with him ; the hopes of which made him more indifferent, whether the German princes were pleased with what he did or not ; since he had now attained the end he had proposed to himself in all his negotiations with them, which was to secure himself from any trouble the emperor might give him. Therefore Cromwell's counsels were now disliked, for he had always inclined the king to favour those princes against the emperor. Another secret cause was, that as the king had an unconquerable aversion to his queen, so

The King in love with Mistress Katharine Howard.

he was taken with the beauty and behaviour of Mistress Katharine Howard, daughter to the lord Edmond Howard, a brother of the duke of Norfolk's. And as this designed match raised the credit of her uncle, so the ill consequences of the former drew him down who had been the chief counsellor in it. The

king also found his government was grown uneasy, and therefore judged it was no ill policy to cast over all that had been done amiss upon a minister who had great power with him : and being now in disgrace, all the blame of these things would be taken off from the king and laid on him, and his ruin would much appease discontents, and make them more moderate in censuring the king on his proceedings. It is said that other particulars were charged on him, which lost him the king's favour. If this be true, it is like they related to the encouragement he was said to have given to some reformers, in the opposition they made to the six articles, upon the execution of which the king was now much set. His fall was so secretly carried, that though he had often before looked for it, knowing the king's uneasy and jealous temper ; yet at that time he had no apprehensions of it, till the storm broke upon him. In his fall he had the common fate of all disgraced ministers, to be forsaken by

his friends, and insulted over by his enemies. Only Cranmer retained still so much of his former simplicity that he could never learn these court arts ; therefore he wrote to the king about him next day, " he much magnified his diligence in the king's service and preservation, and discovering all plots as soon as they were made ; that he had always loved the king above all things and served him with great fidelity and success : that he thought no king of England had ever such a servant ; upon that account he had loved him as one that loved the king above all others ; but if he was a traitor he was glad it was discovered ; but he prayed God earnestly to send the king such a counsellor in his stead, who could and would serve him as he had done." This shows both the firmness of Cranmer's friendship to him and that he had a great soul, not turned by the changes of men's fortunes to like or dislike them, as they stood or declined from their greatness ; and had not the king's kindness for Cranmer been deeply rooted this letter had ruined him ; for he was the most impatient of contradiction in such cases that could be. Cromwell's ruin was now decreed, and he who had so servilely complied with the king's pleasure in procuring some to be attainted the year before without being brought to make their answer, fell now under the same severity. For whether it was that his enemies knew, that if he were brought to the bar he would so justify himself that they would find great difficulties in the process ; or whether it was that they blindly resolved to follow that unjustifiable precedent of passing over so necessary a rule to all courts of giving the party accused a hearing ; the bill of attainder was brought into the house of lords, Cranmer being absent that day, as appears by the Journal on the 17th of June, and read the first time, and on the 19th was read the second and third time, and sent down to the commons ; by which it appears how few friends he had in that house, when a bill of that nature went on so hastily. But it seems he found in the house of commons somewhat of the same measure, which ten years before he had dealt to the cardinal though not with the same success ; for his matter stuck ten days there. At length a new bill of attainder was brought up, conceived in the house of commons with a proviso annexed to it. They also sent back the bill which the lords sent to them ; but it is not clear from the journals what they meant by these two bills. It seems they rejected the lords' bill, and yet sent it up with their own, either in respect to the lords, or that they left it to their choice, which of the two bills they would offer to the royal assent. But though this be an unparliamentary way of proceeding, I know no other sense which the words of the journal can bear* ; and that very day the king assented to it, as appears by the letter written the next day by Cromwell to the king.

The act said, " that the king having raised Thomas Cromwell from a base degree to great dignities and high trusts, yet he had now by a great number of witnesses, persons of honour, found him to be the most corrupt traitor and deceiver of the king and the crown that had ever been known in his whole reign. He had taken upon him to set at liberty divers persons put in prison for misprision of treason, and others that were suspected of it. He had also received several bribes, and for

* Journal Procer. Parag. 58. Item Billa attainetur Thomæ Cromwell Comitis Essex de crimine Heresis et Læse Majestatis, per Communes de novo concepta, et Assensu, et simul cum provisione eidem annexa. Quæ quidem Billa 1^a, 2^a, et 3^a, lecta est ; et provisio ejusdem

concernens Decanatum *Wellensem* et lecta est, et communi omnium *Prætorum* consensu nemini discrepante approbata ; et simul cum ea referrebatur Billa Attinetur quæ prius missa erat in Dominum Communitatem.

them granted licences to carry money, corn, horses, and other things out of the kingdom contrary to the king's proclamations. He had also given out many commissions without the king's knowledge; and being but of a base birth, had said, 'that he was sure of the king.' He had granted many passports, both to the king's subjects and foreigners, for passing the seas without search. He being also an heretic had dispersed many erroneous books among the king's subjects, particularly some that were contrary to the belief of the sacrament. And when some had informed him of this, and had showed him these heresies in books printed in England, he said, 'they were good, and that he found no fault in them;' and said, 'It was as lawful for every Christian man to be the minister of that sacrament as a priest.' And whereas the king had constituted him vicegerent for the spiritual affairs of the church, he had under the seal of that office licensed many that were suspected of heresy to preach over the kingdom; and he had both by word and in writing suggested to several sheriffs, that it was the king's pleasure they should discharge many prisoners, of whom some were indicted, others apprehended for heresy. And when many particular complaints were brought to him of detestable heresies, with the names of the offenders, he not only defended the heretics, but severely checked the informers, and vexed some of them by imprisonment and other ways; the particulars of all which were too tedious to be recited. And he having entertained many of the king's subjects about himself, whom he had infected with heresy, and imagining he was by force able to defend his treasons and heresies, on the last of March in the thirtieth year of the king's reign, in the parish of St. Peter's the Poor in London, when some of them complained to him of the new preachers, such as Barnes and others, he said; 'their preaching was good;' and said also among other things, 'that if the king would turn from it, yet he would not turn: and if the king did turn, and all his people with him, he would fight in the field in his own person, with his sword in his hand, against him and all others:' and when he pulled out his dagger, and held it up, and said, 'or else this dagger thrust me to the heart, if I would not die in that quarrel against them all; and I trust if I live one year or two, it shall not be in the king's power to resist, or let it, if he would:' and swearing a great oath said, 'I would do so indeed.' He had also by oppression and bribery made a great estate to himself, and extorted much money from the king's subjects, and being greatly enriched, had treated the nobility with much contempt. And on the last of January in the thirty-first year of the king's reign, in the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, when some had put him in mind to what the king had raised him, he said, 'if the lords would handle him so he would give them such a breakfast as was never made in England, and that the proudest of them should know it.' For all which treasons and heresies he was attainted to suffer the pains of death, for heresy and treason, as should please the king, and to forfeit all his estate and goods to the king's use, that he had on the last of March in the thirty-first year of the king's reign, or since that time." There was added to this bill a proviso, that this should not be hurtful to the bishop of Bath and Wells, and to the dean and chapter of Wells, with whom it seems he had made some exchanges of lands*.

From these particulars the reader will clearly see why he was not brought to make his answer, most of them relating to orders and directions he had given, for which it is very probable he had the king's warrant. And for the matter of heresy, it has appeared how far the king had proceeded towards a reformation, so that what he did that way was most likely done by the king's orders; but the king now falling from these things, it was thought they intended to stifle him by such an attainder, that he might not discover the secret orders or directions given him for his own justification. For the particulars of bribery and extortion, they being mentioned in general expressions, seem only cast into the heap to defame him. But for those treasonable words it was generally thought that they were a contrivance of his enemies, since it seemed a thing very extravagant for a favourite in the height of his greatness to talk so rudely. And if he had been guilty of it, Bedlam was thought a fitter place for his restraint than the Tower. Nor was it judged likely that he having such great and watchful enemies at court, any such discourses could have lain so long secret; or if they had come to the king's knowledge, he was not a prince of such a temper as to have forgiven, much less employed and advanced a man after such dis-

Censures past upon it.

* Cromwell was then Dean of Wells, and that was the reason of the proviso.—FULMAN'S CORRECTION.

courses. And to think that during these fifteen months after the words were said to have been spoken, none would have had the zeal for the king or the malice to Cromwell as to repeat them were things that could not be believed. The formality of drawing his dagger made it the more suspected; for this was to affix an overt act to these words, which in the opinion of many lawyers was necessary to make words treasonable. But as if these words had not been ill enough, some writers since have made them worse: as if he had said, He would thrust his dagger in the king's heart: about which Fuller hath made another story to excuse these words, as if they had not been meant of the king, but of another. But all that is founded on a mistake, which, if he had looked in the record, he had corrected.

Cromwell's fall was the first step towards the king's divorce. For on the 25th of June he sent his queen to Richmond, pretending the country air would agree better with her. But

The King
designs a di-
vorce from his
Queen.

on the 6th of July a motion was made and assented to in the house of lords that they should make an address to the king, desiring him to suffer his marriage with the queen to be tried. Upon which, the lord chancellor, the archbishop of Canterbury, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the earl of Southampton, and the bishop of Durham, were sent down to the commons, to represent the matter to them, and to desire their concurrence in the address. To which they agreed, and ordered twenty of their number to go along with the peers. So the whole house of lords with these commons went to the king; and told him they had a matter of great consequence to propose to him, but it was of that importance that they first begged his leave to move it. That being obtained, they desired the king would order a trial to be made of the validity of his marriage. To which the king consented, and made a deep protestation as in the presence of God, that he should conceal nothing that related to it, and all its circumstances; and that there was nothing he held dearer than the glory of God, the good of the commonwealth, and the declaration of truth. So a commission was issued out to the convocation to try it.

On the 7th of July it was brought before the convocation, of which the reader will see a fuller account in the collection at the end than is needful to be brought in here.

It is referred
to the convo-
cation.

The case was opened by the bishop of Winchester, and a committee was appointed to consider it; and they deputed the bishop of Durham and Winchester, and Thirleby, and Richard Leighton dean of York, to examine the witnesses that day.

Collect.

Numb. 17.

Collect.

Numb. 18.

And the next day they received the king's own deposition, with a long declaration of the whole matter, under Cromwell's hand in a letter to the king, and the depositions of most of the privy councillors, of the earl of Southampton, the lord Russel then admiral, of sir Anthony Brown, sir Anthony Denny, doctor Chambers, and doctor Butts, the king's physicians, and of some ladies that had talked with the queen. All which amounted to this: that the king expected that the precontract with the marquis of Lorraine should have been more fully cleared. That the king always disliked her, and married her full sore against his heart; and since that time he had never consummated the marriage. So the substance of the whole evidence being considered, it amounted to these three particulars. First, that there had been a contract between the marquis of Lorraine and the queen, which was not sufficiently cleared: for it did not yet appear whether these espousals were made by the parties themselves, or in the words of the present tense. Then it was said, that the king having married her against his will, he had not given a pure, inward, and complete consent: and since a man's act is only what is inward, extorted or forced promises do not bind. And thirdly, that he had never consummated the marriage. To which it was added the great interest the whole nation had in the king's having more issue, which they saw he could never have by the queen. This was

Reasons pre-
tended for it.

Convocation
agree to it.

Collect.

Numb. 19.

furiously driven on by the popish party. And Cranmer, whether overcome with these arguments, or rather with fear, for he knew it was contrived to send him quickly after Cromwell, consented with the rest. So that the whole convocation without one disagreeing vote, judged the marriage null and of no force, and that both the king and the lady were free from the bond of it.

This was the greatest piece of compliance that ever the king had from the clergy. For, as they all knew there was nothing of weight in that precontract, so they laid down a most pernicious precedent for invalidating all public treaties and agreements;

It is censured.

since if one of the parties being unwilling to it, so that his consent were not inward, he was not bound by it, there was no safety among men more. For no man can know whether another consents inwardly: and when a man does anything with great aversion, to infer from thence that he does not inwardly consent, may furnish every one with an excuse to break loose from all engagements: for he may pretend he did it unwillingly, and get his friends to declare that he privately signified that to them. And for that argument, which was taken from the want of consummation, they had forgotten what was pleaded on the king's behalf ten years before, That consent without consummation made a marriage complete; by which they concluded, that though prince Arthur had not consummated his marriage with queen Katharine, yet his consent did so complete it that the king could not afterwards lawfully marry her. But as the king was resolved on any terms to be rid of this queen, so the clergy were also resolved not to incur his displeasure: in which they rather sought for reasons to give some colour to their sentence, than pass their judgment upon the strength of them. This only can be said for their excuse, that these were as just and weighty reasons as used to be admitted by the court of Rome for a divorce; and most of them being canonists, and knowing how many precedents there were to be found for such divorces, they thought they might do it as well as the popes had formerly done.

On the 9th of July sentence was given, which was signed by both houses of convocation, and had the two archbishops' seals put to it; of which whole trial the record does yet remain, having escaped the fate of the other books of convocation. The original depositions are also yet extant.

Only I shall add here a reflection upon Cromwell's misfortune, which may justly abate the loftiness of haughty men. The day after he was attainted, being required to send to the king a full account under his hand of the business of his marriage, which account he sent, as will be found in the collection; he concludes it with these abject words:—"I a most woful prisoner, ready to take the death when it shall please God and your majesty; and yet the frail flesh inciteth me continually to call to your grace for mercy and grace for mine offences. And thus Christ save, preserve, and keep you. Written at the Tower this Wednesday the last of June, with the heavy heart and trembling hand of your highness most heavy and most miserable prisoner, and poor slave, Thomas Cromwell." And a little below that, "Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy."

On the 10th of July the archbishop of Canterbury reported to the house of lords, that the convocation had judged the marriage null, both by the law of God, and the law of the land. The bishop of Winchester delivered the judgment in writing; which being read, he enlarged on all the reasons of it. This satisfied the lords, and they sent down Cranmer and him to the commons, to give them the same account. Next day the king sent the lord chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Southampton, and the bishop of Winchester, to let the queen know what was done, who was not at all troubled at it, and seemed not ill-pleased. They told her, that the king would by letters patent declare her his adopted sister, and give her precedence before all the ladies of England, next his queen and daughters: and assign her an estate of 3000*l.* a year; and that she had her choice either to live in England or to return home again. She accepted the offer, and under her hand declared her consent and approbation of the sentence, and chose to live still in England, where she was in great honour, rather than return under that disgrace to her own country. She was also desired to write to her brother, and let him know that she approved of what was done in her matter, and that the king used her as a father, or a brother; and therefore to desire him and her other friends not to take this matter ill, or lessen their friendship to the king. She had no mind to do that, but said it would be time enough when her brother wrote to her, to send him such an answer. But it was answered, that much depended on the first impressions that are received of any matter. She in conclusion said, she would obey the king in every thing he desired her to do. So she wrote the letter as they desired it; and the day following, being the 12th of July, the bill was brought into the house for annulling the marriage, which went easily through both houses.

On the 16th of July, a bill was brought in for moderating the statute of the six articles in

Collect.
Numb. 17.

Report made
to the Parlia-
ment.

The Queen
assents to it.

Collect
Numb. 20.

the clauses that related to the marriage of the priests, or their incontinency with other women. On the 17th, it was agreed by the whole house without a contradictory vote, and sent down to the commons, who on the 21st sent it up again. By it the pains of death were turned to forfeitures of their goods and chattels, and the rents of their ecclesiastical promotions, to the king.

An Act
about the In-
continence of
Priests.

On the 20th of July a bill was brought in concerning a declaration of the Christian religion, and was then read the first, second, and third time, and passed without any opposition, and sent down to the commons, who agreeing to it sent it up again the next day. "It contained, that the king as supreme head of the church was taking much pains for a union among all his subjects in matters of religion : and for preventing the further progress of heresy had appointed many of the bishops and the most learned divines to declare the principal articles of the Christian belief, with the ceremonies and way of God's service to be observed. That therefore a thing of that weight might not be rashly done, or hasted through, in this session of parliament ; but be done with that care which was requisite : therefore it was enacted, that whatsoever was determined by the archbishops, bishops, and the other divines, now commissioned for that effect, or by any others appointed by the king, or by the whole clergy of England, and published by the king's authority concerning the Christian faith, or the ceremonies of the church, should be believed and obeyed by all the king's subjects ; as well as if the particulars so set forth had been enumerated in this act, any custom or law to the contrary notwithstanding." To this a strange proviso was added, which destroyed the former clause : "That nothing should be done or determined by the authority of this act which was contrary to the laws and statutes of the kingdom." But whether this proviso was added by the house of commons, or originally put into the bill, does not appear. It was more likely it was put in at the first by the king's council : for these contradictory clauses raised the prerogative higher, and left it in the judges' power to determine which of the two should be followed ; by which all ecclesiastical matters were to be brought under trials at common law : for it was one of the great designs, both of the ministers and lawyers at this time, to bring all ecclesiastical matters to the cognizance of the secular judge.

But another bill passed, which seems a little odd, considering the circumstances of that time. "That whereas many marriages had been annulled in the time of popery, upon the pretence of precontracts, or other degrees of kindred, than those that were prohibited by the law of God : therefore, after a marriage was consummated, no pretence of any precontract or any degrees of kindred or alliance, but those mentioned in the law of God, should be brought or made use of, to annul it ; since these things had been oft pretended only to dissolve a marriage, when the parties grew weary of each other, which was contrary to God's law. Therefore it was enacted that no pretence of pre-contract, not consummated, should be made use of to annul a marriage duly solemnised and consummated ; and that no degrees of kindred, not mentioned by the law of God, should be pleaded to annul a marriage." This act gave great occasion of censuring the king's former proceedings against queen Anne Boleyn, since that which was now condemned had been the pretence for dissolving his marriage with her. Others thought the king did it on design to remove that impediment out of the way of the lady Elizabeth's succeeding to the crown, since that judgment upon which she was illegitimated was now indirectly censured : and that other branch of the act, for taking away all prohibitions of marriages, within any degrees but those forbidden in Scripture, was to make way for the king's marriage with Katharine Howard, who was cousin-german to queen Anne Boleyn ; for that was one of the prohibited degrees by the canon law.

The province of Canterbury offered a subsidy of four shillings in the pound of all ecclesiastical preferments, to be paid in two years, and in that acknowledgment of the great liberty they enjoyed by being delivered from the usurpations of the bishops of Rome ; and in recompence of the great charges the king had been at, and was still to be at, in building havens, bulwarks, and other forts, for the defence of his coasts, and the security of his subjects. This was confirmed in parliament. But that did not satisfy the king, who had husbanded the money that came in by the sale of abbey lands so

Subsidies

granted by the
Clergy.

ill, that now he wanted money, and was forced to ask a subsidy for his marriage of the parliament. This was obtained with great difficulty : for it was said, that if the king was already in want, after so vast an income, especially being engaged in no war, there would be no end of his necessities, nor could it be possible for them to supply them. But it was answered, that the king had laid out a great treasure in fortifying the coast : and though he was then in no visible war, yet the charge he was at in keeping up the war beyond sea was equal to the expense of a war, and much more to the advantage of his people, who were kept in peace and plenty. This obtained a tenth and four-fifteenths. After the passing of all these bills, and many others that concerned the public, with several other bills of attainder, of some that favoured the pope's interests, or corresponded with cardinal Pole, which shall be mentioned in another place, the king sent in a general pardon, with the ordinary exceptions,—and in particular excepted Cromwell, the countess of Sarum, with many others, then in prison. Some of them were put in for opposing the king's supremacy, and others for transgressing the statute of the six articles. On the 24th of July the parliament was dissolved.

And now Cromwell, who had been six weeks a prisoner, was brought to his execution. Cromwell's He had used all the endeavours he could for his own preservation. Once he Death. wrote to the king in such melting terms, that he made the letter to be thrice read, and seemed touched with it : but the charms of Katharine Howard, and the endeavours of the duke of Norfolk and the bishop of Winchester, at length prevailed ; so a warrant was sent to cut off his head, on the 28th of July, at Tower-hill. When he was brought to the scaffold, his kindness to his son made him very cautious in what he said. He declined the purging of himself, but said, "he was by law condemned to die, and thanked God for bringing him to that death for his offences. He acknowledged his sins against God, and his offences against his prince, who had raised him from a base degree. He declared that he died in the catholic faith, not doubting of any article of faith, or of any sacrament of the church ; and denied that he had been a supporter of those who believed ill opinions. He confessed he had been seduced, but now died in the catholic faith ; and desired them to pray for the king, and for the prince, and for himself : " and then prayed very fervently for the remission of his past sins, and admittance into eternal glory ; and having given the sign, the executioner cut off his head very barbarously.

Thus fell that great minister, that was raised merely upon the strength of his natural parts. His Charac- For as his extraction was mean, so his education was low : all the learning he ter. had was, that he had got the New Testament in Latin by heart. His great wisdom, and dexterity in business, raised him up through several steps, till he was become as great as a subject could be. He carried his greatness with wonderful temper and moderation ; and fell under the weight of popular odium rather than guilt. The disorders in the suppression of abbeys were generally charged upon him. Yet when he fell, no bribery, nor cheating of the king, could be fastened on him ; though such things came out in swarms on a disgraced favourite, when there is any ground for them. By what he spoke at his death, he left it much doubted of what religion he died : but it is certain he was a Lutheran. The term catholic faith used by him in his last speech seemed to make it doubtful, but that was then used in England in its true sense, in opposition to the novelties of the see of Rome, as will afterwards appear on another occasion : so that his profession of the catholic faith was strangely perverted, when some from thence concluded that he died in the communion of the church of Rome. But his praying in English, and that only to God through Christ, without any of those tricks that were used when those of that church died, showed he was none of theirs. With him the office of the king's viceregent in ecclesiastical affairs died, as it rose first in his person : and as all the clergy opposed the setting up a new officer, whose interest should oblige him to oppose a reconciliation with Rome, so it seems none were found to succeed in an office that proved so fatal to him that had first carried it. The king was said to have lamented his death, after it was too late ; but the fall of the new queen, that followed not long after, and the miseries which fell also on the duke of Norfolk and his family some years after, were looked on as the scourges of Heaven for their cruel prosecution of this unfortunate minister.

With his fall, the progress of the Reformation, which had been by his endeavours so far advanced, was quite stopped; for all that Cranmer could do after this was to keep the ground they had gained: but he could never advance much further; and indeed every one expected to see him go next. For, as one Gostwick, knight for Bedfordshire, had named

Designs against Cranmer. him in the house of commons as the supporter and promoter of all the heresy that was in England; so the popish party reckoned they had but half done their work by destroying Cromwell, and that it was not finished till Cranmer followed him. Therefore all possible endeavours were used to make discoveries of the encouragement which, as was believed, he gave to the preachers of the condemned doctrines: and it is very probable that, had not the incontinence of Katharine Howard (whom the king declared queen on the 8th of August) broken out not long after, he had been sacrificed the next session of parliament.

But now I return to my proper business, to give an account of church matters for this year; with which these great changes in court had so great a relation that the reader will excuse the digression about them.

Upon Cromwell's fall, Gardiner, and those that followed him, made no doubt but they should quickly recover what they had lost of late years: so their greatest attempt was upon the translation of the Scriptures. The convocation books (as I have been forced often to lament) are lost; so that here I cannot stir, but as Fuller leads me; who assures the world that he copied out of the records with his own pen what he published. And yet I doubt he has mistaken himself in the year, and that which he calls the convocation of this year was the convocation of the year 1542: for he tells us that their seventh session was the 10th of March; now in this year the convocation did not sit down till the 13th of April, but that year it sat all March. So likewise he tells us of the bishops of Westminster, Gloucester, and Peterborough, bearing a share in this convocation: whereas these were not consecrated before winter, and could not sit as bishops in this synod. And besides, Thirleby sat at this time in the lower house, as was formerly shown in the process about Anne of Cleves' marriage. So that their attempt against the New Testament belongs to the year 1542.

But they were now much better employed, though not in the way of convocation: for a select number of them sat by virtue of a commission from the king confirmed in parliament. Their first work was to draw up a declaration of the Christian doctrine, for the necessary erudition of a Christian man. They thought that to speak of faith in general ought naturally to go before an exposition of the Christian belief, and therefore with that they began.

The church of Rome, that designed to keep her children in ignorance, had made no great account of faith: which, they generally taught, consisted chiefly in an implicit believing whatever the church proposed, without any explicit knowledge of particulars. So that a Christian faith, as they had explained it, was a submission to the church. The reformers, finding that this was the spring of all their other errors, and that which gave them colour and authority, did on the other hand set up the strength of their whole cause on an explicit believing the truth of the Scriptures, because of the authority of God who had revealed them; and said, that as the great subject of the apostles' preaching was faith, so that which they everywhere taught was to read and believe the Scriptures. Upon which followed nice disputing what was that saving faith by which the Scriptures say we are justified. They could not say it was barely crediting the divine revelation, since in that sense the devils believed; therefore they generally placed it, at first, in their being assured that they should be saved by Christ's dying for them; in which their design was to make holiness and all other graces necessary requisites in the composition of faith, though they would not make them formally parts of it. For since Christ's death has its full virtue and effect upon none but those who are regenerate and live according to his gospel, none could be assured that he should be saved by Christ's death till he first found in himself these necessary qualifications which are delivered in the gospel. Having once settled on this phrase, their followers would needs defend it, but really made it worse by their explanations. The church of Rome thought they had them at great advantages in it, and called them

Solidifians, and said they were against good works; though, whatever unwary expressions some of them threw out, they always declared good works indispensably necessary to salvation. But they differed from the church of Rome in two things that were material. There was also a third, but there the difference was more in the manner of expression. The one was, what were good works. The church of Rome had generally delivered, that works which did an immediate honour to God or his saints were more valuable than works done to other men: and that the honour they did to saints in their images and relics, and to God in his priests that were dedicated to him, were the highest pieces of holiness, as having the best objects. This was the foundation of all that trade, which brought in both riches and glory to their church. On the other hand, the reformers taught that justice and mercy, with other good works done in obedience to God's commandments, were only necessary: and for those things so much magnified at Rome, they acknowledged there ought to be a decent splendour in the worship of God, and good provision to be made for the encouragement of those who dedicated themselves to his service in the church, and that what was beyond these was the effect of ignorance and superstition. The other main difference was about the merit of good works, which the friars had raised so high that people were come to think they bought and sold with Almighty God for heaven, and all other his blessings. This the reformers judged was the height of arrogance; and therefore taught that good works were indeed absolutely necessary to salvation, but that the purchase of heaven was only by the death and intercession of Jesus Christ. With these material differences they joined another that consisted more in words. Whether obedience was an essential part of faith. The reformers said it certainly accompanied and followed faith; but thought not fit to make it an ingredient in the nature of faith. These things had been now much canvassed in disputes; and it was thought by many that men of ill lives made no good use of some of the expressions of the reformers that separated faith from good works, and came to persuade themselves that if they could but attain to a firm assurance that they should be saved by Christ, all would be well with them. Therefore, now when they went about to state the true notion of faith, Cranmer commanded doctor Redmayn, who was esteemed the most learned and judicious divine of that time, to write a short treatise on these heads; which he did with that solidity and clearness, that it will sufficiently justify any advantageous character that can be given of the author; and according to the conclusions of that treatise they laid down the nature of faith thus: that it stands in two several senses in Scripture, "the one is a persuasion of the truths, both of natural and revealed religion, wrought in the mind by God's Holy Spirit; and the other is such a belief as begets a submission to the will of God, and hath hope, love, and obedience to God's commandments, joined to it; which was Abraham's faith, and that which, according to St. Paul, wrought by charity, and was so much commended in the epistle to the Hebrews. That this was the faith which in baptism is professed, from which Christians are called the faithful: and in those scriptures where it is said, that we are justified by faith, they declared we may not think that we be justified by faith, as it is a separate virtue from hope and charity, fear of God, and repentance; but by it is meant faith, neither only nor alone, but with the foresaid virtues coupled together, containing (as is aforesaid) the obedience to the whole doctrine and religion of Christ. But for the definition of faith, which some proposed, as if it were a certainty that one was predestinated, they found nothing of it either in the Scriptures or the doctors,—and thought that could not be known: for though God never failed in his promises to men, yet such was the frailty of men that they often failed in their promises to God, and so did forfeit their right to the promises, which are all made upon conditions that depend on us."

Upon this occasion I shall digress a little, to show with what care Cranmer considered so weighty a point. Among his other papers, I find a collection of a great many places out of the Scripture, concerning justification by faith, together with a vast number of quotations out of Origen, Basil, Jerome, Theodoret, Ambrose, Austin, Prosper, Chrysostom, Gennadius, Beda, Hesychius, Theophylact, and Œcumenius; together with many later writers, such as Anselm, Bernard, Peter Lombard, Hugo Cardinalis, Lyranus, and Bruno; in which the sense of those authors in this point did appear; all drawn out with his own hand. To this is added another collection of many places of the

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fathers, in which they speak of the merit of good works : and at the end of the whole collection he writes these words, “ This proposition, that we be justified by Christ only, and not by our good works, is a very true and necessary doctrine of St. Paul’s, and the other apostles, taught by them, to set forth thereby the glory of Christ, and the mercy of God through Christ.” And after some further discourse to the same purpose, he concludes, “ Although all that be justified must of necessity have charity, as well as faith ; yet neither faith nor charity be the worthiness nor merits of our justification : but that is to be ascribed only to our Saviour Christ : who was offered upon the cross for our sins, and rose again for our justification.” This I set down to let the world see that Cranmer was not at all concerned in those niceties, which have been so much inquired into since that time, about the instrumentality of faith in justification ; all that he then considered being, that the glory of it might be ascribed only to the death and intercession of Jesus Christ.

After this was laid down there followed an explanation of the apostles’ creed ; full of excellent matters ; being a large paraphrase on every article of the creed, with The explain the Apostles’ such serious and practical inferences, that I must acknowledge, after all the Creed. practical books that we have had, I find great edification in reading that over and over again. The style is strong, nervous, and well fitted for the weakest capacities. There is nothing in this that is controverted between the papists and the reformers, except the definition of the holy catholic church, which they give thus. “ That it comprehends all assemblies of men over the whole world that receive the faith of Christ ; who ought to hold an unity of love and brotherly agreement together, by which they become members of the catholic church.” Upon which a long excursion is made, to show the injustice and unreasonableness of the plea of the church of Rome ; who place the unity of the catholic church in a submission to the bishop of their city, without any ground from Scripture or the ancient writers.

From that they proceeded to examine the seven sacraments : and here fell in stiff debates, which remain in some authentic writings, that give a great light to their The Seven Sacraments. proceedings. The method which they followed was this. First, the whole business they were to consider was divided into so many heads ; which were proposed as queries, and these were given out to so many bishops and divines : and at a prefixed time every one brought his opinion in writing upon all the queries. So concerning the seven sacraments, the queries were given out to the two archbishops, the bishops of London, Rochester, and Carlile, (though the last was not in the commission,) and to the bishops of Durham, Hereford, and St. David’s. For though the bishop of Winchester was in this commission, yet he did nothing in this particular ; but I With great maturity. imagine that he was gone out of town, and that the bishop of Carlile was appointed to supply his absence. The queries were also given to doctor Thirleby, then bishop elect of Westminster, to doctor Robertson, Day, Redmayn, Cox, Leighton, (though not in the commission,) Symmonds, Tresham, Coren, (though not in the commission,) Edgeworth, Oglethorp, Crayford, Wilson, and Robins. When their answers were given in, two were appointed to compare them and draw an extract of the particulars in which they agreed or disagreed : which the one did in Latin and the other in English ; only those who compared them, it seems, doing it for the archbishop of Canterbury, took no notice of his opinions in the extract they made. And of these, the original answers of the two archbishops, the bishops of London, Rochester, and Carlile, and these doctors, Day, Robertson, Redmayn, Cox, Leighton, Symmonds, Tresham, Coren, Edgeworth, and Oglethorp, are yet extant. But the papers given in by the bishops of Durham, Hereford, and St. David’s, and the elect of Westminster, and doctors Crayford, Wilson, and Robins, though they are mentioned in the extracts made out of them, yet are lost. This the reader will Collect. find in the collection ; which, though it be somewhat large, yet I thought such Numb. 21. pieces were of too great importance not to be communicated to the world ; since it is perhaps as great an evidence of the ripeness of their proceedings as can be showed in any church, or any age of it. And though other papers of this sort do not occur in this king’s reign, yet I have reason to conclude from this instance, that they proceeded with the same maturity in the rest of their deliberations ; in which I am the more confirmed,

because I find another instance like this in the reformation that was further carried on in the succeeding reign of Edward VI., of many bishops and divines giving in their opinions under their hands, upon some heads then examined and changed. In Cranmer's paper some singular opinions of his about the nature of ecclesiastical offices will be found; but as they are delivered by him with all possible modesty, so they were not established as the doctrine of the church, but laid aside as particular conceits of his own, and it seems that afterwards he changed his opinion. For he subscribed the book that was soon after set out; which is directly contrary to those opinions set down in these papers. Cranmer was for reducing the sacraments to two, but the popish party was then prevalent, so the old number of seven was agreed to.

Baptism was explained in the same manner that had been done three years before, in the articles then set out: only the matter of original sin was more enlarged on.

Secondly, Penance was formally placed in the absolution of the priest; which by the former articles was only declared a thing desirable, and not to be contemned if it might be had; yet all merit of good works was rejected, though they were declared necessary: and sinners were taught to depend wholly on the sufferings of Christ; with other good directions about repentance.

Thirdly, In the explanation of the eucharist, transubstantiation was fully asserted: as also the concomitancy of the blood with the flesh; so that communion in both kinds was not necessary. The use of hearing mass, though one did not communicate, was also asserted. To which were added very good rules about the disposition of mind that ought to accompany this sacrament.

Fourthly, Matrimony was said to be instituted of God, and sanctified by Christ: the degrees in the Mosaic law were declared obligatory, and none else: and the bond of marriage was declared not separable on any account.

Fifthly, Orders were to be administered in the church, according to the New Testament: but the particular forms of nominating, electing, presenting, or appointing ecclesiastical ministers, was left to the laws of every country, to be made by the assent of the prince. The office of churchmen was to preach, administer the sacraments, to bind and loose, and to pray for the whole flock: but they must execute these with such limitation as was allowed by the laws of every kingdom. The Scripture, they said, made express mention only of the two orders of priests and deacons. To these the primitive church had added some inferior degrees, which were also not to be contemned. But no bishop had any authority over other bishops by the law of God. Upon which followed a long digression, confuting the pretensions of the bishops of Rome; with an explanation of the king's authority in ecclesiastical matters; which was beforehand set down in another place, to show what they understood by the king's being supreme head of the church.

Sixthly, Confirmation was said to have been used in the primitive church, in imitation of the apostles; who by laying on their hands conferred the Holy Ghost in an extraordinary manner. And therefore was of great advantage, but not necessary to salvation.

Seventhly, Extreme unction was said to have been derived from the practice of the apostles, mentioned by St. James, for the health both of body and soul: and though the sick person was not always recovered of his bodily sickness by it, yet remission of sins was obtained by it; and that which God knew to be best for our bodily condition, to whose will we ought always to submit. But this sacrament was only fruitful to those who by penance were restored to the state of grace.

Then followed an explanation of the ten commandments, which contains many good rules of morality, drawn from every one of them. The second commandment
 The ten Commandments. Gardiner had a mind to have shortened, and to cast it into the first. Cranmer was for setting it down as it was in the law of Moses. But a temper was found: it was placed as a distinct commandment, but not at full length; the word, for I the Lord thy God, &c., being left out, and only those that go before being set down. In the explanation of this commandment, images were said to be profitable for putting us in mind of the great blessings we have received by our Saviour, and of the virtues and holiness of the saints, by which we were to be stirred up to imitate

them : so that they were not to be despised, though we be forbidden to do any godly honour to them. And therefore the superstition of preferring one image to another, as if they had any special virtue in them, or the adorning them richly, and making vows and pilgrimages to them, is condemned ; yet the censuring of images, and kneeling before them, are not condemned : but the people must be taught that these things were not to be done to the image itself, but to God and his honour. To the third commandment, they reduced the invocation of God's name for his gifts. And they condemned the invocation of saints, when such things were prayed for from them, which were only given by God. This was the giving his glory to creatures : yet to pray to saints as intercessors is declared lawful, and according to the doctrine of the catholic church. Upon the fourth commandment a rest from labour every seventh day is said to be ceremonial, and such as only obliged Jews : but the spiritual signification of rest among Christians, was to abstain from sin and other carnal pleasures. But besides that, we were also bound by this precept sometimes to cease from labour, that we may serve and worship God both in public and private : and that on the days appointed for this purpose people ought to examine their lives the past week, and set to amendment, and give themselves to prayer, reading, and meditation. Yet in cases of necessity, such as saving their corn, or cattle, men ought not superstitiously to think that it is a sin to work on that day ; but to do their work without scruple. Then follow very profitable expositions of the other commandments, with many grave and weighty admonitions concerning the duties by them enjoined, and against those sins which are too common in all ages.

After that, an explanation of the Lord's Prayer was added. In the preface to which it is said, that it is meet and requisite that the unlearned people should make their prayers in their mother-tongue ; whereby they may be the more stirred to devotion, and to mind the things they prayed for. Then followed an exposition of the angel's salutation of the blessed Virgin : in which the whole history of the incarnation of Christ was opened, and the Ave Maria explained, which hymn was chiefly to be used in commemoration of Christ's incarnation, and likewise to set forth the praises of the blessed Virgin. The next article is about free-will, which they say must be in man, otherwise all precepts and exhortations are to no purpose. They defined it "a power of the will joined with reason, whereby a reasonable creature without constraint in things of reason, discerneth and willeth good and evil ; but chooseth good by the assistance of God's grace, and evil of itself." This was perfect in the state of innocency, but is much impaired by Adam's fall, and now by an especial grace (offered to all men, but enjoyed only by those who by their free-will do accept the same) it was restored, that with great watchfulness we may serve God acceptably. And as many places of Scripture show, that free-will is still in man, so there be many others which show that the grace of God is necessary, that doth both prevent us and assist us both to begin and perform every good work. Therefore all men ought most gratefully to receive and follow the motions of the Holy Ghost, and to beg God's grace with earnest devotion, and a steadfast faith : which he will grant to all that so ask it, both because he is naturally good, and he has promised to grant our desires. For he is not the author of sin nor the cause of man's damnation ; but this men draw on themselves, who by vice have corrupted these natures which God made good. Therefore all preachers were warned so to moderate themselves in this high point, that they neither should so preach the grace of God as to take away free-will, nor so extol free-will, as injury might be done to the grace of God.

After this they handled justification. Having stated the miseries of man by nature, and the guilt of sin, with the unspeakable goodness of God in sending Christ to redeem us by his death, who was the mediator between God and man ; they next show how men are made partakers of the blessings which he hath procured. Justification is the making of us righteous before God, whereby we are reconciled to him, and made heirs of eternal life : that by his grace we may walk in his ways, and be reputed just and righteous in the day of judgment, and so attain everlasting happiness. God is the chief cause of our justification : yet man prevented by grace is by his free-consent and obedience a worker toward the attaining his own justification. For though it is only procured through

the merits of Christ's death, yet every one must do many things to attain a right and claim to that which, though it was offered to all, yet was applied but to a few. We must have a steadfast faith, true repentance, real purposes of amendment; committing sin no more, but serving God all our lives; which if we fall from, we must recover it, by penance, fasting, alms, prayer, with other good works, and a firm faith, going forward in mortification and obedience to the laws of God: it being certain that men might fall away from their justification. All curious reasonings about predestination were to be set apart; there being no certainty to be had of our election, but by feeling the motions of God's Spirit in us, by a good and virtuous life, and persevering in it to the end. Therefore it was to be taught, that at on the one hand we are justified freely by the free grace of God, so on the other hand, when it is said we are justified by faith, it must be understood of such a faith, in which the fear of God, repentance, hope, and charity, be included, all which must be joined together in our justification: and though these be imperfect, yet God accepteth of them freely through Christ.

Next, good works were explained, which were said to be absolutely necessary to salvation. But these were not only outward corporal works, but inward spiritual works, as the love and fear of God, patience, humility, and the like. Nor were they superstitions, and men's inventions, such as those in which monks and friars exercised themselves: nor only moral works done by the power of natural reason: but the works of charity, flowing from a pure heart, a good conscience, and faith unfeigned; which were meritorious towards the attaining of everlasting life. Other works were of an inferior sort; such as fasting, almsdeeds, and other fruits of penance. And the merit of good works is reconciled with the freedom of God's mercies to us, since all our works are done by his grace; so that we have no cause of boasting, but must ascribe all to the grace and goodness of God. The last chapter is about prayers for souls departed, which is the same that was formerly set out in the articles three years before.

All this was finished and set forth this year, with a preface written by those of the clergy who had been employed in it; declaring with what care they had examined the Scriptures and the ancient doctors, out of whom they had faithfully gathered this exposition of the Christian faith. To this the king added another preface some years after, declaring that although he had cast out the darkness, by setting forth the Scriptures to his people, which had produced very good effects; yet, as hypocrisy and superstition were purged away, so a spirit of presumption, dissension, and carnal liberty, was breaking in: for repressing which he had, by the advice of his clergy, set forth a declaration of the true knowledge of God, for directing all men's belief and practice; which both houses of parliament had seen, and liked very well: so that he verily trusted it contained a true and sufficient doctrine for the attaining everlasting life. Therefore he required all his people to read and print in their hearts the doctrine of this book. He also willed them to remember, that as there were some teachers whose office it was to instruct the people, so the rest ought to be taught, and to those it was not necessary to read the Scriptures: and that therefore he had restrained it from a great many, esteeming it sufficient for such to hear the doctrine of the Scriptures taught by their preachers, which they should lay up in their hearts and practise in their lives. Lastly, he desired all his subjects to pray to God to grant them the spirit of humility, that they might read and carry in their hearts the doctrine set forth in this book. But though I have joined the account of this preface to the extract here made of the bishop's book, yet it was not prefixed to it till above two years after the other was set out.

When this was published, both parties found cause in it both to be glad and sorrowful. The reformers rejoiced to see the doctrine of the gospel thus opened more and more; for they concluded that ignorance and prejudices, being the chief supports of the errors they complained of; the instructing people in divine matters, even though some particulars displeased them, yet would awaken and work upon an inquisitive humour that was then a-stirring; and they did not doubt but their doctrines were so clear, that inquiries into religion would do their business. They were also glad to see the morals of Christianity so well cleared, which they hoped would dispose people to a better taste of divine matters; since they had observed that purity of soul does mightily prepare people for

All this set forth in a book,

and published by the King's Authority.

It is variously censured.

sound opinions. Most of the superstitious conceits and practices, which had for some ages embased the Christian faith, were now removed, and the great fundamental of Christianity, the covenant between God and man in Christ, with the conditions of it, was plainly and sincerely declared. There was also another principle laid down that was big with a further reformation: for every national church was declared a complete body within itself, with power to reform heresies, correct abuses, and do everything else that was necessary for keeping itself pure, or governing its members: by which there was a fair way opened for a full discussion of things afterwards, when a fitter opportunity should be offered: but on the other hand, the popish party thought they had gained much. The seven sacraments were again asserted, so that here much ground was recovered, and they hoped more would follow. There were many things laid down to which they knew the reformers would never consent; so that they who were resolved to comply with everything that the king had a mind to were pretty safe: but the others, who followed their persuasions and consciences, were brought into many snares; and the popish party was confident that their absolute compliance, which was joined with all possible submission and flattery, would gain the king at length, and the stiffness of others, who would not give that deference to the king's judgment and pleasure, would so alienate him from them, that he would in the end abandon them; for with the king's years his uneasiness and peevishness grew mightily on him.

The dissolution of the king's marriage with Anne of Cleves had so offended the princes of Germany, that though upon the lady's account they made no public noise of it, yet there was little more intercourse between the king and them, especially Cromwell falling, that had always carried on the correspondence with them. And as this intercourse went off, so a secret treaty was set on foot between the king and the emperor; yet it came not to a conclusion till two years after.

The other bishops that were appointed to examine the rites and ceremonies of the church drew up a rubric and *Rationale* of them; which I do not find was printed, but a very authentical MS. of a great part of it is extant. The alterations they made were inconsiderable, and so slight, that there was no need of reprinting either the missals, breviaries, or other offices; for a few rasures of those collects in which the pope was prayed for, of Thomas à Becket's office, and the offices of other saints, whose days were by the king's injunctions no more to be observed, with some other deletions, made that the old books did still serve: for whether it was, that the change of the mass-books and other public offices would have been too great a charge to the nation; or whether they thought it would have possessed the people with an opinion that the religion was altered, since the books of the ancient worship were changed; which remaining the same, they might be more easily persuaded that the religion was still the same; there was no new impression of the breviaries, missals, and other rituals, during this king's reign. Yet in queen Mary's time they took care that posterity should not know how much was dashed out or changed: for as all parishes were required to furnish themselves with new complete books of the offices, so the dashed books were everywhere brought in and destroyed. But it is likely that most of those scandalous hymns and prayers which are addressed to saints in the same style in which good Christians worship God, were all struck out; because they were now condemned, as appears from the extract of the other book set out by the bishops.

But as they went on in these things, the popish party, whose counsels were laid very close, and managed with great dexterity, chiefly by the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner, pursued the ruin of those whom they called heretics; knowing well that if the king was once set against them, and they provoked against the government, he would be not only alienated from them, but forced, for securing himself against them, to gain the hearts of his other subjects by a conjunction with the emperor, and by his means with the pope. The first on whom this design took effect were, doctor Barnes, Mr. Gerrard, and Mr. Jerome, all priests; who had been among the earliest converts to Luther's doctrine. Barnes had in a sermon at Cambridge during the cardinal's greatness reflected on the pomp and state in which he lived so plainly, that everybody understood of whom he meant: so he was carried up to London; but by the

Corrections
of the Mass
Book and
other Offices,
Ex MSS.
DD. Stilling-
fleet.

A Persecution
of Protest-
ants.

Of Barnes
and others.

interposition of Gardiner and Fox, who were his friends, he was saved at that time, having abjured some opinions that were objected to him. But other accusations being afterwards brought against him, he was again imprisoned, and it was believed that he would have been burned : but he made his escape and went to Germany, where he gave himself to the study of the Scriptures and divinity ; in which he became so considerable, that not only the German divines, but their princes, took great notice of him : and the king of Denmark sending over ambassadors to the king, he was sent with them ; though perhaps Fox was ill informed, when he says he was one of them. Fox, bishop of Hereford, being at Smalcald in the year 1536, sent him over to England, where he was received and kindly entertained by Cromwell, and well used by the king ; and by his means the correspondence with the Germans was chiefly kept up ; for he was often sent over to the courts of the several princes. But, in particular, he had the misfortune to be first employed in the project of the king's marriage with the lady Anne of Cleves ; for, that giving the king so little satisfaction, all who were the main promoters of it fell in disgrace upon it.

But other things concurred to destroy Barnes. In Lent this year Bonner had appointed him and Gerrard and Jerome turns in the course of sermons at St. Paul's Cross ; they being in favour with Cromwell, on whom Bonner depended wholly : but Gardiner sent Bonner word, that he intended himself to preach on Sunday at St. Paul's Cross : and in his sermon he treated of justification and other points, with many reflections on the Lutherans. Barnes, when it came to his turn, made use of the same text, but preached contrary doctrine, not without some unhandsome reflections on Gardiner's person ; and he played on his name, alluding to a gardener's setting ill plants in a garden. The other two preached the same doctrine, but made no reflections on any person. Gardiner seemed to bear it with a great appearance of neglect and indifferency : but his friends complained to the king of the unsufferable insolencies of these preachers, who did not spare so great a prelate, especially he being a privy councillor. So Barnes was questioned for it, and commanded to go and give the bishop of Winchester satisfaction : and the bishop carried the matter with a great show of moderation, and acted outwardly in it as became his function : though it was believed the matter stuck deeper in his heart, which the effects that followed seemed to demonstrate. The king concerned himself in the matter, and did argue with Barnes about the points in difference : but whether he was truly convinced, or overcome rather with the fear of the king than with

the force of his reasonings, he and his two friends, William Jerome and Tho. Collect.
Numb. 22. Gerrard, signed a paper, (which will be found in the collection,) in which he acknowledged, " that having been brought before the king for things preached by him, his highness, being assisted by some of the clergy, had so disputed with him, that he was convinced of his rashness and oversight : and promised to abstain from such indiscretions for the future, and to submit to any orders the king should give for what was past.

" The articles were. First, That though we are redeemed only by the death of Christ, in which we participate by faith and baptism ; yet by not following the commandments of Christ we lose the benefits of it, which we cannot recover but by penance.

" Secondly, That God is not the author of sin, or evil, which he only permits.

" Thirdly, That we ought to reconcile ourselves to our neighbours, and forgive before we can be forgiven.

" Fourthly, That good works, done sincerely according to the Scriptures, are profitable and helpful to salvation.

" Fifthly, That laws made by Christian rulers ought to be obeyed by their subjects, for conscience sake : and that whosoever breaks them breaks God's commandments."

It's not likely that Barnes could say anything directly contrary to these articles : though having brought much of Luther's heat over with him, he might have said some things that sounded ill upon these heads. There were other points in difference between Gardiner and him about justification ; but it seems the king thought these were of so subtle a nature that no article of faith was controverted in them ; and therefore left the bishop and him to agree these among themselves, which they in a great measure did. So the king commanded Barnes and his friends to preach at the Spittle in the Easter-week, and openly to recant what they

had formerly said : and Barnes was in particular to ask the bishop of Winchester's pardon, which he did : and Gardiner being twice desired by him to give some sign that he forgave him, did lift up his finger : but in their sermons it was said they justified in one part what they recanted in another : of which complaints being brought to the king, he without hearing them sent them all to the Tower ; and Cromwell's interest at court was then declining so fast, that either he could not protect them, or else would not prejudice himself by interposing in a matter which gave the king so great offence. They lay in the Tower till the parliament met, and then they were attainted of heresy, without ever being brought to make their answer. And it seems for the extraordinariness of the thing, they resolved to mix attainders for things that were very different from one another : for four others were by the same act attainted of treason, who were, Gregory Buttolph, Adam Damply, Edmund Brindholme, and Clement Philpot, for assisting Reginald Pole, adhering to the bishop of Rome, denying the king to be the supreme head on earth of the church of England, and designing to surprise the town of Calais. One Derby Gunnings was also attainted of treason for assisting one Fitzgerald a traitor in Ireland : and after all these, Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome, are attainted of heresy, being, as the act says, "detestable heretics, who had conspired together to set forth many heresies, and taking themselves to be men of learning, had expounded the Scriptures ; perverting them to their heresies, the number of which was too long to be repeated ; that having formerly abjured, they were now incorrigible heretics : and so were condemned to be burned, or suffer any other death, as should please the king." And two days after Cromwell's death, being the 30th of July, they were brought to Smithfield, where in their execution there was as odd a mixture as had been in their attainders : for Abel, Fetherston, and Powel, that were attainted by another act of the same parliament, for owning the pope's supremacy and denying the king's, were carried to the place of execution and coupled with the other three ; so that one of each was put into a hurdle and carried together, which everybody condemned as an extravagant affectation of the show of impartial justice.

When they were brought to the stake, Barnes spake thus to the people :—" Since he was to be burned as an heretic, he would declare what opinions he held. So he enlarged on all the articles of the creed, to show he believed them all. He expressed a particular abhorrence of an opinion which some anabaptists held, that the blessed Virgin was as a saffron bag (by which indecent simile they meant that our Saviour took no substance of her). He explained his opinion of good works, that they must of necessity be done, since without them none should ever enter into the kingdom of God. They were commanded of God, to show forth our profession by them ; but he believed, as they were not pure nor perfect, so they did not avail to our justification, nor merit anything at the hands of God, for that was to be ascribed to the merits of the death and passion of Christ. He professed great reverence to the blessed Virgin and saints ; but said, he saw no warrant in Scriptures for praying to them ; nor was it certain whether they prayed for us or not ; but if the saints did pray for those on earth, he trusted within half an hour to be praying for them all." Then he asked the sheriff if he had any articles against them for which they were condemned, who answered he had none. He next asked the people if they knew wherefore he died, or if they had been led into any errors by his preaching ; but none made answer. Then he said, he heard he was condemned to die by an act of parliament ; and it seemed it was for heresy, since they were to be burned. He prayed God to forgive those who had been the occasion of it. And in particular for the bishop of Winchester, if he had sought or procured his death, he prayed to God heartily to forgive him, as Christ forgave his murderers. He prayed earnestly for the king and the prince, and exhorted the people to pray for them. He said, some had reported that he had been a preacher of sedition and disobedience ; but he declared to the people that they were bound by the law of God to obey their king's laws with all humility, not only for fear, but for conscience ; adding, that if the king commanded anything against God's law, though it were in their power to resist him, yet they might not do it. Then he desired the sheriff to carry five requests from him to the king.

"First, That since he had taken the abbey-lands into his hands, for which he did not

blame him, (as the sheriff fancied he was about to do, and thereupon stopped him,) but was glad that superstition was taken away; and that the king was then a complete king, obeyed by all his subjects, which had been done through the preaching of them, and such wretches as they were; yet he wished the king would bestow these goods or some of them to the comfort of his poor subjects who had great need of them.

“Secondly, That marriage might be had in greater esteem, and that men might not upon light pretences cast off their wives, and that those who were unmarried might not be suffered to live in whoredom.

“Thirdly, That abominable swearers might be punished.

“Fourthly, That since the king had begun to set forth Christian religion, he would go forward in it, and make an end; for though he had done a great deal, yet many things remained to be done, and he wished that the king might not be deceived with false teachers.”

The fifth desire he said he had forgot.

Then he begged that they all would forgive him, if at any time he had said or done evil unadvisedly; and so turned about, and prepared himself for his death.

Jerome spake next, and declared his faith upon every article of the creed; and said that he believed all that was in the Holy Scriptures. He also prayed for the king and the prince, and concluded with a very pathetic exhortation to mutual love and charity; that they would propose to themselves the pattern of Christ's wonderful love, through whom only he hoped to be saved; and desired all their prayers for himself and his brethren. Then Gerrard declared his faith, and said, that if through ignorance or negligence he had taught any error, he was sorry for it, and asked God pardon, and them whom he had thereby offended. But he protested, that according to his learning and knowledge he had always set forth the honour of God and the obedience of the king's laws. Then they all prayed for the pardon of their sins, and constancy and patience in their sufferings; and so they embraced and kissed one another, and then the executioners tied them to the stake, and set fire to them.

Their death did rather encourage than dishearten their followers; who seeing such an extraordinary measure of patience in them, were the more confirmed in their resolutions of suffering for a good conscience and for his name who did not forsake his servants in these cruel agonies. One difference between their sufferings and the other three who were hanged for asserting the pope's supremacy was remarkable; that though the others demeaned themselves toward them with the most uncharitable and spiteful malice that was possible, (so that their own historian says, that their being carried with them to their execution was bitterer to them than death itself,) yet they declared their hearty forgiving of their enemies, and of Gardiner in particular, who was generally looked on as the person that procured their death,—which imputation stuck fast to him, though by a printed apology he studied to clear himself of any other concernment in it than by giving his vote for the act of their attainder.

Now Bonner began to show his nature. Hitherto he had acted another part. For being

Bonner's
cruelty.

most extremely desirous of preferment, he had so complied with Cromwell and Cranmer, that they had great confidence in him; and he being a blustering and forward man, they thought he might do the Reformation good service, and therefore he was advanced so high by their means. But as soon as ever Cromwell fell, the very next day he showed his ingratitude, and how nimbly he turned with the wind. For Grafton the printer (whom Cromwell favoured much for his printing the Bible, and who was by that means very familiar with Bonner) meeting him, said, he was very sorry for the news he heard of Cromwell's being sent to the Tower. Bonner answered, it had been good he had been despatched long ago. So the other shrunk away, perceiving the change that was in him. And some days after that, Grafton being brought before the council for some verses which he was believed to have printed in commendation of Cromwell, Bonner informed the council of what Grafton had said to him upon Cromwell's being arrested, to make the other charge seem the more probable,—yet Audley the chancellor was Grafton's friend, and brought him off. But Bonner gave the city of London quickly cause to apprehend the utmost severities from him: for many were indicted by his procurement. Yet the king was loath to give too many instances of cruelty in this declination of his age, and therefore by an order from the star-

chamber they were discharged. But upon what motives I cannot fancy, he picked out an instance, which, if the deeper stains of his following life had not dashed all particular spots, had been sufficient to have blemished him for ever. There was one Richard Mekins, a boy not above fifteen years of age, and both illiterate and very ignorant, who had said somewhat against the corporal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, and in commendation of doctor Barnes. Upon this he was indicted. The words were proved by two witnesses, and a day was appointed for the juries to bring in their verdict. The day being come, the grand jury was called for; then the foreman said they had found nothing. This put Bonner in a fury, and he charged them with perjury; but they said they could find nothing, for the witnesses did not agree. The one deposed, that he had said the sacrament was nothing but a ceremony; and the other, that it was nothing but a signification. But Bonner still persisted and told them that he had said that Barnes died holy; but they could not find these words to be against the statute. Upon which Bonner cursed and was in a great rage, and caused them to go aside again: so they being overawed, returned and found the indictment. Then sate the jury upon life and death who found him guilty; and he was adjudged to be burnt. But when he was brought to the stake, he was taught to speak much good of Bonner, and to condemn all heretics, and Barnes in particular, saying he had learned heresy of him. Thus the boy was made to die with a lie in his mouth. For Barnes held not that opinion of the sacrament's being only a ceremony or signification, but was a zealous Lutheran; which appeared very signally on many occasions, chiefly in Lambert's case. Three others were also burned at Salisbury upon the same statute, one of whom was a priest. Two also were burned at Lincoln in one day. Besides, a great number of persons were brought in trouble, and kept long in prison upon the statute of the six articles; but more blood I find not spilt at this time.

In the end of this year were the new bishoprics founded; for in December was the abbey of Westminster converted into a bishop's see, and a deanery and twelve prebends, with the officers for a cathedral and a quire. And in the year following, on the 4th of August, the king erected out of the monastery of St. Werburg at Chester, a bishopric, a deanery, and six prebends. In September out of the monastery at St. Peter's at Gloucester the king endowed a bishopric, a deanery, and six prebendaries; and in the same month, the abbey of Peterborough was converted to a bishop's seat, a deanery, and six prebendaries. And to lay this whole matter together, two years after this the abbey of Osney in Oxford was converted into a bishopric, a deanery, and six prebends; and the monastery of St. Austin in Bristol was changed into the same use. There are many other grants also in the rolls, both to the bishops and deans and chapters of these sees. But these foundations will be better understood by their charters, of which since the bishopric of Westminster is least known because long ago suppressed, I have chosen to set down the charter of that see, which the reader will find in the collection, and they running all in the same style one may serve for the rest. The substance of the preamble is, "that the king being moved by the grace of God, and intending nothing more than that true religion, and the sincere worship of God should not be abolished, but rather restored to the primitive sincerity and reformed from those abuses with which the profession and the lives of the monks had so long and so lamentably corrupted religion had, as far as human infirmity could foresee, designed that the word of God might be sincerely preached, the sacraments purely administered, good order kept up, the youth well instructed, and old people relieved, with other public almsdeeds. And therefore the king erected and endowed these sees." The day after these several grants, there followed a writ to the archbishop, containing, "that the king had appointed such a person to be bishop of that see, requiring him to consecrate and ordain him in due form." Then the priories at most cathedrals, such as Canterbury, Winchester, Durham, Worcester, Carlisle, Rochester, and Ely, were also converted into deaneries and colleges of prebends, with many other officers, and an allowance of charity to be yearly distributed to the poor.

But as all this came far short of what the king had once intended, so Cranmer's design was quite disappointed; for he had projected that in every cathedral there should be provision made for readers of divinity, and of Greek and Hebrew, and a great number of students to be both exercised in the daily worship of God,

New Bishop-
rics founded.

Collect.
Numb. 23.

Cranmer's
design mis-
carries.

and trained up in study and devotion, whom the bishop might transplant out of this nursery into all the parts of his diocese. And thus every bishop should have had a college of clergymen under his eye, to be preferred according to their merit; he saw great disorders among some prebendaries, and in a long letter, the original of which I have seen, he expressed his regret that these endowments went in such a channel. Yet now his power was not great at court, and the other party ran down all his motions; but those who observed things narrowly, judged that a good mixture of prebendaries and of young clerks bred up about cathedrals, under the bishop's eye, and the conduct and direction of the dean and prebendaries, had been one of the greatest blessings that could have befallen the church, which not being sufficiently provided of houses for the forming of the minds and manners of those who are to be received into orders, has since felt the ill effects of it very sensibly. Against this Cranmer had projected a noble remedy, had not the popish party then at court, who very well apprehended the advantages such nurseries would have given to the Reformation, borne down this proposition, and turned all the king's bounty and foundations another way.

These new foundations gave some credit to the king's proceedings, and made the suppression of chantries and chapels go on more smoothly; but those of the Roman party beyond sea censured this as they had done all the rest of the king's actings. They said it was but a slight restitution of a small part of the goods of which he had robbed the church. And they complained of the king's encroaching on the spiritual jurisdiction of the church, by dismembering dioceses and removing churches from one jurisdiction to another. To this it was answered, that the necessities which their practices put on the king, both to fortify his coast and dominions, to send money beyond sea for keeping the war at a distance from himself, and to secure his quiet at home by easy grants of these lands, made him that he could not do all that he intended. And for the division of dioceses, many things were brought from the Roman law, to show that the division of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, whether of patriarchs, primates, metropolitans, or bishops, was regulated by the emperors, of which the ancient councils always approved; and in England, when the bishopric of Lincoln being judged of too great an extent, the bishopric of Ely was taken out of it, it was done only by the king, with the consent of his clergy and nobles. Pope Nicolas indeed officiously intruded himself into that matter by sending afterwards a confirmation of that which was done. But that was one of the great arts of the papacy, to offer confirmations of things that were done without the popes. For these being easily received by them, that thought of nothing more than to give the better countenance to their own acts, the popes afterwards founded a right on these confirmations. The very receiving of them was pretended to be an acknowledgment of a title in the pope; and the matter was so artificially managed, that princes were noosed into some approbation of such a pretence before they were aware of it. And then the authority of the canon law prevailing, maxims were laid down in it, by which the most tacit and inconsiderate acts of princes were construed to such senses as still advanced the greatness of the papal pretensions.

This business of the new foundations being thus settled, the matters of the church were now put in a method, and the bishop's book was the standard of religion; so that whatsoever was not agreeable to that was judged heretical, whether it leaned to the one side or the other. But it seems that the king by some secret order had chained up the party which was going on in the execution of the statute of the six articles, that they should not proceed capitally.

Thus matters went this year, and with this the series of the history of the Reformation made by this king ends; for it was now digested and formed into a body. What followed was not in a thread, but now and then some remarkable things were done; sometimes in favour of the one, and sometimes of the other party. For after Cromwell fell the king did not go on so steadily in anything as he had done formerly. Cromwell had an ascendant over him, which after cardinal Wolsey's fall none besides himself ever had. They knew how to manage the king's uneasy and imperious humour, but now none had such a power over him. The duke of Norfolk was rich and brave, and made his court well, but had not so great a genius; so that the king did rather trust and fear than esteem him. Gardiner was only a tool, and being of an abject spirit was employed, but not

The State of
the Court at
this time.

at all revered by the king. Cranmer retained always his candour and simplicity, and was a great prelate, but neither a good courtier nor a statesman. And the king esteemed him more for his virtues than for his dexterity and cunning in business. So that now the king was left wholly to himself, and being extreme humorous and impatient, there were more errors committed in the last years of his government than had been for his whole reign before. France forsook him, Scotland made war upon him, which might have been fatal to him if their king had not died in the beginning of it, leaving an infant princess, but a few days old behind him; and though the emperor made peace with him, yet it was but a hollow agreement; of all which I shall give but slender hints in the rest of this book, and rather open some few particulars than pursue a continued narration, since the matter of my works fails me.

In May, the thirty-third year of the king's reign, a new impression of the Bible was finished, and the king by proclamation "required all curates and parishioners of every town and parish, to provide themselves a copy of it before All-Hallowtide, under the penalty of forfeiting forty shillings a month after that till they had one. He declared that he set it forth, to the end that his people might by reading it perceive the power, wisdom, and goodness of God; observe his commandments, obey the laws and their prince, and live in godly charity among themselves. But that the king did not thereby intend that his subjects should presume to expound or take arguments from Scripture, nor disturb divine service by reading it when mass was celebrating; but should read it meekly, humbly, and reverently, for their instruction, edification, and amendment." There was also care taken so to regulate the prices of the Bibles, that there should be no exacting on the subjects in the sale of them; and Bonner seeing the king's mind was set on this, ordered six of these great Bibles to be set up in several places of St. Paul's; that all persons who could read, might at all times have

free access to them; and upon the pillars to which these Bibles were chained, an exhortation was set up, admonishing all that came thither to read "that they should lay aside vain glory, hypocrisy, and all other corrupt affections, and bring with them discretion, good intentions, charity, reverence, and a quiet behaviour, for the edification of their own souls, but not to draw multitudes about them, nor to make expositions of what they read, nor to read aloud, nor make noise in time of divine service, nor enter into disputes concerning it." But people came generally to hear the Scriptures read, and such as could read and had clear voices, came often thither with great crowds about them. And many set their children to school, that they might carry them with them to St. Paul's, and hear them read the Scriptures. Nor could the people be hindered from entering into disputes about some places, for who could hear the words of the institution of the sacrament, Drink ye all of it, or St. Paul's discourse against worship in an unknown tongue, and not from thence be led to consider that the people were deprived of the cup, which by Christ's express command was to be drunk by all, and that they were kept in a worship to which the unlearned could not say Amen, since they understood not what was said, either in the collects or hymns? So the king had many complaints brought him of the abuses that were said to have risen from the liberty given the people to read the Scriptures. Upon which Bonner (no doubt having obtained the king's leave) set up a new advertisement, in which he complained of these abuses, in the reading of the Bible, for which he threatened the people that he would remove these Bibles out of the church, if they continued as they did to abuse so a high a favour. Yet these complaints produced no further severity at this time; but by them the popish party afterwards obtained what they desired. This summer the king turned the monastery of Burton-upon-Trent into a collegiate church for a dean and four prebends, and the monastery of Thornton in Lincolnshire into another

for a dean and four prebends. In this year Cranmer took it into consideration to what excess the tables of the bishops had risen, whereby those revenues that ought to have been applied to better purposes were wasted on great entertainment, which though they passed under the decent name of hospitality, yet were in themselves both too high and expensive, and proved great hindrances to churchmen's charity in more necessary and profitable instances. He therefore set

The Bible in English set up in all Churches.

Collect. Numb. 24.

Collect. Numb. 25.

1541. Antiq. Brit. in Reg. Polo. A Rule about Churchmen's housekeeping.

out an order *, for regulating that expense, by which an archbishop's table was not to exceed six dishes of meat and four of † banquet; a bishop's, five dishes of meat and three of banquet; a dean's or archdeacon's table was not to exceed four dishes and two of banquet; and other clergymen might be served only with two dishes; but he that gives us the account of this laments that this regulation took no effect, and complains that the people expecting generally such splendid housekeeping from the dignified clergy, and not considering how short their revenues are of what they were anciently, they out of a weak compliance with the multitude have disabled themselves from keeping hospitality, as our Saviour ordered it, not for the rich, but the poor; not to mention the other ill effects that follow too sumptuous a table.

In the end of this year, the tragical fall of the queen put a stop to all other proceedings. The king had invited his nephew the king of Scotland to meet him at York, who was resolved to come thither. The king intended to gain upon him all he could, and to engage him to follow the copy he had set him, in extirpating the pope's supremacy, and suppressing abbeys, and to establish a firm agreement in all other things. The clergy of Scotland feared the ill effects of that interview, especially their king being a prince of most extraordinary parts, who, had he not blemished his government with being so extremely addicted to his pleasures, was the greatest prince that nation had for several ages. He was a great patron of learning, and executor of justice: he used in person and *incognito* to go over his kingdom, and see how justice was everywhere done. He had no very good opinion of the religious orders, and had encouraged Buchanan to write a severe and witty libel against the Franciscan friars. So that they were very apprehensive that he might have been wrought on by his uncle. Therefore they used all their endeavours to divert his journey. But the French king, that had him fast engaged to his interests, falling then off from the king, wrought more on him. So instead of meeting the king at York, where magnificent preparations were made for his reception, he sent his excuse, which provoked his uncle, and gave occasion to a breach that followed not long after.

But here I shall crave the reader's leave to give a full representation of the state of religion at this time in Scotland, and of the footing the reformation had got there: its neighbourhood to England, and the union of these kingdoms, first in the same religion, and since under the same princes, together with the intercourse that was both in this and the next reign, between these nations, seem not only to justify this digression, but rather to challenge it as a part of the history, without which it should be defective. And it may be the rather expected from one who had his birth and education in that kingdom.

The correspondence between that crown and France was the cause that what learning they had came from Paris, where our kings generally kept some scholars, and from that great nursery they were brought over, and set in the universities of Scotland to propagate learning there. From the year 1412, in which Wardlaw, archbishop of St. Andrew's, first founded that university, learning had made such a progress, that more colleges were soon after founded in that city. Universities were also founded both at Glasgow and Aberdeen, which have since furnished that nation with many eminent scholars in all professions. But at the time that learning came into Scotland, the knowledge of true religion also followed it; and in that same archbishop's time, one John Resby, an Englishman, a follower of Wickliff's opinions, was charged with heresy. Forty articles were objected to him, of which two are only mentioned. The one was, that "the pope is not Christ's vicar." The other was, that "he was not to be esteemed a pope if he was a man of wicked life." For maintaining these he was burned, Anno 1407. Twenty-four years after that, one Paul Craw came out of Germany, and being a Bohemian and a Hussite, was infusing his doctrine into some at St. Andrews, which being discovered, he was judged an obstinate heretic, and burnt there, Anno 1432; and to encourage people to prosecute such persons, Fogo, who had discovered him, was rewarded with the abbey of Melross soon after.

* This order I have seen printed (1541) amongst archbishop Parker's papers, but it was with the consent of the other archbishop and most of the bishops.—ANON. CORRECT. † Bellaria.

It does not appear that those doctrines, which were called Lollardies in England, had gained many followers in Scotland, till near the end of that century. But then it was found that they were much spread over the western parts, which being in the neighbourhood of England, those who were persecuted there might perhaps fly into Scotland, and spread their doctrine in that kingdom. Several persons of quality were then charged with these articles, and brought to the archbishop of Glasgow's courts; but they answered him with such confidence, that he thought fit to discharge them, with an admonition to take heed of new doctrines, and to content themselves with the faith of the church.

Spotswood. The secular clergy minded nothing but their tithes, and did either hire some friars to preach, or some poor priests to sing masses to them at their churches. The abbots had possessed themselves of the best seats, and the greatest wealth of the nation; and by a profuse superstition almost the one-half of the kingdom fell into the hands of the churchmen. The bishops looked more after the affairs of the state than the concerns of the church; and were resolved to maintain by their cruelty what their predecessors had acquired by fraud and impostures; and, as Lesley himself confesses, there was no pains taken to instruct the people in the principles of religion; nor were the children at all catechised, but left in ignorance; and the ill lives of the clergy, who were both covetous and lewd, disposed the people to favour those that preached for a reformation. The first that suffered in this age was Patrick Hamilton, a person of very noble blood; his father was brother to the earl of Arran, and his mother sister to the duke of Albany: so nearly was he on both sides related to the king. He was provided of the abbey of Fern in his youth; and being designed for greater preferments, he was sent to travel; but as he went through Germany, he contracted a friendship with Luther, Melancthon, and others of their persuasion; by whose means he was instructed in the points about which they differed from the church of Rome. He returned to Scotland, that he might communicate that knowledge to others with which himself was so happily enlightened. And little considering either the hindrance of his further preferment, or the other dangers that might lie in his way, he spared not to lay open the corruptions of the Roman church, and to show the errors that had crept into the Christian religion. He was a man both of great learning and of a sweet and charming conversation, and came to be followed and esteemed by all sorts of people.

The Clergy are both ignorant and cruel. The clergy being enraged at this, invited him to St. Andrew's, that there might be conferences held with him about those points which he condemned. And one friar Campbell, prior of the Dominicans, who had the reputation of a learned man, was appointed to treat with him. They had many conferences together; and the prior seemed to be convinced in most points, and acknowledged there were many things in the church that required reformation. But all this while he was betraying him; so that, when the abbot looked for no such thing, he was in the night time made prisoner, and carried to the archbishop's castle. There several articles were objected to him about original sin, free-will, justification, good works, priestly absolution, auricular confession, purgatory, and the pope's being antichrist. Some of these he positively adhered to, the others he thought were disputable points; yet he said he would not condemn them, except he saw better reasons than any he had yet heard. The matter was referred to twelve divines of the university, of whom friar Campbell was one; and within a day or two they censured all his tenets as heretical, and contrary to the faith of the church. On the 1st of March judgment was given upon him by Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, with whom sate the archbishop of Glasgow, the bishop of Dunkeld, Brichton and Dunblan, five abbots, and many of the inferior clergy. They also made the whole university, old and young, sign it. He was declared an obstinate heretic, and delivered to the secular power.

Patrick Hamilton's sufferings. The king had at that time gone a pilgrimage to Ross; and the clergy, fearing lest nearness of blood, with the intercessions which might be made for him, should snatch this prey out of their hands, proceeded that same day to its execution. So in the afternoon he was brought to the stake before St. Salvator's college. He stripped himself of his garments, and gave them to his man; and said, "he had no more to leave him but the example of his

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death,—that he prayed him to keep in mind; for though it was bitter and painful in man's judgment, yet it was the entrance to everlasting life, which none could inherit that denied Christ before such a congregation." Then was he tied to a stake, and a great deal of fuel was heaped about him, which he seemed not to fear, but continued lifting up his eyes to heaven, and recommending his soul to God. When the train of powder was kindled, it did not take hold of the fuel, but only scorched his hand and the side of his face. This occasioned some delay, till more powder was brought from the castle, during which time the friars were very troublesome, and called to him to turn, and pray to Our Lady, and say *Salve Regina*. None was more officious than friar Campbell. The abbot wished him often to let him alone, and give him no more trouble. But the friar continuing to importune him, he said to him, "Wicked man, thou knowest that I am not a heretic, and that it is the truth of God for which I now suffer. So much thou didst confess to me in private, and thereupon I appeal thee to answer before the judgment-seat of Christ." By this time more powder was brought, and the fire was kindled. He cried out with a loud voice, "How long, O Lord, shall darkness oppress this realm? how long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men?" and died repeating these words,—"Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." The patience and constancy he expressed in his sufferings made the spectators generally conclude that he was a true martyr of Christ, in which they were the more confirmed by friar Campbell's falling into great despair soon after, who from that turned frantic, and died within a year.

On this I have insisted the more fully, because it was indeed the beginning of the Reformation in Scotland, and raised there a humour of inquiring into points of religion which did always prove fatal to the church of Rome. In the university itself, many were

The King's
Confessor fa-
vours the Re-
formation.

wrought on, and particularly one Seaton, a Dominican friar, who was the king's confessor. He being appointed to preach the next Lent at St. Andrew's, insisted much on these points: "that the law of God was the only rule of righteousness, that sin was only committed when God's law was violated, that no man could satisfy for sin, and that pardon was to be obtained by unfeigned repentance and true faith." But he never mentioned purgatory, pilgrimages, merits, nor prayers to saints, which used to be the subjects on which the friars insisted most on these occasions. Being gone from St. Andrew's, he heard that another friar of his own order had refuted these doctrines. So he returned, and confirmed them in another sermon, in which he also made some reflections on bishops that were not teachers, calling them dumb dogs. For this he was carried before the archbishop; but he defended himself, saying that he had only, in St. Paul's words, said a bishop should teach; and in Isaiah's words, that such as did not teach were dumb dogs: but having said this in the general, he did not apply it to any bishop in particular. The archbishop was nettled at this answer, yet resolved to let him alone till he should be brought into disgrace with the king. And that was soon done; for the king being a licentious prince, and friar Seaton having often reproved him boldly for it, he grew weary of him. The clergy perceiving this, were resolved to fall upon him: so he withdrew to Berwick, but wrote to the king, that if he would hear him make his defence, he would return and justify all that he had taught. He taxed the cruelty of the clergy, and desired the king would restrain their tyranny, and consider that he was obliged to protect his subjects from their severity and malice. But receiving no satisfactory answer, he lived in England, where he was

Forrest's Suf-
ferings.

entertained by the duke of Suffolk as his chaplain. Not long after this, one Forrest, a simple Benedictine monk, was accused for having said that Patrick Hamilton had died a martyr: yet since there was no sufficient proof to convict him, a friar, one Walter Lainge, was sent to confess him, to whom in confession he acknowledged he thought Hamilton was a good man, and that the articles for which he was condemned might be defended. This being revealed by the friar, was taken for good evidence: so the poor man was condemned to be burnt as a heretic. As he was led out to his execution, he said, "Fy on falsehood, fy on friars, revealers of confession! Let never man trust them after me: they are despisers of God, and deceivers of men!" When they were considering in what place to burn him, a simple man, that attended the archbishop, advised to burn him in some low cellar; for, said he, "the smoke of Mr. Patrick Hamilton has infected all those on whom it blew."

Soon after this, abbot Hamilton's brother and sister were brought into the bishops' courts : but the king, who favoured this brother, persuaded him to absent himself. His sister and six others being brought before the bishop of Ross, who was deputed by the archbishop to proceed against them, the king himself dealt with the woman to abjure, which she and the other six did. Two others were more resolute : the one was Normand Gowrlay, who was charged with denying the pope's authority in Scotland, and saying there was no purgatory : the other was David Straiton ; he was charged with the same opinions. They also alleged that he had denied that tithes were due to churchmen ; and that when the vicar came to take the tithe out of some fish-boats that belonged to him, he alleged the tithe was to be taken where the stock grew, and therefore ordered the tenth fish to be cast into the sea, and bade the vicar to seek them there. They were both judged obstinate heretics, and burnt at one stake the 27th of August 1524. Upon this persecution, some others who were cited to appear fled into England. Those were, Alexander Alesse, John Fife, John Mackbee, and one Mackdowgall. The first of these was received by Cromwell into his family, and grew into great favour with king Henry, and was commonly called his scholar ; of whom see what was said, page 153. But after Cromwell's death, he took Fife with him, and they went into Saxony, and were both professors in Leipsic. Mackbee was at first entertained by Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury ; but he went afterwards into Denmark, where he was known by the name of doctor Maccabeus, and was chaplain to king Christian II.

But all these violent proceedings were not effectual enough to quench that light which was then shining there. Many, by searching the Scriptures, came to the knowledge of the truth ; and the noise of what was then doing in England, awakened others to make further inquiries into matters of religion. Pope Clement VII. apprehending that king Henry might prevail on his nephew to follow his example, wrote letters full of earnest exhortations to him to continue in the catholic faith. Upon which king James called a parliament, and there, in the presence of the pope's nuncio, declared his zeal for that faith and the apostolic see. The parliament also concurred with him in it ; and made acts against heretics, and for maintaining the pope's authority. That same pope did afterwards send to desire him to assist him in making war against the king of England ; for he was resolved to divide that kingdom among those who would assist him in driving out king Henry. But the firm peace at that time between the king of England and the French king kept him quiet from any trouble, which otherwise the king of Scotland might have given him. Yet king Henry sent the bishop of St. David's, with the duke of Norfolk's brother lord William Howard, to him so unexpectedly, that they came to him at Stirling before he had heard of their being sent. The bishop brought with him some of the books that had been writ for the justifying king Henry's proceeding, and desired that the king would impartially examine them ; but he put them into the hands of some about him that were addicted to the interests of Rome, who, without ever reading them, told him they were full of pestilent doctrine and heresy.

The secret business they came for was, to persuade that king to concur with his uncle, and to agree to an interview between them : and they offered him in their master's name the lady Mary in marriage, and that he should be made duke of York and lord-lieutenant * of all England. But the clergy diverted him from it, and persuaded him rather to go on in his design of a match with France ; and their counsels did so prevail, that he resolved to go in person and fetch a queen from thence. On the first of January 1537, he was married to Magdalen, daughter to Francis I. ; but she being then gone far in a consumption, died soon after he had brought her home, on the 28th of May. She was much lamented by all persons, the clergy only excepted : for she had been bred in the queen of Navarre's court, and so they apprehended she might incline the king to a reformation. But he had seen another lady in France, Mary of Guise, whom he then liked so well, that after his queen's death he sent cardinal Beaton into France to treat for a match with her. This gave the clergy as much joy as the former marriage had raised fear ; for no family in Christendom was more devoted to the interests of the papacy than that was. And now the king, though he had freer

* Regni Angliæ Vicarius.

thoughts himself, yet was so engaged to the pretended old religion, that he became a violent persecutor of all who differed from it.

The king grew very expensive; he indulged himself much in his pleasures; he built four noble palaces, which, considering that kingdom and that age, were very extraordinary. The king wholly guided ordinary buildings; he had also many natural children: all which things by the Clergy, concurred to make him very desirous of money. There were two different parties in the court. The nobility, on the one hand, represented to him the great wealth that the abbots had gathered; and that if he would do as his uncle had done, he would thereby raise his revenue to the triple of what it was, and provide plentifully for his children. The clergy, on the other hand, assured him, that if he would set up a strict inquisition of heretics, he would discover so many men of estates that were guilty, that by their forfeitures he might raise above a hundred thousand crowns a year: and for his children, the easiest way of providing for them was to give them good abbeys and priories. This they thought would engage both the king and his sons to maintain their rights more steadily, if their own interests were interwoven with them. They also persuaded the king, that if he maintained the established religion, it would give him a good interest in England, and make him be set up by foreign princes as the head of the league, which the pope and the emperor were then projecting against king Henry. These counsels being seconded by his queen, who was a wise and good lady, but wonderfully zealous for the papacy, did so prevail with him, that as he made four of his children abbots or priors, so he gave way to the persecuting humour of his priests; and gave sir James Hamilton (a natural brother of the earl of Arran, in whom the clergy put much confidence,) a commission to proceed against all that were suspected of heresy. In the year 1539, many were cited to appear before a meeting of the bishops at Edinburgh: of those, nine abjured, many were banished, and five were burnt. Forrester, a gentleman, Simpson, a secular priest, Killore and Beverage, two friars, and Forrest, a canon-regular, were burnt on the Castle-hill of Edinburgh. The last of these was a zealous constant preacher, which was a rare thing in those days. His diocesan, the bishop of Dunkeld, sent for him, and rebuked him for it; and bid him, "when he found a good epistle or good gospel that made for the liberties of the holy church, to preach on that, and let the rest alone." The good man answered, "he had read both the Old Testament and the New, and never found an ill epistle or ill gospel in any of them." The bishop replied, that "he thanked God he had lived well these many years, and never knew either the Old or New: he contented himself with his portuise and his pontifical; and if the other would trouble himself with these fantasies, he would repent it when he could not help it." Forrest said, "he was resolved to do what he conceived was his duty, whatever might be the danger of it." By this it appears how deliberately the clergy at that time delivered themselves up to ignorance and superstition.

In the same year, Russel, a Franciscan friar and one Kennedy, a young man of eighteen years of age, were brought before the archbishop of Glasgow. That bishop was a learned and moderate man, and was much against these cruel proceedings: he was also in great credit with the king, having been his tutor. Yet he was forced by the threatenings of his brethren to go on with the persecution. So those two, Russel and Kennedy, being brought before him, Kennedy, that was young and fearful, had resolved to submit and abjure. But being brought to the bar, and encouraged by Russel's discourses, he felt so high a measure of courage and joy in his heart, that he fell down on his knees, and broke forth in these words: "Wonderful, O God, is thy love and mercy towards me, a miserable wretch! for now, when I would have denied thee, and thy Son my Saviour, thou hast by thine own hand pulled me back from the bottom of hell, and given me most heavenly comfort, which hath removed the ungodly fear that before oppressed my mind. Now I defy death! do what you please, I thank God I am ready." There followed a long dispute between the friar and the divines that sate with the archbishop; but when he perceived they would hear nothing, and answered him only with revilings and jeers, he gave it over, and concluded in these words: "This is your hour and power of darkness: now you sit as judges, and we stand wrongfully condemned; but the day cometh which will show our innocence, and you shall see your own blindness to your everlasting confusion. Go on, and fulfil the

Two other
Martyrs.

measure of your iniquity." This put the archbishop in great confusion, so that he said to those about him, that these rigorous executions did hurt the cause of the church more than could be well thought of; and he declared that his opinion was, that their lives should be spared, and some other course taken with them. But those that sate with him said, if he took a course different from what the other prelates had taken, he was not the church's friend. This, with other threatening expressions, prevailed so far on his fears, that he gave judgment. So they were burnt; but at their death they expressed so much constancy and joy, that the people were much wrought on by their behaviour. Russel encouraged Kennedy, his partner in sufferings, in these words: "Fear not, brother, for he is more mighty that is in us than he that is in the world; the pain which we shall suffer is short and light, but our joy and consolation shall never have an end. Death cannot destroy us, for it is destroyed already by him for whose sake we suffer. Therefore let us strive to enter in by the same strait way which our Saviour hath taken before us." With the blood of such martyrs was the field of that church sown, which did quickly rise up in a plentiful harvest.

Among those that were at this time in hazard, George Buchanan was one. The clergy were resolved to be revenged on him for the sharpness of the poems he had written against them: and the king had so absolutely left all men to their mercy, that he had died with the rest if he had not made his escape out of prison: then he went beyond sea, and lived twenty years in that exile, and was forced to teach a school most part of the time; yet the greatness of his mind was not oppressed with that mean employment. In his writings there appears, not only all the beauty and graces of the Latin tongue, but a vigour of mind and quickness of thought far beyond Bembo, or the other Italians, who at that time affected to revive the purity of the Roman style. It was but a feeble imitation of Tully in them, but his style is so natural and nervous, and his reflections on things are so solid, (besides his immortal poems, in which he shows how well he could imitate all the Roman poets, in their several ways of writing, that he who compares them, will be often tempted to prefer the copy to the original,) that he is justly reckoned the greatest and best of our modern authors. This was the state of affairs at this time in Scotland: and so I shall leave this digression, on which if I have staid too long, my kindness to my native country must be my excuse; and now I return to the affairs of England.

The king went his progress with his fair and beloved queen, and when he came to York, he issued out a proclamation, "that all who had been aggrieved for want of justice by any whom he had formerly employed, should come to him and his counsel for redress." This was done to cast all past miscarriages on Cromwell, and to put the people in hopes of better times. But upon his return to London, he met with a new affliction. He was so much taken with his queen, that on All-Saints' day, when he received the sacrament, he openly gave God thanks for the good life he led and trusted still to lead with her: and desired his ghostly father to join with him in the same thanksgiving to God. But this joy lasted not long: for the next day the archbishop of Canterbury came to him, and gave him a doleful account of the queen's ill life, as it had been brought him by one John Lassels; who, when the king was in his progress, had told him that his sister, who had been an old servant of the duke of Norfolk's, under whose care the queen was brought up, said to him, that the queen was lewd, and that one Francis Deirham had enjoyed her often; as also one Mannock, with other foul circumstances not fit to be related. The archbishop communicated it to the lord chancellor, and the other privy councillors that were at London. They agreed, that the archbishop should open it to the king: but he not knowing how to do it in discourse, set it down in writing and put it in the king's hands. When the king read it he seemed much perplexed; but loved the queen so tenderly, that he looked on it as a forgery: and now the archbishop was in extreme danger, for if full evidence had not been brought, it had been certainly turned on him to his ruin. The king imparted it to some other councillors, and told them that he could not believe it, yet he would try it out, but with all possible secrecy: so the lord privy-seal was sent to London to examine Lassels, who stood to what he had informed. Then he sent that same lord into Sussex, where Lassels' sister lived, to try if she would justify what her brother had reported in her name: and she owning it, he ordered Deirham and Mannock to be arrested upon some other pretences; but

The Queen's
ill life is dis-
covered.

they being examined, not only confessed what was informed, but revealed some other circumstances that showed the queen had laid aside all sense of modesty as well as the fear of a discovery ; three several women having been witnesses to these her lewd practices. The report of that struck the king into a most profound pensiveness, and he burst out into tears, and lamented his misfortune. The archbishop of Canterbury and some other councillors were sent to examine the queen. She at first denied everything, but when she perceived it was already known, she confessed all, and set it under her hand. There were by herself also other evident presumptions that she had intended to continue that course of life : for as she had got Deirham into her service, so she had brought one of the women, who had been formerly privy to their familiarities, to serve about her bedchamber. One Culpepper was also charged upon vehement suspicion : for when the king was at Lincoln, by the lady Rochford's means he was brought into the queen's chamber at eleven o'clock in the night, and staid there till four the next morning : the queen also gave him a gold chain and a rich cap : he being examined confessed the crime ; for which both Deirham and he suffered. Others were also indicted of misprision of treason, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. But this occasioned a new parliament to be summoned.

On the 16th of January the parliament met ; to which the bishops of Westminster, Chester, 1542. Peterborough, and Gloucester, had their writs : the lord Cromwell also had his A new Parliament called. writ*, though I do not find by any record that he was restored in blood. On the 28th of January, the lord chancellor moved the house of lords to consider the case the king was in by the queen's ill carriage : and that there might be no ground of suspicion or complaint, he proposed that some of their number should be sent to examine the queen : whereupon the archbishop of Canterbury, the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Southampton, and the bishop of Westminster, were sent to her. How much she confessed to them is not very clear, neither by the journal nor the act of parliament : which only says that she confessed, without mentioning the particulars. Upon this, the processes of those that had been formerly attainted being also brought as an evidence, the act passed in both houses. In it they petitioned the king,

“ First, Not to be troubled at the matter, since that might be a mean to shorten his life.

The Act about the Queen.

“ Secondly, To pardon everything that had been spoken against the queen.

“ Thirdly, That the queen and her accomplices might be attainted of high treason for her taking Deirham into her service, and another woman into her chamber, who had known their former ill life, by which it appeared what she intended to do ; and then admitting Culpepper to be so long with her in a vile place so many hours in the night. Therefore it is desired that she and they, with the bawd, the lady Rochford, may be attainted of treason, and that the queen and the lady Rochford should suffer the pains of death.

“ Fourthly, That the king would not trouble himself to give his assent to this act in his own person, but grant it by his letters patent under his hand and great seal.

“ Fifthly, That the duchess dowager of Norfolk, countess of Bridgewater, the lord William Howard and his lady, and four other men and five women, who were already attainted by the course of common law (except the duchess of Norfolk and the countess of Bridgewater), that knew the queen's vicious life, and had concealed it, should be all attainted of misprision of treason.

“ It was also enacted, that whosoever knew anything of the incontinence of the queen (for the time being) should reveal it with all possible speed under the pains of treason. And that if the king or his successors should intend to marry any woman whom they took to be a pure and clean maid,—if she, not being so, did not declare the same to the king, it should be high treason ; and all who knew it, and did not reveal it, were guilty of misprision of treason. And if the queen, or the prince's wife, should procure any by messages or words

* He had his writ, not by virtue of any restoration in blood, but of his creation by patent : neither the day his father was created earl, as Mr. Fuiman hath it, following Dr. Fuller, but five months after his father's death, viz. the 18th of December, in the 32d of Henry VIII., when

he was created Baron of this realm, by the title only of Lord Cromwell, but not distinguished by any place. Vide Sir William Dugdale's “ History of the Baronage.”—GRANGER'S CORRECT.

to know her carnally, or any other by messages or words should solicit them, they, their counsellors and abettors, are to be adjudged high traitors."

This act being assented to by the king's letters patent, the queen and the lady Rochford were beheaded on Tower-Hill the 12th of February. The queen confessed the miscarriages of her former life before the king married her, but stood absolutely to her denial as to anything after that; and protested to Dr. White, afterwards bishop of Winchester, that she took God and his angels to be her witnesses, upon the salvation of her soul, that she was guiltless of that act of defiling her sovereign's bed, for which she was condemned. Yet the lasciviousness of her former life made people incline to believe any ill thing that could be reported of her. But for the lady Rochford, everybody observed God's justice on her, who had the chief hand both in queen Anne Boleyn's and her own husband's death; and it now appearing so evidently what sort of woman she was, it tended much to raise their reputations again in whose fall her spite and other artifices had so great a hand. She had been a lady of the bedchamber to the last four queens, but now it was found how unworthy she was of that trust.

It was thought extreme cruelty to be so severe to the queen's kindred for not discovering her former ill life, since the making such a discovery had been inconsistent with the rules of justice or decency. The old duchess of Norfolk, being her grandmother, had bred her of a child; and it was said for her to have gone, and told the king that she was a whore, when he intended to marry her, as it was an unheard-of thing, so the not doing of it could not have drawn so severe a punishment from any but a prince of that king's temper. But the king pardoned her, and most of the rest, though some continued in prison after the rest were discharged.

But for the other part of this act, obliging a woman to reveal her own former incontinence, if the king intended to marry her (which by a mistake the lord Herbert says was passed in another act, taking it from Hall, and not looking into the Record), it was thought a piece of grievous tyranny, since if a king, especially one of so imperious a temper as this was, should design such an honour to any of his subjects who had failed in their former life; they must either defame themselves by publishing so disgraceful a secret, or run the hazard of being afterwards attainted of treason. Upon this, those that took an indiscreet liberty to rally that sex unjustly and severely, said, the king could induce none that was reputed a maid to marry him; so that, not so much choice as necessity put him on marrying a widow about two years after this. But this part of the act was afterwards repealed in the first parliament of king Edward VI.

There passed another act in this parliament that made way for the dissolution of colleges, hospitals, and other foundations of that nature. The courtiers had been practising with the presidents and governors of some of these, to make resignations of them to the king, which were conceived in the same style that most of the surrenders of monasteries did run in. Eight of these were already procured, which are enrolled; but they could not make any great progress, because it was provided by the local statutes of most of them, that no president, or any other fellows, could make any such deed, without the consent of all the fellows in the house, and this could not be so easily obtained. Therefore, all such statutes were annulled, and none were any more to be sworn to the observation of them.

In the convocation that sate at that time, which, as was formerly observed, Fuller mistakes for the convocation in the thirty-first year of this king, the translation of the Bible was brought under examination, and many of the bishops were appointed to peruse it; for it seems complaints were brought against it. It was certainly the greatest eyesore of the popish party, and that which they knew would most effectually beat down all their projects: but there was no opposing it directly, for the king was fully resolved to go through with it; therefore, the way they took was once to load the translation then set out with as many faults as they could, and so to get it first condemned, and then to promise a new one, in the making and publishing of which it would be easy to breed many delays. But Gardiner had another singular conceit; he fancied there were many words in the New Testament of such majesty, that they were not to be

Censures
passed upon it.

Act about
Hospitals, &c.

The Papists
design to sup-
press the
English Bible.

translated, but must stand in the English Bible as they were in the Latin. A hundred of these he put into writing, which was read in convocation. His design in this was visible—that if a translation must be made, it should be so daubed all through with Latin words, that the people should not understand it much the better for its being in English. A taste of this the reader may have by the first twenty of them:—*Ecclesia, Penitentia, Pontifex, Ancilla, Contritus, Olocausta, Justitia, Justificatio, Idiota, Elementa, Baptizare, Martyr, Adorare, Sandalium, Simplex, Tetrarcha, Sacramentum, Simulachrum, Gloria*. The design he had of keeping some of these, particularly the last save one, is plain enough:—that the people might not discover that visible opposition which was between the Scriptures and the Roman church, in the matter of images. This could not be better palliated than by disguising these places with words that the people understood not. How this was received Fuller has not told us. But it seems Cranmer found that the bishops were resolved either to condemn the translation of the Bible, or to proceed so slowly in it that it should come to nothing. Therefore he moved the king to refer the perusing of it to the two universities. The bishops took this very ill when Cranmer intimated it to them in the king's name, and objected that the learning of the universities was much decayed of late, and that the two houses of convocation were the more proper judges of that, where the learning of the land was chiefly gathered together. But the archbishop said he would stick close to the king's pleasure, and that the universities should examine it. Upon which all the bishops of his province, except Ely and St. David's, protested against it; and soon after the convocation was dissolved.

Not long after this, I find Bonner made some injunctions for his clergy, which have a strain in them so far different from the rest of his life, that it is more probable they were drawn by another pen, and imposed on Bonner by an order from the king. They were set out in the thirty-fourth year of the king's reign; but the time of the year is not expressed. The reader will find them in the collection at their full length. The substance of them is—

“First, That all should observe the king's injunctions.
 “Secondly, That every clergyman should read and study a chapter of the Bible every day, with the exposition of the gloss, or some approved doctor, which having once studied, they should retain it in their memories, and be ready to give an account of it, to him, or any whom he should appoint.

“Thirdly, That they should study the book set forth by the bishops of the Institution of a Christian Man.

“Fourthly, That such as did not reside in their benefices should bring their curates to him, or his officers, to be tried.

“Fifthly, That they should often exhort their parishioners to make no private contracts of marriage.

“Sixthly, That they should marry none who were married before, till they were sufficiently assured that the former husband or wife were dead.

“Seventhly, That they should instruct the children of their several parishes, and teach them to read English, that they might know how to believe, and pray, and live according to the will of God.

“Eighthly, That they should reconcile all that were in enmity, and in that be a good example to others.

“Ninthly, That none should receive the communion who did not confess to their own curates.

“Tenthly, That none should be suffered to go to taverns or ale-houses, and use unlawful games on Sundays or holydays, in time of divine service.

“Eleventhly, That twice every quarter they should declare the seven deadly sins and the Ten Commandments.

“Twelfthly, That no priest should go but in his habit.

“Thirteenthly, That no priest should be admitted to say mass without showing his letters of orders to the bishop or his officers.

“Fourteenthly, That they should instruct the people to beware of blasphemy, or swearing

by any part of Christ's body; and to abstain from scolding and slandering, adultery, fornication, gluttony, or drunkenness; and that they should present at the next visitation those who were guilty of these sins.

"Fifteenthly, That no priest should use unlawful games, or go to ale-houses or taverns, but upon an urgent necessity.

"Sixteenthly, No plays or interludes to be acted in the churches.

"Seventeenthly, That there should be no sermons preached that had been made within these two hundred or three hundred years; but when they preached, they should explain the whole gospel and epistle for the day, according to the mind of some good doctor allowed by the church of England; and chiefly to insist on those places that might stir up the people to good works and to prayer; and to explain the use of the ceremonies of the church. That there should be no railing in sermons; but the preacher should calmly and discreetly set forth the excellences of virtue and the vileness of sin; and should also explain the prayers for that day, that so the people might pray with one heart; and should teach them the use of the sacraments, particularly of the mass; but should avoid the reciting of fables, or stories for which no good writer could be vouched; and that when the sermon was ended, the preacher should in few words resume the substance of it.

"Eighteenthly, That none be suffered to preach under the degree of a bishop, who had not obtained a licence, either from the king, or him their ordinary."

These injunctions, especially when they are considered at their full length, will give great light into the temper of men at that time, and particularly inform us of the design and method of preaching, as it was then set forward, concerning which the reader will not be ill pleased to receive some information. In the time of popery there had been few sermons but in Lent, for their discourses on the holydays were rather panegyrics on the saint, or the vain magnifying of some of their relics, which were laid up in such or such places. In Lent there was a more solemn and serious way of preaching; and the friars, who chiefly maintained their credit by their performances at that time, used all the force of their skill and industry to raise the people into heats by passionate and affecting discourses. Yet these generally tended to raise the value of some of the laws of the church, such as abstinence at that time, confession, with other corporal severities, or some of the little devices, that both inflamed a blind devotion and drew money—such as indulgences, pilgrimages, or the enriching the shrines and relics of the saints. But there was not that pains taken to inform the people of the hatefulness of vice and the excellency of holiness, or of the wonderful love of Christ, by which men might be engaged to acknowledge and obey him; and the design of their sermons was rather to raise a present heat, which they knew afterwards how to manage, than to work a real reformation on their hearers. They had also intermixed with all divine truths so many fables, that they were become very extravagant; and that alloy had so embased the whole, that there was great need of a good discerning to deliver people from those prejudices which these mixtures brought upon the whole Christian doctrine. Therefore the reformers studied with all possible care to instruct the people in the fundamentals of Christianity, with which they had been so little acquainted. From hence it came, that the people ran after those new preachers with wonderful zeal. It is true there seem to be very foul and indiscreet reflections on the other party, in some of their sermons. But if any have applied themselves much to observe what sort of men the friars and the rest of the popish clergy were at that time, they shall find great excuses for those heats; and as our Saviour laid open the hypocrisies and impostures of the Scribes and Pharisees in a style which such corruptions extorted, so there was great cause given to treat them very roughly, though it is not to be denied but those preachers had some mixtures of their own resentments for the cruelties and ill usage which they received from them. But now that the Reformation made a greater progress, much pains was taken to send eminent preachers over the nation, not confining them to particular charges, but sending them with the king's licence up and down to many places. Many of these licences are enrolled, and it is likely that many were granted that were not so carefully preserved: but provision was also made for people's daily instruction; and because in that ignorant time there could not be found a sufficient number of good preachers, and in a time of so much juggling they would not trust

the instruction of the people to every one, therefore none was to preach except he had gotten a particular licence for it from the king or his diocesan. But to qualify this a book of homilies was printed, in which the gospels and epistles of all the Sundays and holidays of the year were set down, with a homily to every one of these, which is a plain and practical paraphrase on those parcels of Scripture. To these are added many serious exhortations, and some short explanations of the most obvious difficulties, that show the compiler of them was a man both of good judgment and learning. To these were also added sermons upon several occasions, as for weddings, christenings, and funerals; and these were to be read to the people by such as were not licensed to preach. But those who were licensed to preach being oft accused for their sermons, and complaints being made to the king by hot men on both sides, they came generally to write and read their sermons. From thence the reading of sermons grew into a practice in this church, in which, if there was not that heat and fire which the friars had showed in their declamations, so that the passions of the hearers were not so much wrought on by it, yet it has produced the greatest treasure of weighty, grave, and solid sermons that ever the church of God had, which does in a great measure compensate that seeming flatness to vulgar ears that is in the delivery of them.

The injunctions take notice of another thing, which the sincerity of an historian obliges me to give an account of, though it was indeed the greatest blemish of that time.

Plays and Interludes then acted. These were the stage-plays and interludes that were then generally acted, and often in churches. They were representations of the corruptions of the monks, and some other feats of the popish clergy. The poems were ill contrived, and worse expressed, if there lies not some hidden wit in these ballads (for verses they were not), which at this distance is lost: but from the representing the immoralities and disorders of the clergy, they proceeded to act the pagantry of their worship. This took with the people much, who being provoked by the miscarriages and cruelties of some of the clergy, were not ill pleased to see them and their religion exposed to public scorn. The clergy complained much of this, and said it was an introduction to atheism and all sort of irreligion: for if once they began to mock sacred things, no stop could be put to that petulant humour*. The grave and learned sort of reformers disliked and condemned these courses, as not suitable to the genius of true religion; but the political men of that party made great use of them, encouraging them all they could: for they said, contempt being the most operative and lasting affection of the mind, nothing would more effectually drive out many of those abuses which yet remained, than to expose them to the contempt and scorn of the people.

In the end of this year, a war broke out between England and Scotland, set on by the instigation of the French king, who was also beginning to be an uneasy neighbour to those of the English pale about Calais. The king set out a long declaration, in which he very largely laid out the pretensions the crown of England had to an homage from the kings of Scotland. In this I am no fit person to interpose, the matter being disputed by the learned men of both nations. The Scots said it was only for some lands their kings had in England that they did homage: as the kings of England did for Normandy and Guienne to the kings of France. But the English writers cited many records, to show that the homage was done for the crown of Scotland. To this the Scots replied, that in the invasion of Edward I. he had carried away all their ancient records; so these being lost, they could only appeal to the chronicles that lay up and down the nation in their monasteries: that all these affirmed the contrary, and that they were a free kingdom till Edward I., taking advantage of their disputes about the succession to their crown upon the death of Alexander III., got some of the competitors to lay down their pretensions at his feet, and to promise homage: that this was also performed by John Balliol, whom he preferred to the crown of Scotland; but by these means he lost the hearts of the nation, and it was said that his act of homage could not give away the rights of a free crown and people. And they said, that whatsoever submissions had been made since that time, they were only

* Interludes were not then brought in first to churches, but had been used in the times of popery, the greatest part of their religion being placed in outward shows, so that these did well enough agree with it; and such representa-

tions are yet in use sometimes in the Roman church, so that, by which they had formerly entertained the people, was now turned on themselves.—FULMAN'S CORRECT.

extorted by force, as the effects of victory and conquest, but gave no good right nor just title. To all this the English writers answered, that these submissions by their records (which were the solemn instruments of a nation, that ought never to be called in question) were sometimes freely made, and not by their kings only, but by the consent of their states. In this uncertainty I must leave it with the reader.

But after the king had opened this pretension, “he complained of the disorders committed by the Scots; of the unkind returns he had met with from their king for his care of him while he was an infant; taking no advantage of the confusions in which that kingdom then was, but on the contrary protecting the crown and quieting the kingdom. But that of late many depredations and acts of hostility had been committed by the Scots: and though some treaties had been begun, they were managed with so much shuffling and inconstancy, that the king must now try it by a war.” Yet he concluded his declaration ambiguously, neither keeping up nor laying down his pretensions to that crown; but expressing them in such a manner, that which way soever the success of the war turned, he might be bound up to nothing by what he now declared.

But whatsoever justice might be in the king’s title or quarrel, his sword was much the sharper. He ordered the duke of Norfolk to march into Scotland, about the end of October, with an army of 20,000 men. Hall tells us they burnt many towns, and names them. But these were only single houses, or little villages; and the best town he names is Kelso, which is a little open market-town. Soon after, they returned back into England; whether after they had spoiled the neighbouring country they felt the inconveniences of the season of the year, or whether hearing the Scots were gathering they had no mind to go too far, I cannot determine; for the writers of both nations disagree as to the reason of their speedy return. But any that knows the country they spoiled, and where they stopped, must conclude that either they had secret orders only to make an inroad, and destroy some places that lay along the river of Tweed and upon the border, which done, without driving the breach too far, to retire back; or they must have had apprehensions of the Scottish armies coming to lie in these moors and hills of Sautrey, or Lammer-Moor, which they were to pass if they had gone farther: and there were about 10,000 men brought thither, but he that commanded them was much blamed for doing nothing; his excuse was, that his number did not equal theirs. About the end of November, the lord Maxwell brought an army of 15,000 men together, with a train of artillery of 24 pieces of ordnance. And since the duke of Norfolk had retired towards Berwick, they resolved to enter England on the western side by Solway Frith. The king went thither himself, but fatally left the army, and yet was not many miles from them when they were defeated. The truth of it was, that king, who had hitherto raised the greatest expectation, was about that time disturbed in his fancy, thinking that he saw apparitions, particularly of one whom it was said he had unjustly put to death; so that he could not rest, nor be at quiet. But as his leaving the army was ill advised, so his giving a commission to Oliver Sinclair, that was his minion, to command in chief, did extremely disgust the nobility. They loved not to be commanded by any but their king, and were already weary of the insolence of that favourite, who being but of ordinary birth was despised by them; so that they were beginning to separate. And when they were upon that occasion in great disorder, a small body of English, not above 500 horse, appeared: but they apprehending it was the duke of Norfolk’s army, refused to fight, and fell in confusion. Many prisoners were taken; the chief of whom were, the earls of Glencairn and Cassillis, the lords Maxwell, Sommervell, Oliphant, Gray, and Oliver Sinclair; and about 200 gentlemen and 800 soldiers; and all the ordnance and baggage was also taken. The news of this being brought to the king of Scotland, increased his former disorders, and some few days after he died, leaving an infant daughter but newly born to succeed him.

The lords that were taken prisoners were brought to London, where after they had been charged in council how unkindly they had used the king, they were put in the keeping of some of the greatest quality about court. But the earl of Cassillis had the best luck of them all; for being sent to Lambeth, where he was a

Duke of Norfolk's inroad into Scotland.

The Scottish Army defeated.

Many Prisoners taken.

prisoner upon his parole, Cranmer studied to free him from the darkness and fetters of popery; in which he was so successful, that the other was afterwards a great promoter of the Reformation in Scotland. The Scots had been hitherto possessed with most extraordinary prejudices against the changes that had been made in England, which concurring with the ancient animosities between the two nations, had raised a wonderful ill opinion of the king's proceedings; and though the bishop of St. David's (Barlow) had been sent into Scotland with the book of the Institution of a Christian Man to clear these ill impressions, yet his endeavours were unsuccessful. The pope, at the instance of the French king, and to make that kingdom sure, made David Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, a cardinal; which gave him great authority in the kingdom; so he with the rest of the clergy diverted the king from any correspondence with England, and assured him of victory if he would make war on such an heretical prince. The clergy also offered the king 50,000 crowns a year towards a war with England, and possessed all the nation with very ill thoughts of the court and clergy there. But the lords that were now prisoners (chiefly the earl of Cassillis, who was best instructed by his religious host) conceived a better opinion of the Reformation, and carried home with them those seeds of knowledge which produced afterwards a very fruitful harvest. On all these things I have dwelt the longer, that it might appear whence the inclination of the Scottish nobility to reform did take its first rise, though there was afterwards in the methods by which it was advanced, too great a mixture of the heat and forwardness that is natural to the genius of that country.

When the news of the king of Scotland's death and of the young queen's birth that succeeded him came to the court, the king thought this a very favourable conjuncture to unite and settle the whole island. But that unfortunate princess was not born under such happy stars, though she was mother to him in whom this long-desired union took effect. The lords that were then prisoners began the motion, and that being told the king, he called for them to Hampton-court, in the Christmas-time, and said, now an opportunity was put in their hands to quiet all troubles that had been between these two crowns, by the marriage of the prince of Wales to their young queen; in which he desired their assistance, and gave them their liberty, they leaving hostages for the performance of what was then offered by them. They all promised their concurrence, and seemed much taken with the greatness of the English court, which the king always kept up not without affectation; they also said, they thought God was better served there than in their own country. So on New-year's-day they took their journey towards Scotland, but the sequel of this will appear afterwards.

A parliament was summoned to meet the 22d of January, which sat to the 12th of May. So

1543. the session begun in the thirty-fourth and ended in the thirty-fifth year of the king's reign, from whence it is called in the records, the parliament of the thirty-fourth and

A new Parliament.

thirty-fifth year. Here both the temporality and spirituality gave great subsidies to the king, of six shillings in the pound, to be paid in three years. They set

forth in their preambles "the expense the king had been at in his war with Scotland, and for his other great and urgent occasions," by which was meant a war with France, which broke out the following summer. But with these there passed other two acts of great importance to religion. The title of the first was, "An act for the advancement of true religion, and abolishment of the contrary." The king was now entering upon a war; so it seemed reasonable to qualify the severity of the late acts about religion, that all might be

quiet at home. Cranmer moved it first, and was faintly seconded by the bishops of Worcester, Hereford, Chichester, and Rochester, who had promised to stick to him in it. At this time a league was almost finished between the king and the

emperor, which did again raise the spirits of the popish faction. They had been much cast down ever since the last queen's fall. But now that the emperor was like to have an interest in English councils, they took heart again, and Gardiner opposed the archbishop's motion with all possible earnestness; and that whole faction fell so upon it, that the timorous bishops not only forsook Cranmer, but Heath of Rochester and Skip of Hereford were very earnest with him to stay for a better opportunity; but he generously preferred his conscience to those arts of policy which he would never practise; and said, he would push it as far as

it would go. So he plied the king and the other lords so earnestly, that at length the bill passed, though clogged with many provisoes, and very much short of what he had designed.

The preamble set forth, “that there being many dissensions about religion, the Scriptures, which the king had put into the hands of his people, were abused by many seditious persons, in their sermons, books, plays, rhymes, and songs, from which great inconveniences were like to arise. For preventing these it was necessary to establish a form of sincere doctrine, conformable to that which was taught by the apostles. Therefore all the books of the Old and New Testament, of Tindal’s translation (which is called crafty, false, and untrue), are forbidden to be kept or used in the king’s dominions, with all other books contrary to the doctrine set forth in the year 1540, with punishments, and fines and imprisonment upon such as sold or kept such books. But Bibles that were not of Tindal’s translation were still to be kept, only the annotations, or preambles, that were in any of them, were to be cut out or dashed; and the king’s proclamations and injunctions, with the primmers and other books printed in English, for the instruction of the people before the year 1540, were still to be in force; and among these, Chaucer’s books are by name mentioned. No books were to be printed about religion without the king’s allowance. In no plays nor interludes they might make any expositions of Scripture, but only reproach vice and set forth virtue in them. None might read the Scripture in any open assembly, or expound it, but he who was licensed by the king or his ordinary, with a proviso, that the chancellors in parliament, judges, recorders, or any others, who were wont in public occasions to make speeches, and commonly took a place of Scripture for their text, might still do as they had done formerly. Every nobleman or gentleman might cause the Bible to be read to him, in or about his house, quietly and without disturbance. Every merchant that was a householder might also read it; but no woman, nor artificers, apprentices, journeymen, servingmen, under the degree of yeomen; nor no husbandmen, or labourers, might read it. Yet every noblewoman or gentlewoman might read it for herself: and so might all other persons but those who were excepted. Every person might read and teach in their houses the book set out in the year 1540, with the psalter, primmer, paternoster, the ave, and the creed, in English. All spiritual persons, who preached or taught contrary to the doctrine set forth in that book, were to be admitted, for the first conviction, to renounce their errors; for the second to abjure and carry a faggot; which if they refused to do, or fell into a third offence, they were to be burnt. But the laity, for the third offence, were only to forfeit their goods and chattels, and be liable to perpetual imprisonment. But these offences were to be objected to them within a year after they were committed; and whereas before, the party accused was not allowed to bring witnesses for his own purgation; this was now granted him. But to this a severe proviso was added, which seemed to overthrow all the former favour, that the act of the Six Articles was still in the same force in which it was before the making of this act. Yet that was moderated by the next proviso, that the king might at any time hereafter at his pleasure change this act or any provision in it.”

This last proviso was made stronger by another act, made for the due execution of proclamations, in pursuance of a former act to the same effect, of which mention was made in the thirty-first year of the king’s reign. By that former act there was so great a number of officers of state, and of the king’s household, of judges, and other persons, to sit on these trials, that those not being easily brought together, the act had never taken any effect. Therefore it was now appointed that nine counsellors should be a sufficient number for these trials. At the passing of that act the lord Montjoy protested against it, which is the single instance of a protestation against any public bill through this king’s whole reign.

The act about religion freed the subjects from the fears under which they were before; for now the laity were delivered from the hazard of burning; and the spirituality were not in danger but upon the third conviction. They might also bring their own witnesses, which was a great favour to them. Yet that high power which was given the king of altering the act or any parts of it, made, that they were not absolutely secured from their fears, of which some instances afterwards appeared. But as this act was some mitigation of former severities, so it brought the reformers to depend wholly on the king’s mercy for their lives; since he could now chain up or let loose the act of the Six Articles upon them at his pleasure.

Soon after the end of this parliament, a league was sworn between the king and the emperor on Trinity Sunday ; offensive and defensive for England, Calais, and the places about it, and for all Flanders ; with many other particulars, to be found in the treaty set down at large by the lord Herbert. There is no mention made of the legitimation of the lady Mary ; but it seems it was promised, that she should be declared next in the succession of the crown to prince Edward, if the king had no other children ; which was done in the next parliament, without any reflections on her birth ; and the emperor was content to accept of that, there being no other terms to be obtained. The popish party, who had set up their rest on bringing the king and emperor to a league, and putting the lady Mary into the succession, no doubt pressed the emperor much to accept of this : which we may reasonably believe was vigorously driven on by Bonner, who was sent to Spain an ambassador for concluding this peace, by which also the emperor gained much ; for having engaged the crowns of England and France in a war, and drawn off the king of England from his league with the princes of Germany, he was now at more leisure to prosecute his designs in Germany.

But the negotiation in Scotland succeeded not to the king's mind, though at first there were very good appearances. The cardinal, by forging a will for the dead king, got himself and some of his party to be put into the government. But the earl of

Arran (Hamilton) being the nearest in blood to the young queen, and being generally beloved for his probity, was invited to assume the government ; which he managed with great moderation, and an universal applause. He summoned a parliament which confirmed him in his power during the minority of the queen. The king sent sir Ralph Sadler to him to agree the marriage, and to desire him to send the young queen into England : and if private ends wrought much on him, Sadler was empowered to offer another marriage of the king's second daughter, the lady Elizabeth, to his son. The earl of Arran was himself inclinable to reformation, and very much hated the cardinal : so he was easily brought to consent to a treaty for the match, which was concluded in August : by which the young queen was to be bred in Scotland till she was ten years of age ; but the king might send a nobleman and his wife, with other persons, not exceeding twenty, to wait on her. And for performance of this, six noblemen were to be sent from Scotland for hostages. The earl of Arran being then governor, kept the cardinal under restraint till this treaty was concluded : but he, corrupting his keepers, made his escape, and joining with the queen-mother, they made a strong faction against the governor ; all the clergy joined with the cardinal to oppose the match with England, since they looked for ruin if it succeeded. The queen, being a sister of Guise, and bred in the French court, was wholly for their interests ; and all that had been obliged by that court, or depended on it, were quickly drawn into the party. It was also said to everybody that it was much more the interest of

Scotland to match with France than with England. If they were united to France they might expect an easy government : for the French being at such distance from them, and knowing how easily they might throw themselves into the arms of England, would certainly rule them gently, and avoid giving them great provocations. But if they were united to England, they had no remedy but must look for an heavier yoke to be laid on them. This meeting with the rooted antipathy that by a long continuance of war was grown up among them to a savage hatred of the English nation ; and being inflamed by the considerations of religion, raised an universal dislike of the match with England, in the greatest part of the whole nation ; only a few men of greater probity, who were weary of the depredations and wars in the borders, and had a liking to the reformation of the church, were still for it.

The French court struck in vigorously with their party in Scotland, and sent over the earl of Lenox ; who as he was next in blood to the crown after the earl of Arran, so was of the same family of the Stewarts, which had endeared him to the late king. He was to lead the queen's party against the Hamiltons. Yet they employed another tool, which was John Hamilton, base brother to the governor, who was afterwards archbishop of St. Andrew's. He had great power over his brother, who being then not above four-and-twenty years of age, and having been the only lawful son of his father in his

A League
between the
King and
Emperor.

A Treaty for
a Match with
the Queen of
Scotland.

The differ-
ent Interests
there.

The French
Party prevails.

old age, was never bred abroad : and so understood not the policies and arts of courts, and was easily abused by his base brother : he assured him, that if he went about to destroy religion, by matching the queen to an heretical prince, they would depose him from his government, and declare him illegitimate. There could be indeed nothing clearer than his father's divorce from his first wife : for it had been formerly proved, that she had been married to the lord Yester's son before he married her, who claimed her as his wife ; upon which, her marriage with the earl of Arran was declared null in the year 1507 : and it was ten years after that the earl of Arran did marry the governor's mother : of which things the original instruments are yet extant. Yet it was now said that that precontract with the lord Yester's son was but a forgery to dissolve that marriage : and if the earl of Lenox (who was next to the crown, in case the earl of Arran was illegitimated) should by the assistance of France procure a review of that process from Rome, and obtain a revocation of that sentence, by which his father's first marriage was annulled ; then it was plain that the second marriage, with the issue by it, would be of no force. All this wrought on the governor much, and at length drew him off from the match with England and brought him over to the French interests : which being effected, there was no further use of the earl of Lenox ; so he finding himself neglected by the queen and the cardinal, and abandoned by the crown of France, fled into England ; where he was very kindly received by the king, who gave him in marriage his niece, lady Margaret Douglass, whom the queen of Scotland had born to the earl of Angus, her second husband : from which marriage issued the lord Darnley, father to king James.

When the lords of the French faction had carried things to their mind in Scotland, it was next considered what they should do to redeem the hostages whom the lords, who were prisoners in England, had left behind them : and for this no other remedy could be found but to let them take their hazard, and leave them to the king of England's mercy : to this they all agreed, only the earl of Cassillis had too much honour and virtue to do so mean a thing. Therefore, after he had done all he could for maintaining the treaty about the match, he went into England, and offered himself again to be a prisoner. But as generous actions are a reward to themselves, so they often meet with that entertainment which they deserve. And upon this occasion the king was not wanting to express a very great value for that lord. He called him another Regulus, but used him better : for he both gave him his liberty and made him noble presents, and sent him and his hostages back, being resolved to have a severer reparation for the injury done him : all which I have opened more fully, because this will give a great light to the affairs of that kingdom, which will be found in the reigns of the succeeding princes to have a great intermixture with the affairs of this kingdom. Nor are they justly represented by any who write of these times ; and having seen some original papers relating to Scotland at that time, I have done it upon more certain information.

The king of England made war next upon France : the grounds of this war are recited by the lord Herbert. One of these is proper for me to repeat ; "that the French king had not deserted the bishop of Rome, and consented to a reformation, as he had once promised. The rest related to other things, such as the seizing our ships ; the detaining the yearly pension due to the king ; the fortifying Ardres to the prejudice of the English pale ; the revealing the king's secrets to the emperor ; the having given, first his daughter, and then the duke of Guise's sister, in marriage to his enemy the king of Scotland ; and his confederating himself with the Turk. And satisfaction not being given in these particulars, a war is declared."

In July the king married Katharine Parr, who had formerly been married to Nevil, lord Latimer. She was a secret favourer of the Reformation, yet could not divert a storm which at this time fell on some in Windsor ; for that being a place to which the king did oft retire, it was thought fit to make some examples there ; and now the league with the emperor gave the popish faction a greater interest in the king's councils. There was at this time a society at Windsor that favoured the Reformation ; Anthony Person a priest, Robert Testwood and John Marbeck singing-men, and Henry Filmer of the town of Windsor, were the chief of them ; but those were much favoured by sir Philip Hobby and his lady, and several others of the king's family. During Cromwell's

A new Per-
secution of
Protestants.

power none questioned them ; but after his fall they were looked on with an ill eye. Doctor London, who had by the most servile flatteries insinuated himself into Cromwell, and was much employed in the suppression of monasteries, and expressed a particular zeal in removing all images and relics which had been abused to superstition, did now, upon Cromwell's fall apply himself to Gardiner, by whose means he was made a prebendary there ; and, to show how dexterously he could make his court both ways, or to make compensation for what he had formerly done, he took care to gather a whole book of informations against those in Windsor who favoured the "new learning" (which was the modest phrase by which they termed the Reformation). He carried this book to Gardiner, who moved the king in council, that a commission might be granted for searching suspected houses at Windsor, in which it was informed there were many books against the six articles. The king granted the warrant for the town, but not for the castle ; so, those before-named were seized on, and some of these books were found in their houses. Dr. Hains, dean of Exeter and prebendary of Windsor, being informed against, was also put in prison ; so was likewise sir Philip Hobby. But there were likewise some papers of notes on the Bible, and of a concordance in English, found in Marbeck's house, written with his own hand : and he being an illiterate man, they did not doubt but these were other men's works, which he was writing out : so they began with him, and hoped to draw discoveries from him. He was frequently examined, but would tell nothing that might do hurt to any other person ; but, being examined who wrote these notes, he said they were his own : for he read all the books he could light on, and wrote out what every man had written on any place of Scripture. And, for his concordance, he told them that, being a poor man, he could not buy one of the Bibles when they came first out in English, but set himself to write one out : by which another, perceiving his industry, suggested to him that he would do well to write a concordance in English ; but he said, he knew not what that was ; so the other person explaining it to him, he got a Latin concordance and an English Bible ; and, having learned a little Latin when he was young, he, by comparing the English with the Latin, had drawn out a concordance, which he had brought to the letter L. This seemed so extravagant a thing to Gardiner, and the other bishops that examined him, that they could by no means believe it. But he desired they would draw out any words of the letter M and give him the Latin concordance, with the English Bible, and after a little time they should see whether he had not done the rest. So the trial was made, and, in a day's time, he had drawn out three sheets of paper upon those words that were given him. This both satisfied and astonished the bishops, wondering at the ingeniousness and diligence of so poor a man. It was much talked of, and, being told the king, he said, "Marbeck employed his time better than those that examined him." For the others, they were kept in prison at London till the 24th of July, that the king gave orders to try them at Windsor.

There was a court held there on the 27th of July, where Capon bishop of Sarum, and Franklin dean of Windsor, and Fachel parson of Reading, and three of the judges, sat on those four men. They were indicted for some words spoken against the mass. Marbeck only for writing out an epistle of Calvin's against it : which, he said, he copied before the act of the Six Articles was made. The jury was not called out of the town, for they would not trust it to them, but out of the farms of the chapel. They were all found guilty, and so condemned to be burnt, which was executed on three of them the next day : only Marbeck was recommended to the bishop of Winchester's care, to procure his pardon, which was obtained. The other three expressed great composure of mind in their sufferings, and died with much Christian resolution and patience ; forgiving their persecutors, and committing themselves to the mercies of God through Jesus Christ.

But in their trial, doctor London, and Symonds, a lawyer and an informer, had studied to fish out accusations against many of the king's servants, as sir Philip Hobby, and sir Thomas Cawardine, with their ladies, and several others, who had favoured those men. With these informations, Okam, that had been the clerk of the court, was sent to Gardiner : but one of the queen's servants, who had discovered the design, was before him at court. Upon the advertisement which he had brought, Okam was seized on at his coming to court, and all his papers were examined ; in which

Marbeck's
great ingeni-
ousness.

Their Perse-
cutors are per-
jured.

they discovered a conspiracy against those gentlemen, with other plots, that gave the king great offence ; but the particulars are not mentioned. So doctor London and Symonds were sent for, and examined upon this discovery ; but they, not knowing that their letters were intercepted, denied there was any such plot ; and, being put to their oaths, swore it. Then their own hand-writing was produced against them. Upon which, they being thus perjured, were ordered to be carried on horseback, with their faces to the horses' tails, and papers on their foreheads, for their perjury ; and then to be set in the pillory both in Windsor, Reading, and Newbury, where the king was at that time. This was accordingly executed on them ; but sunk so deep in doctor London's heart, that he died soon after. From all this it will appear what sort of men the persecutors at that time were.

But this was a small part of what Gardiner had projected : for he looked on these as persons unworthy of his displeasure. Cranmer was chiefly aimed at by him ; and therefore all that party were still infusing it into the king's mind, that it was great injustice to prosecute poor men with so much severity, and let the chief supporter of heresy stand in so eminent a degree, and in such favour about him.

At length the king, to discover the bottom of their designs, seemed to give ear to their accusations, and desired to hear what particulars could be objected against him. This gave them great encouragement ; for till that time the king would let nothing be said against Cranmer : so they concluded he would be quickly ruined, since the king had opened his ear to their informations. Therefore many particulars were quickly laid together, and put into the king's hands ; who a little after that, going to divert himself on the river, ordered his bargemen to row towards Lambeth, which being perceived by some of the archbishop's servants, they acquainted him with it, who hasted down to his stairs to do his duty to the

king. When the king saw him, he called him into the barge ; and they being alone, the king lamented the growth of heresy, and the dissensions and confusions that were like to follow upon it ; and said, he intended to find out the chief encourager and favourer of these heresies, and make him an example to the rest. And he asked the archbishop's opinion about it : who answered him, that it was a good resolution ; but entreated the king to consider well what heresy was, and not to condemn those as heretics who stood for the word of God against human inventions. But after some discourse, the king told him he was the man, who, as he was informed, was the chief encourager of heresy ; and then gave him the articles that were brought against him, and his chaplains, both by some prebendaries of Canterbury, and the justices of peace in Kent. When he read them, he kneeled down, and desired the king would put the matter to a trial. He acknowledged he was still of the same mind he was of when he opposed the Six Articles ; but that he had done nothing against them. Then the king asked him about his wife. He frankly confessed he had a wife, but said that he had sent her to Germany upon the passing the act against priests having wives. His candour and simplicity wrought so on the king, that he discovered to him the whole plot that was laid against him ; and said, that instead of bringing him to any trial about it, he would have him try it out, and proceed against those his accusers. But he excused himself, and said it would not be decent for him to sit judge in his own cause ; but the king said to him, he was resolved none other should judge it but those he should name. So he named his chancellor, and his register, to whom the king added another ; and a commission being given them, they went into Kent, and sat three weeks, to find out the first contrivers of this accusation. And now every one disowned it, since they saw he was still firmly rooted in the king's esteem and favour. But it being observed, that the commissioners proceeded faintly, Cranmer's friends moved that some man of courage and authority might be sent thither to canvass this accusation more carefully. So doctor Leighton, dean of York, was brought up about All-hallowtide, and sent into Kent. And he who had been well acquainted with the arts of discovering secrets when he was one of the visitors of the abbeys, managed it more vigorously. He ordered a search to be made of all suspected persons ; among whose papers letters were found, both from the bishop of Winchester and doctor London, and some of those whom Cranmer had treated with the greatest freedom and kindness, in which the whole plot against him was discovered. But it was now near the session of parliament : and the king was satisfied with the discovery, but thought it not fit to make much noise

A Conspiracy
against Cran-
mer.

Antiq. Brit.

His Christian temper of mind. of it : and he received no addresses from the archbishop to prosecute it further ; who was so noted for his clemency, and following our Saviour's rule, of "doing good for evil," that it was commonly said, the way to get his favour was to do him an injury. These were the only instances in which he expressed his resentments. Two of the conspirators against him, had been persons signally obliged by him : the one was the bishop's suffragan, of Dover ; the other was a civilian, whom he had employed much in his business. But all the notice he took of it was to show them their letters, and to admonish them to be more faithful and honest for the future. Upon which he freely forgave them, and carried it so to them afterwards as if he had absolutely forgotten what they had contrived against him. And a person of quality coming to him about that time, to obtain his favour and assistance in a suit in which he was to move the king, he went about it, and had almost procured it ; but the king calling to mind that he had been one of his secret accusers, asked him whether he took him for his friend ; he answered, that he did so. Then the king said, the other was a knave, and was his mortal enemy ; and bid him, when he should see him next, call him a knave to his face. Cranmer answered, that such language did not become a bishop. But the king sullenly commanded him to do it ; yet his modesty was such, that he could not obey so harsh a command. And so he passed the matter over. When these things came to be known, all persons that were not unjustly prejudiced against him, acknowledged that his behaviour was suitable to the example and doctrine of the meek and lowly Saviour of the world ; and very well became so great a bishop, and such a reformer of the Christian religion ; who in those sublime and extraordinary instances practised that which he taught others to do. The year in which this fell out is not expressed by those who have recorded it ; but by the concurring circumstances, I judge it likeliest to have been done this year.

Soon after this the parliament met, that was summoned to meet the 14th of January, in the thirty-fifth year of the king's reign, in which the act of the succession of

1544.

A new Parliament.

Act about the Succession.

the crown passed ; which contains, "that the king being now to pass the seas, to make war upon his ancient enemy the French king, and being desirous to settle the succession to the crown, it is enacted that in default of heirs of prince Edward's body, or of heirs by the king's present marriage, the crown shall go to the lady Mary, the king's eldest daughter ; and in default of heirs of her body, or if she do not observe such limitations or conditions as shall be declared by the king's letters patent under his great seal, or by his last will under his hand, it shall next fall to the lady Elizabeth, and her heirs ; or if she have none, or shall not keep the conditions declared by the king, it shall fall to any other that shall be declared by the king's letters patent, or his last will signed with his hand." There was also an oath devised instead of those formerly sworn, both against the pope's supremacy, and for maintaining the succession in all points according to this act, which "whosoever refused to take, was to be adjudged a traitor ; and whosoever should, either in words or by writing, say anything contrary to this act, or to the peril and slander of the king's heirs limited in the act, was to be adjudged a traitor." This was done, no doubt, upon a secret article of the treaty with the emperor ; and did put new life into the popish party, all whose hopes depended on the lady Mary. But how much this lessened the prerogative, and the right of succession, will be easily discerned ; the king in this affecting an unusual extent of his own power, though with the diminution of the rights of his successors.

There was another bill about the qualifying of the act of the Six Articles that was sent divers times from the one house to the other. It was brought to the lords the 1st of March, and read the first time ; and stuck till the 4th, when it was read the second time ; on the 5th it was read the third time and passed, and was sent down to the commons, with words to be put in, or put out of it. On the 6th, the commons sent it up with some alterations. and on the 8th, the lords sent it down again to the commons : where it lay till the 17th, and then it was sent up with their agreement. And the king's assent was given by his letters patent on the 29th of March. The preamble was, "that whereas untrue accusations and presentments might be maliciously contrived against the king's subjects, and kept secret till a time were espied to have them by malice convicted :

Act against Conspiracies.

therefore it was enacted, that none should be indicted, but upon a presentment by the oaths of twelve men to at least three of the commissioners appointed by the king : and that none should be imprisoned but upon an indictment, except by a special warrant from the king, and that all presentments should be made within one year after the offences were committed ; and if words were uttered in a sermon contrary to the statute, they must be complained of within forty days, unless a just cause were given why it could not be so soon : admitting also the parties indicted to all such challenges as they might have in any other case of felony." This act has clearly a relation to the conspiracies mentioned the former year, both against the archbishop and some of the king's servants.

Another act passed, continuing some former acts for revising the canon-law, and for drawing up such a body of ecclesiastical laws as should have authority in England. This Cranmer pressed often with great vehemence ; and to show the necessity of it, drew out a short extract of some passages in the canon-law, (which the reader will find in the collection,) to show how undecent a thing it was, to let a volume, in which such laws were, be studied or considered any longer in England. Therefore he was earnest to have such a collection of ecclesiastical laws made, as might regulate the spiritual courts. But it was found more for the greatness of the prerogative, and the authority of the civil courts, to keep that undetermined ; so he could never obtain his desire during this king's reign.

Another act passed in this parliament for the remission of a loan of money which the king had raised. This is almost copied out of an act to the same effect, that passed in the twenty-first year of the king's reign : with this addition, that by this act those who had got payment, either in whole or in part, of the sums so lent the king, were to repay it back to the Exchequer. All business being finished, and a general pardon passed, with the ordinary exceptions of some crimes, among which heresy is one, the parliament was prorogued on the 29th of March to the 4th of November.

The king had now a war both with France and Scotland upon him. And therefore to prepare for it, he both enhanced the value of money, and embased it : for which, he that writes his vindication gives this for the reason ; that the coin being generally embased all over Europe, he was forced to do it, lest otherwise all the money should have gone out of the kingdom. He resolved to begin the war with Scotland, and sent an army by sea thither under the command of the earl of Hartford, (afterwards duke of Somerset,) who landing at Grantham, a little above Leith, burnt and spoiled Leith and Edinburgh ; in which they found more riches than they thought could possibly have been there ; and they went through the country burning and spoiling it everywhere, till they came to Berwick. But they did too much if they intended to gain the hearts of that people, and too little if they intended to subdue them. For as they besieged not the Castle of Edinburgh, which would have cost them more time and trouble ; so they did not fortify Leith, nor leave a garrison in it, which was such an inexcusable omission, that it seems their counsels were very weak and ill laid. For Leith being fortified, and a fleet kept going between it and Berwick or Tinnmouth, the trade of the kingdom must have been quite stopped, Edinburgh ruined, the intercourse between France and them cut off, and the whole kingdom forced to submit to the king. But the spoils this army made had no other effect but to enrage the kingdom, and unite them so entirely to the French interests, that when the earl of Lennox was sent down by the king, to the western parts of Scotland, where his power lay, he could get none to follow him. And the governor of Dunbritton castle, though his own lieutenant, would not deliver that castle to him, when he understood he was to put it in the king of England's hands, but drove him out ; others say, he fled away of himself, else he had been taken prisoner.

The king was now to cross the seas : but, before he went, he studied to settle the matters of religion, so that both parties might have some content. Audley the chancellor dying, he made the lord Wriothesley, that had been secretary, and was of the popish party, lord chancellor ; but made sir William Petre, that was Cranmer's great friend, secretary of state. He also committed the government of the kingdom in his absence to the queen, to whom he joined the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, the earl of Hartford, and secretary

Petre. And if there was need of any force to be raised, he appointed the earl of Hartford his lieutenant; under whose government the reformers needed not fear anything. But he did another act, that did wonderfully please that whole party, which was, the translating of the prayers, for the processions and litanies, into the English tongue. This was sent to the archbishop of Canterbury on the 11th of June, with an order that it should be used over

all his province, as the reader will find in the collection. This was not only Collect. very acceptable to that party, because of the thing itself; but it gave them hope Numb. 28. that the king was again opening his ears to motions for reformation, to which they had been shut now about six years: and therefore they looked that more things of that nature would quickly follow. And as these prayers were now set out in English, so they doubted not but there being the same reason to put all the other offices in the vulgar tongue, they would prevail for that too.

Things being thus settled at home, the king having sent his forces over before him, crossed the seas, with much pomp, the sails of his ship being of cloth of gold. He landed at Calais the 14th of July. The emperor pressed his marching straight to Paris. But he thought it of more importance to take Boulogne, and after two months' siege it was surrendered to him; into which he made his entry with great triumph on the 18th of September. But the

Boulogne emperor having thus engaged those two crowns in a war; and designing, while taken. they should fight it out, to make himself master of Germany, concluded a treaty with the French king the very next day, being the 19th of September; which is set down at large by the lord Herbert. On the 30th of September the king returned into England: in October following Boulogne was very near lost by a surprise, but the garrison put themselves in order, and beat back the French. Several inroads were made into Scotland, but not with the same success that the former expedition had. For the Scots, animated with supplies sent from France, and inflamed with a desire of revenge, resumed their wonted courage, and beat back the English with considerable loss.

Next year the French king, resolving to recover Boulogne and to take Calais, that so he might drive the English out of France, intended first to make himself master of 1545. the sea: and he set out a great fleet of an hundred and fifty greater ships, and sixty lesser ones, besides many galleys brought from the straits. The king set out about a hundred ships. On both sides these were only merchant ships that were hired for this war. But after the French fleet had looked on England, and attempted to land with ill success, both in the Isle of Wight and in Sussex, and had engaged in a sea-fight for some hours, they returned back without any considerable action: nor did they anything at land. But the king's fleet went to Normandy, where they made a descent and burnt the country; so that this year was likewise glorious to the king. The emperor had now done what he long designed; and, therefore, being courted by both crowns, he undertook a mediation, that under the colour of mediating a peace he might the more effectually keep up the war.

The princes of Germany saw what mischief was designed against them. The council of Trent was now opened, and was condemning their doctrine. A league was also The German Princes mediate a peace. concluded between the pope and the emperor for procuring obedience to their canons and decrees; and an army was raising. The emperor was also setting on foot old quarrels with some of the princes; a firm peace was concluded with the Turk: so that if the crowns of England and France were not brought to an agreement, they were undone. They sent ambassadors to both courts to mediate a peace. With them Cranmer joined his endeavours, but he had not a Cromwell in the court to manage the king's temper, who was so provoked with the ill-treatment he had received from France, that he would not come to an agreement; nor would he restore Boulogne, without which the French would hear of no peace. Cranmer had at this time almost prevailed with the king to make some further steps in a Reformation; but Gardiner, who was then ambassador in the emperor's court, being advertised of it, wrote to the king, that the emperor would certainly join with France against him if he made any further innovation in religion. This diverted the king from it; and in August this year the only great friend that Cranmer had in the court died, Charles duke of Suffolk, who had long continued in the height of favour,—which was always kept up, not only by an agreement of humours between the king and him, but by the constant

success which followed him in all his exploits. He was a favourer of the Reformation, as far as could consist with his interest at court, which he never endangered upon any account.

Now Cranmer was left alone, without friend or support: yet he had gained one great preferment in the church to a man of his own mind. The archbishopric of York falling void

by Lee's death, Robert Holgate, that was bishop of Llandaff, was promoted to that see in January; Kitchin being made bishop of Llandaff, who turned with every change that was made under the three succeeding princes. The arch-
Church pre-
sentments
given to in-
formers. bishop of York set about the reforming of things in his province, which had lain

in great confusion all his predecessor's time; so on the 3d of March he took out a license for the king from making a metropolitical visitation. Dell, that was bishop of Worcester, had resigned his bishopric the former year (the reason of which is not set down). The bishop of Rochester, Heath, was translated to that see; and Henry Holbeach, that favoured the Reformation, was made bishop of Rochester; and upon the translation of Sampson from Chichester to Coventry and Lichfield, Day, that was a moderate man, and inclinable to Reformation, was made bishop of that see. So that now Cranmer had a greater party among the bishops than at any time before.

But though there were no great transactions about religion in England this year, there were very remarkable things done in Scotland, though of a different nature; which were the burning of Wishart, and some months after that the killing of Cardinal Beaton; the account of both which will not, I hope, be ungrateful to the reader.

Mr. George Wishart was descended of a noble family; he went to finish his studies in the university of Cambridge, where he was so well instructed in the principles of true religion, that returning to Scotland, Anno 1544, he preached over the country against the corruptions which did then so generally prevail. He stayed
Wishart's
sufferings in
Scotland. most at Dundee, which was the chief town in these parts. But the cardinal, offended at

this, sent a threatening message to the magistrates; upon which one of them, as Wishart ended one of his sermons, was so obsequious as to forbid him to preach any more
Spotswood. among them, or give them any further trouble: to whom he answered, "That

God knew he had no design to trouble them, but for them to reject the messengers of God was not the way to escape trouble; when he was gone, God would send messengers of another sort among them. He had, to the hazard of his life, preached the word of salvation to them, and they had now rejected him: but if it was long well with them, he was not led by the spirit of truth; and if unlooked-for trouble fell on them, he bade them remember this was the cause of it, and turn to God by repentance." From thence he went to the western parts, where he was also much followed: but the archbishop of Glasgow giving order that he should not be admitted to preach in churches, he preached often in the fields; and when in some places his followers would have forced the churches, he checked them and said, it was the word of peace that he preached, and therefore no blood should be shed about it. But after he had staid a month there, he heard that there was a great plague in Dundee, which broke out the fourth day after he had left it; upon which he presently returned thither and preached oft to them, standing over one of the gates, having taken care that the infected persons should stand without, and those that were clean within the gate. He continued among them, and took care to supply the poor and to visit the sick, and do all the offices of a faithful pastor in that extremity. Once as he ended his sermon, a priest coming to have killed him, was taken with the weapon in his hand; but when the people were rushing furiously on him, Wishart got him in his arms and saved him from their rage, for he said he had done no harm, only they saw what they might look for. He became a little after this more than ordinary serious and apprehensive of his end: he was seen sometimes to rise in the night, and spend the greatest part of it in prayer; and he often warned his hearers that his sufferings were at hand, but that few should suffer after him, and that the light of true religion should be spread over the whole land. He went to a great many places, where his sermons were well received, and came last to Lothian, where he found a greater neglect of the gospel than in other parts, for which he threatened them, "That strangers should chase them from their dwellings and possess them." He was lodged in a gentleman of quality's house, Cockburn of Ormeston, when in the night the house was beset

by some horsemen, who were sent by the cardinal's means to take him. The earl of Bothwell, that had the chief jurisdiction in the county, was with them, who promising that no hurt should be done him, he caused the gate to be opened, saying, "the blessed will of God be done." When he presented himself to the earl of Bothwell, he desired to be proceeded with according to law, for he said he feared less to die openly than to be murdered in secret. The earl promised upon his honour that no harm should be done him; and for some time seemed resolved to have made his words good, but the queen-mother and cardinal in end prevailed with him to put Wishart in their hands, and they sent him to St. Andrews, where it was agreed to make a sacrifice of him. Upon this the cardinal called a meeting of the bishops to St. Andrews against the 27th of February, to destroy him with the more ceremony, but the archbishop of Glasgow moved that there should be a warrant procured from the lord governor for their proceedings. To this the cardinal consented, thinking the governor was then so linked to their interests that he would deny them nothing; but the governor, bearing in his heart a secret love to religion, and being plainly dealt with by a noble gentleman of his name, Hamilton of Preston, who laid before him the just and terrible judgments of God he might look for if he suffered poor innocents to be so murdered at the appetite of the clergy, sent the cardinal word not to proceed till he himself came, and that he would not consent to his death till the cause was well examined; and that if the cardinal proceeded against him, his blood should be required at his hands. But the cardinal resolved to go on at his peril, for he apprehended, if he delayed it, there might be either a legal or a violent rescue made: so he ordered a mock citation of Wishart to appear; who being brought the next day to the Abbey-church, the process was opened with a sermon, in which the preacher delivered a great deal of good doctrine concerning the scriptures, being the only touchstone by which heresy was to be tried. After sermon, the prisoner was brought to the bar: he first fell down on his knees, and after a short prayer he stood up and gave a long account of his sermons,—that he had preached nothing but what was contained in the ten commandments, the Apostles' creed, and the Lord's prayer; but was interrupted with reproachful words, and required to answer plainly to the articles objected to him. Upon which he appealed to an indifferent judge: he desired to be tried by the word of God, and before my lord governor, whose prisoner he was; but the indictment being read, he confessing and offering to justify most of the articles objected against, was judged an obstinate heretic, and condemned to be burnt. All the next night he spent in prayer: in the morning, two friars came to confess him, but he said he would have nothing to do with them, yet if he could he would gladly speak with the learned man that preached the day before. So he being sent to him, after much conference he asked him if he would receive the sacrament? Wishart answered, he would most gladly do it if he might have it as Christ had instituted it, under both kinds; but the cardinal would not suffer the sacrament to be given him. And so breakfast being brought, he discoursed to those that were present of the death of Christ, and the ends of the sacrament, and then having blessed and consecrated the elements, he took the sacrament himself, and gave it to those that were with him. That being done, he would taste no other thing, but retired to his devotion. Two hours after, the executioners came, and put on him a coat of black linen, full of bags of powder, and carried him out to the place of execution, which was before the cardinal's castle. He spake a little to the people, desiring them not to be offended at the good word of God, for the sufferings that followed it; it was the true gospel of Christ that he had preached, and for which, with a most glad heart and mind, he now offered up his life. The cardinal was set in state in a great window of his castle, looking on this sad spectacle. When Wishart was tied to the stake, he cried aloud,—“O Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me! Father of Heaven, I recommend my spirit into thy holy hands.” So the executioners kindled the fire, but one perceiving after some time that he was yet alive, encouraged him to call still on God, to whom he answered, “The flame hath scorched my body, yet hath it not daunted my spirit, but he who from yonder high place (looking up to the cardinal) beholdeth us with such pride, shall within few days lie in the same as ignominiously as now he is seen proudly to rest himself.” The executioner drawing the cord that was about his neck straiter, stopped his breath so, that he could speak no more, and his body was soon consumed by the fire.


$$[1]_{\text{Ave}} = \frac{1}{N} \sum_{i=1}^N [1]_i = 1 - \frac{1}{N} \sum_{i=1}^N \frac{1}{\alpha_i}.$$

CARDINAL. BEATOUN.

OB. 1546.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION AT
HOLYROOD PALACE, EDINBURGH.

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Thus died this eminent servant and witness of Christ, on whose sufferings I have enlarged the more, because they proved so fatal to the interests of the popish clergy, for not any one thing hastened forward the Reformation more than this did, and since he had both his education and ordination in England, a full account of him seems no impertinent digression.

The clergy rejoiced much at his death, and thought (according to the constant maxim of all persecutors) that they should live more at ease, now when Wishart was out of the way. They magnified the cardinal for proceeding so vigorously, without, or rather against, the governor's orders: but the people did universally look on him as a martyr, and believed an extraordinary measure of God's spirit had rested on him, since besides great innocency and purity of life his predictions came so oft to pass, that he was believed a prophet as well as a saint; and the Reformation was now so much opened by his preaching, and that was so confirmed by his death, that the nation was generally possessed with the love of it. The nobility were mightily offended with the cardinal, and said Wishart's death was no less than murder, since the clergy, without a warrant from the secular power, could dispose of no man's life: so it came universally to be said, that he now deserved to die by the law; yet since he was too great for a legal trial, the kingdom being under the feeble government of a regency, it was fit private persons should undertake it; and it was given out, that the killing an usurper was always esteemed a commendable action, and so in that state of things they thought secret practices might be justified. This agreeing so much with the temper of some in that nation, who had too much of the heat and forwardness of their country, a few gentlemen of quality, who had been ill used by the cardinal, conspired his death. He was become generally hateful to the whole nation, and the marriage of his bastard daughter to the earl of Crawford's eldest son enraged the nobility the more against him; and his carriage towards them all was insolent and provoking. These offended gentlemen came to St. Andrews the 29th of May, and the next morning they and their attendants, being but twelve in all, first attempted the gate of his castle, which they found open, and made it sure; and though there were no fewer than an hundred reckoned to be within the castle, yet they, knowing the passages of the house, went with very little noise to the servants' chambers, and turned them almost all out of doors; and, having thus made the castle sure, they went to the cardinal's door. He who till then was fast asleep, suspecting nothing, perceived at last by their rudeness that they were not his friends, and made his door fast against them. So they sent for fire to set to it, upon which he treated with them, and upon assurance of life he opened the door; but they rushing in, did most cruelly and treacherously murder him. A tumult was raised in the town, and many of his friends came to rescue him, but the conspirators carried the dead body and exposed it to their view in the same window out of which he had not long before looked on when Wishart was burnt, which had been universally censured as a most indecent thing in a churchman to delight in such a spectacle. But those who condemned this action, yet acknowledged God's justice in so exemplary a punishment, and reflecting on Wishart's last words, were the more confirmed in the opinion they had of his sanctity. This fact was differently censured; some justified it, and said it was only the killing of a mighty robber; others that were glad he was out of the way, yet condemned the manner of it as treacherous and inhuman. And though some of the preachers did afterwards fly to that castle as a sanctuary, yet none of them were either actors or consenters to it: it is true they did generally extenuate it, yet I do not find that any of them justified it. The exemplary and signal ends of almost all the conspirators, scarce any of them dying an ordinary death, made all people the more inclined to condemn it. The day after the cardinal was killed, about one hundred and forty came into the castle, and prepared for a siege. The house was well furnished in all things necessary, and it lying so near the sea, they expected help from king Henry, to whom they sent a messenger for his assistance, and declared for him. So a siege following, they were so well supplied from England, that after five months the governor was glad to treat with them, apprehending much the footing the English might have, if those within, being driven to extremities, should receive a garrison from king Henry: they had the governor also more at their mercy, for, as the cardinal had taken his eldest son into his house, under the pretence of educating him, but really as his father's hostage, designing likewise to infuse in him a violent hatred of the new preachers;

so the conspirators, finding him in the castle, kept him still to help them to better terms. A treaty being agreed on, they demanded their pardon for what they had done, together with an absolution to be procured from Rome for the killing of the cardinal; and that the castle and the governor's son should remain in their hands till the absolution was brought over. Some of the preachers, apprehending the clergy might revenge the cardinal's death on them, were forced to fly into the castle; but one of them, John Rough, (who was afterwards burnt in England in queen Mary's time,) being so offended at the licentiousness of the soldiers that were in the castle, who were a reproach to that which they pretended to favour, left them, and went away in one of the ships that brought provisions out of England. When the absolution came from Rome, they excepted to it for some words in it, that called the killing of the cardinal *crimen irremissibile*, an unpardonable crime, by which they said the absolution gave them no security, since it was null if the fact could not be pardoned. The truth was, they were encouraged from England, so they refused to stand to the capitulation and rejected the absolution. But some ships and soldiers being sent from France, the castle was besieged at land, and shut up also by sea, and, which was worst of all, a plague broke out within it, of which many died. Upon this, no help coming suddenly from England, they were forced to deliver up the place on no better terms, than that their lives should be spared, but they were to be banished Scotland, and never to return to it. The castle was demolished according to the canon law, that appoints all places where any cardinal is killed to be razed. This was not completed this year, and not till two years after, only I thought it best to join the whole matter together and set it down all at once.

In November following, a new parliament was held; where toward the expense of the king's wars the convocation of the province of Canterbury granted a continuation of the former subsidy of six shillings in the pound, to be paid in two years. But for the temporality, a subsidy was demanded from them of another kind. There were in the kingdom several colleges, chapels, chantries, hospitals, and fraternities, consisting of secular priests, who enjoyed pensions for saying mass for the souls of those who had endowed them. Now the belief of purgatory being left indifferent, by the doctrine set out by the bishops, and the trade of redeeming souls being condemned, it was thought needless to keep up so many endowments to no purpose. Those priests were also generally ill-affected to the king's proceedings, since their trade was so much lessened by them; therefore many of them had been dealt with to make resignations,—and four-and-twenty of them had surrendered to the king. It was found also that many of the founders of these houses had taken them into their own hands, and that the master, wardens, and governors of them had made agreements for them, and given leases of them; therefore now a subsidy being demanded, all these were given to the king by act of parliament,—which also confirmed the deeds that any had made to the king; empowering him in any time of his life to issue out commissions for seizing on these foundations, and taking them into his own possession; which being so seized on, should belong to the king and his successors for ever. They also granted another subsidy for the war. When all their business was done, the king came to the house and made a long speech, of which I cannot sufficiently wonder that no entry is made in the journals of the house of lords; yet it is not to be doubted but he made it, for it was published by Hall soon after.

When the speaker of the house of commons had presented the bills, with a speech full of respect and compliment, as is usual upon these occasions, the king answered, "Thanking them for the subsidy, and the bill about the colleges and chantries; and assured them that he should take care both for supplying the ministers, for encouraging learning, and relieving the poor; and they should quickly perceive that in these things their expectations should be answered beyond what they either wished or desired. And after he had expressed his affection to them, and the assurance he had of their duty and fidelity to him, he advised them to amend one thing, which was, that instead of charity and concord discord and division ruled everywhere. He cited St. Paul's words, 'That charity was gentle, and not envious, nor proud.' But when one called another heretic, and the other called him papist and pharisee, were these the signs of charity? The fault of this he charged chiefly on the fathers and teachers of the spirituality, who preached one against

another, without charity or discretion ; some being too stiff in their old Mumpsimus, others too busy and curious in their new Sumpsimus ; and few preached the word of God truly and sincerely. And how could the poor people live in concord, when they sowed debate among them ? Therefore he exhorted them to set forth God's word by true preaching, and giving a good example, or else he, as God's vicar and high minister, would see these enormities corrected, which if he did not do, he was an unprofitable servant and an untrue officer. He next reproved them of the temporality, who railed at their bishops and priests ; whereas, if they had anything to lay to their charge, they ought to declare it to the king or his council, and not take upon them to judge such high points. For though they had the Scriptures given them in their mother tongue, yet that was only to inform their own consciences, and instruct their children and families, but not to dispute, nor from thence to rail against priests and preachers, as some vain persons did. He was sorry that such a jewel as the word of God was so ill used, that rhymes and songs were taken out of it ; but much more sorry that men followed it so little, for charity was never fainter, a godly life never less appeared, and God was never less revered and worshipped. Therefore he exhorted them to live as brethren in charity together, to love, dread, and serve God, and then the love and union between him and them should never be dissolved." And so exhorting them to look to the execution of the laws which themselves had desired, he gave his royal assent to the bills, and dismissed the parliament.

The king gave at this time a commission to the bishops of Westminster, Worcester, and Chichester, and the chancellor of the court of augmentation, sir Edward North, containing, " that whereas the king had founded many cathedrals, in which he had given large allowances, both to be distributed to the poor and to be laid out for the mending of the highways ; to Canterbury one hundred pounds for the poor, and forty pounds for the highways : to Rochester twenty pounds for the poor, and twenty pounds for the highways : to Westminster, one hundred pounds for the poor, and forty pounds for the highways : to Winchester, one hundred marks for the poor, and fifty for the highways : to Bristol, Gloucester, Chester, Burton upon Trent, Thornton, Peterborough, and Ely, twenty pounds a-piece for the poor, and as much for the highways : to Worcester forty pounds for the poor, and forty pounds for the highways : to Durham one hundred marks for the poor, and forty pounds for the highways : and to Carlisle fifteen pounds for the poor, and as much for the highways : in all about five hundred and fifty pounds a year to the poor, and about four hundred pounds a year for the highways : they were to inquire how this money was distributed ; and, if they saw cause, they might order it to be applied to any other use which they should judge more charitable and convenient. But what followed upon this, does not appear by the records.

After the parliament was dissolved, the universities made their applications to the king, that they might not be included within the general words in the act of dissolution of colleges, and fraternities ; and Dr. Cox, tutor to the prince, wrote to secretary Paget to " represent to the king the great want of schools, preachers, and houses for orphans ; that beggary would drive the clergy to flattery, superstition, and the old idolatry : there were ravenous wolves about the king that would devour universities, cathedrals, and chantries, and a thousand times as much. Posterity would wonder at such things, therefore he desired the universities might be secured from their spoils." But the king did quickly free them from these fears.

Now I enter into the last year of this king's reign. The war in France was managed with doubtful success, yet the losses were greater on the English side. And the forces being commanded by the earl of Surrey, who was brave but unsuccessful, he was not only blamed but recalled, and the earl of Hertford sent to command in his room. But he being a man of a high spirit, and disdaining the earl of Hertford, who was now preferred before him, let fall some words of high resentment and bitter contempt, which not long after wrought his ruin. The king was now alone in the war, which was very chargeable to him ; and observing the progress that the council of Trent was making, where cardinal Pole being one of the legates, he had reason to look for some severe decree to be made against himself, since none of the heretics of Germany were so much hated by the court of Rome as he was : therefore he listened to the counsels of peace. And though he was not old, yet he felt such decays in

his strength, that being extremely corpulent, he had no reason to think he could live very long : therefore, that he might not leave his young son involved in a war of such consequence, peace was concluded in June, which was much to the king's honour, though the taking and keeping of Boulogne (which by this peace the king was to keep for eight years,) cost him above 1,300,000 pounds.

Peace with
France.

Upon the peace, the French admiral Annebault came over to England. And now again a resolution of going on with a reformation was set on foot : for it was agreed between the king and the admiral, that in both kingdoms the mass should be changed into a communion, and Cranmer was ordered to draw a form of it.

A new design
for Reformation.

They also resolved to press the emperor to do the like in his dominions, otherwise to make war upon him. But how this project failed, does not appear. The animosities which the former war had raised between the two kings were converted into a firm friendship, which grew so strong on Francis's part, that he never was seen glad at anything after he had the news of the king's death.

But now one of the king's angry fits took him at the reformers, so that there was a new prosecution of them. Nicholas Shaxton, that was bishop of Salisbury, had been long a prisoner ; but this year he had said in his imprisonment, in the counter in Bread-street, " That Christ's natural body was not in the sacrament, but that it was a sign and memorial of his body that was crucified for us." Upon this he was indicted, and condemned to be burnt. But the king sent the bishops of London and Worcester to deal with him to recant ; which on the 9th of July he did, acknowledging, " That that year he had fallen in his old age in the heresy of the sacramentaries. But that he was now convinced of that error by their endeavours whom the king had sent to him. And therefore he thanked the king for delivering him both ' from temporal and eternal fire,' and subscribed a paper of articles, which will be found in the collection. Upon this he had his pardon and discharge sent him the 13th of July, and soon after preached a sermon at the burning of Anne

Shaxton's
Apostasy.

Askew ; and wrote a book in defence of the articles he had subscribed. What became of him all Edward VI.'s time, I cannot tell ; but I find he was a cruel persecutor and burner of protestants in queen Mary's days. Yet it seems those to whom he went over did not consider him much, for they never raised him higher than to be suffragan to the bishop of Ely. Others were also indicted upon the same statute, who got off by recantation, and were pardoned ; but Anne Askew's trial had a more bloody conclusion.

Collect.
Numb. 28.

She was nobly descended, and educated beyond what was ordinary in that age to those of her sex ; but she was unfortunately married to one Kyme, who, being a violent papist, drove her out of his house when he found she favoured the Reformation. So she came to London, where information being given of some words that she had spoken against the corporal presence in the sacrament, she was put in prison ; upon which great applications were made by many of her friends to have her let out upon bail. The bishop of London examined her, and, after much pains, she was brought to set her hand to a recantation, by which she acknowledged, " that the natural body of Christ was present in the sacrament after the consecration, whether the priest were a good or an ill man ; and that, whether it was presently consumed or reserved in the pix, it was the true body of Christ." Yet she added to her subscription, that she believed all things according to the catholic faith, and not otherwise. With this the bishop was not satisfied ; but after much ado, and many importunate addresses, she was bailed in the end of March this year. But, not long after that, she was again apprehended, and examined before the king's council then at Greenwich, where she seemed very indifferent what they did with her. She answered them in general words, upon which they could fix nothing, and made some sharp repartees upon the bishop of Winchester. Some liked the wit and freedom of her discourse, but others thought she was too forward. From thence she was sent to Newgate, where she wrote some devotions and letters that show her to have been a woman of most extraordinary parts. She wrote to the king, " That as to the Lord's supper she believed as much as Christ had said in it, and as much as the catholic church from him did teach." Upon Shaxton's recantation they sent him to her to prevail with her ; but she, instead of yielding to him, charged his inconstancy home upon him. She had been oft at court, and was much

The troubles
of Anne
Askew.

favoured by many great ladies there; and it was believed the queen had showed kindness to her. So the lord-chancellor examined her of what favour or encouragement she had from any in the court, particularly from the duchess of Suffolk, the countess of Hertford, and some other ladies. But he could draw nothing from her, save that one in livery had brought her some money, which he said came from two ladies in the court. But they resolved to extort further confessions from her; and therefore carrying her to the Tower, they caused her to be laid on the rack, and gave her a taste of it. Yet she confessed nothing. That she was racked is very certain, for I find it in an original journal of the transactions in the Tower, written by Anthony Anthony; but Fox adds a passage that seems scarce credible, the thing is so extraordinary and so unlike the character of the lord chancellor, who, though

She endures the rack, he was fiercely zealous for the old superstition, yet was otherwise a great person: it is, that he commanded the lieutenant of the Tower to stretch her more; but he refused to do it, and, being further pressed, told him plainly he would not do it.

The other threatened him, but to no purpose; so the lord chancellor, throwing off his gown, drew the rack so severely, that he almost tore her body asunder: yet could draw nothing from her, for she endured it with unusual patience and courage. When the king heard this, he blamed the lord chancellor for his cruelty, and excused the lieutenant of the Tower. Fox does not vouch any warrant for this, so that, though I have set it down, yet I give no entire credit to it*: if it was true, it shows the strange influence of that religion, and that it corrupts the noblest natures; yet the poor gentlewoman's being racked wrought no pity in the king towards her, for he left her to be proceeded against according to the sentence. She was carried to the stake in Smithfield a little after that in a chair, not being

And is burnt with some others. able to stand through the torments of the rack. There were brought with her at the same time one Nicholas Belenian, a priest, John Adams, a tailor, and John Lassels, one of the king's servants (it is likely he was the same person that had discovered queen Catherine Howard's incontinency, for which all the popish party, to be sure, bore him no good-will). They were all convicted upon the statute of the Six Articles, for denying the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament. When they were brought thither, Shaxton, to complete his apostasy, made a sermon of the sacrament, and inveighed against their errors. That being ended, they were tied to the stake, and then the lord chancellor sent and offered them their pardon, which was ready passed under the seal, if they would recant. But they loved not their lives so well as to redeem them by the loss of a good conscience, and therefore encouraging one another to suffer patiently for the testimony of the truth: so they endured to the last, and were made sacrifices by fire unto God. There were also two in Suffolk, and one in Norfolk, burnt on the same account a little before this.

But that party at court, having incensed the king much against those heretics, resolved to drive it further, and to work the ruin both of the archbishop of Canterbury and of the queen; concluding that if these attempts were successful, they should carry everything else. They therefore renewed their complaints of the archbishop of Canterbury, and told the king, that though there were evident proofs ready to be brought against him, yet, because of his greatness, and the king's carriage upon the former complaints, none durst appear against him; but if he were once put in the Tower, that men might hope to be heard, they undertook to bring full and clear evidences of his being a heretic. So the king consented that he should be the next day called before the council, and sent to the Tower if they saw cause for it. And now they concluded him ruined: but in the night the king sent sir Anthony Denny to Lambeth, to bring the archbishop to speak with him; and when he came, the king told him what informations had been brought against him, and how far he had yielded to them that he should be sent to the Tower next day; and therefore desired to hear from himself what he had to say upon it. Cranmer thanked him that he had not left him in the dark, to be surprised in a matter that concerned him so nearly. He acknowledged the equity of the king's proceedings; and all that he desired was, that he

A new design against Cranmer. to drive it further, and to work the ruin both of the archbishop of Canterbury and of the queen; concluding that if these attempts were successful, they should carry everything else. They therefore renewed their complaints of the archbishop of Canterbury, and told the king, that though there were evident proofs ready to be brought against him, yet, because of his greatness, and the king's carriage upon the former complaints, none durst appear against him; but if he were once put in the Tower, that men might hope to be heard, they undertook to bring full and clear evidences of his being a heretic. So the king consented that he should be the next day called before the council, and sent to the Tower if they saw cause for it. And now they concluded him ruined: but in the night the king sent sir Anthony Denny to Lambeth, to bring the archbishop to speak with him; and when he came, the king told him what informations had been brought against him, and how far he had yielded to them that he should be sent to the Tower next day; and therefore desired to hear from himself what he had to say upon it. Cranmer thanked him that he had not left him in the dark, to be surprised in a matter that concerned him so nearly. He acknowledged the equity of the king's proceedings; and all that he desired was, that he

* Fox sets down a confession of Anne Askew's, (perhaps Ascough was the right name, for so is the name of the family in Lincolnshire written) in which she herself relates this passage of the Lord Chancellor's racking her with

his own hands; so there is no reason to question the truth of it; and Parsons, who detracts as much from Fox's credit as he can, does not question this particular.—FULMAN'S CORRECT.

might be brought to make his answer: and that since he was to be questioned for some of his opinions, judges might be assigned who understood those matters. The king heard this

The King's with astonishment, wondering to see a man so little concerned in his own great care of preservation; but pleasantly told him, "he was a fool that looked to his own him.

safety so little. For did he think, that if he were once put in prison, abundance of false witnesses would not be suborned to ruin him; therefore, since he did not take care of himself, he would look to it." And so he ordered him to appear next day before the council, upon their summons; and when things were objected to him, to say, that since he was a privy councillor, he desired they would use him as they would look to be used in the like case: and therefore to move that his accusers might be brought face to face, and things be a little better considered before he was sent to the Tower. And if they refused to grant that, then he was to appeal personally to the king (who intended to be absent that day), and in token of it should show them the king's seal-ring which he wore on his finger, and was well known to them all. So the king, giving him his ring, sent him privately home again. Next morning, a messenger of the council came early, and summoned him to appear that day before the council. So he went over, but was long kept waiting in the lobby before he was called in. At this unusual sight many were astonished; but doctor Butts, the king's physician, that loved Cranmer, and presumed more on a diseased king than others durst do, went and told the king what a strange thing he had seen: "The primate of all England waiting at the council-door, among the footmen and servants." So the king sent them word that he should be presently brought in; which being done, they said, that there were many informations against him; that all the heresies that were in England came from him and his chaplains. To which he answered as the king had directed him; but they insisting on what was before projected, he said he was sorry to be thus used by those with whom he had sate so long at that board, so that he must appeal from them to the king; and with that took out the king's ring, and showed it. This put them in a wonderful confusion; but they all rose up and went to the king, who checked them severely for using the archbishop so unhandsomely. He said, "he thought he had a wiser council than now he found they were. He protested, by the faith he owed to God, laying his hand on his breast, that if a prince could be obliged by his subject, he was by the archbishop, and that he took him to be the most faithful subject he had, and the person to whom he was most beholden." The duke of Norfolk made a trifling excuse, and said, they meant no harm to the archbishop, but only to vindicate his innocency by such a trial, which would have freed him from the aspersions that were cast on him. But the king answered, he would not suffer men that were so dear to him to be handled in that fashion. He knew the factions that were among them, and the malice that some of them bore to others, which he would either extinguish or punish very speedily. So he commanded them all to be reconciled to Cranmer; which was done with the outward ceremony of taking him by the hand, and was most real on his part, though the other party did not so easily lay down the hatred they bore him. This I place at this time; though Parker, who related it, names no year nor time in which it was done; but he leads us very near it, by saying it was after the duke of Suffolk's death; and this being the only time after that, in which the king was in an ill humour against the reformers, I conclude it fell out at this time*.

That party finding that it was in vain to push at Cranmer any more did never again endeavour it; yet one design failing, they set on another against the queen. She was a great favourer of the reformers, and had frequently sermons in her privy-chamber by some of those preachers, which were not secretly carried, but became generally known; when it came to the king's ears he took no notice of it; and the queen carried herself, in all other things, not only with an exact conduct, but with that wonderful care about the king's person which became a wife that was raised by him to so great an honour, he was much taken with her, so that none durst adventure on making any com-

* The story concerning Cranmer must belong to the former year, for Butts, that bore a share in it, died on the 17th of November, 1545, as appears by the inscription on his tomb in Fulham Church, so this passage being after

the Duke of Suffolk's death, which was in August that year, must be placed between August and November, 1545. —FULMAN'S CORRECT.

plaints against her. Yet the king's distempers increasing, and his peevishness growing with them, he became more uneasy, and whereas she had frequently used to talk to him of religion, and defend the opinions of the reformers, in which he would sometimes pleasantly maintain the argument; now becoming more and more impatient, he took it ill at her hands; and she had sometimes in the heat of discourse gone very far. So one night, after she had left him, the king being displeased vented it to the bishop of Winchester that stood by: and he craftily and maliciously struck in with the king's anger, and said all that he could devise against the queen, to drive his resentments higher; and took in the lord chancellor into the design, to assist him. They filled the king's head with many stories of the queen, and some of her ladies: and said, they had favoured Anne Askew, and had heretical books amongst them; and he persuaded the king that they were traitors as well as heretics. The matter went so far, that articles were drawn against her, which the king signed; for without that it was not safe for any to impeach the queen. But the lord chancellor putting up that paper carelessly it dropped from him; and being taken up by one of the queen's party was carried to her. Whether the king had really designed her ruin or not, is differently represented by the writers who lived near that time. But she seeing his hand to such a paper, had reason to conclude herself lost. Yet by advice of one of her friends, she went to see the king, who receiving her kindly, set on a discourse about religion. But she answered, that women, by their first creation, were made subject to men; and they being made after the image of God, as the women were after their image, ought to instruct their wives, who were to learn of them: and she much more was to be taught by his majesty, who was a prince of such excellent learning and wisdom. "Not so, by St. Mary," said the king, "you are become a doctor, able to instruct us, and not to be instructed by us." To which she answered, that it seemed he had much mistaken the freedom she had taken to argue with him, since she did it partly to engage him in discourse, and so put over the time, and make him forget his pain; and partly to receive instructions from him, by which she had profited much. "And is it even so?" said the king; "then we are friends again." So he embraced her with great affection, and sent her away with very tender assurances of his constant love to her. But the next day had been appointed for carrying her and some of her ladies to the Tower. The day being fair, the king went to take a little air in the garden, and sent for her to bear him company. As they were together, the lord chancellor came in, having about forty of the guard with him, to have arrested the queen. But the king stepped aside to him, and after a little discourse he was heard to call him knave, fool, and beast, and he bade him get out of his sight. The innocent queen, who understood not that her danger was so near, studied to mitigate the king's displeasure, and interceded for the lord chancellor. But the king told her, she had no reason to plead for him.

So this design miscarried, which as it absolutely disheartened the papists, so it did totally alienate the king from them; and in particular from the bishop of Winchester, whose sight he could never after this endure. But he made an humble submission to the king, which though it preserved him from further punishment, yet could not restore him to the king's favour. But the duke of Norfolk, and his son the earl of Surrey*, fell under a deeper misfortune. The duke of Norfolk had been long lord treasurer of England; he had

The causes of the Duke of Norfolk's disgrace.

done great services to the crown on many signal occasions, and success had always accompanied him. His son the earl of Surrey was also a brave and noble person, witty and learned to an high degree, but did not command armies with

* The earl of Surrey was one of the most accomplished gentlemen of his time, and the specimens we possess of his poetical genius give him a high rank among our English bards. "Surrey," says Mr. Warton, "for his justness of thought, correctness of style, and purity of expression, may justly be pronounced the first English classical poet. He unquestionably is the first polite writer of love verses in the language." He was possessed of considerable military skill, though one unfortunate reverse drew on him the personal dislike of the irascible Henry; and in romantic chivalry he emulated the most renowned of the champions of old. He was bred up with

Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond, the natural son of Henry VIII., and the warmest friendship subsisted between them. Their union was rendered closer by the marriage of Richmond with Surrey's sister, but was early terminated by the duke's death when only seventeen.—In 1536, he is said to have made a tour on the continent, and to have maintained in arms at Florence the superior beauty of that fair Geraldine he celebrates in his verses, and whom some suppose he first met there, while others imagine that he had known her from his childhood, that is, if the conjecture of Horace Walpole, that she was the daughter of Gerald Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, be correct.

such success. He was much provoked at the earl of Hertford's being sent over to France in his room, and upon that had said, "That within a little while they should smart for it;" with some other expressions that savoured of revenge, and a dislike of the king, and a hatred of the counsellors. The duke of Norfolk had endeavoured to ally himself to the earl of Hertford, and to his brother sir Thomas Seymour, perceiving how much they were in the king's favour, and how great an interest they were like to have under the succeeding prince. And therefore would have engaged his son, being then a widower, to marry that earl's daughter; and pressed his daughter, the duchess of Richmond, widow to the king's natural son, to marry sir Thomas Seymour. But though the earl of Surrey advised his sister to the marriage projected to her, yet he would not consent to that designed for himself, nor did the proposition about his sister take effect. The Seymours could not but see the enmity the earl of Surrey bore them, and they might well be jealous of the greatness of that family; which was not only too big for a subject of itself, but was raised so high by the dependence of the whole popish party, both at home and abroad, that they were like to be very dangerous competitors for the chief government of affairs, if the king were once out of the way; whose disease was now growing so fast upon him, that he could not live many weeks. Nor is it unlikely that they persuaded the king, that if the earl of Surrey should marry the lady Mary, it might embroil his son's government, and perhaps ruin him. And it was suggested, that he had some such high project in his thoughts, both by his continuing unmarried*, and by his using the arms of Edward the Confessor, which of late he had given in his coat without a diminution. But to complete the duke of Norfolk's ruin, his duchess, who had complained of his using her ill, and had been separated from him about four years, turned informer against him. His son and daughter were also in ill terms together. So the sister informed all that she could against her brother. And one Mrs. Holland, for whom the duke was believed to have an unlawful affection, discovered all she knew; but all amounted to no more than some passionate expressions of the son, and some complaints of the father, who thought he was not beloved by the king and his councillors, and that he was ill-used in not being trusted with the secret of affairs. And all persons being encouraged to bring informations against them, sir Richard Southwell charged the earl of Surrey in some points that were of a higher nature, which the earl denied, and desired to be admitted, according to the martial law, to fight in his shirt with Southwell. But that not being granted, he and his father were committed to the Tower. That which was most insisted on, was their giving the arms of Edward the Confessor, which were only to be given by the kings of England. This the earl of Surrey justified, and said, they gave their arms according to the opinion of the king's heralds. But all excuses availing nothing, for his father and he were designed to be destroyed, upon reasons of state, for which some colours were to be found out.

Doubts have been entertained whether this romantic journey ever took place, since he was a married man at the time assigned to it, and Elizabeth Fitzgerald (the fair Geraldine) was then only twelve years old. These apparent difficulties seem to us rather to confirm the story than to render it doubtful, and afford a very satisfactory reason why his romantic adoration was not rewarded by the hand of the fair object, a circumstance that excited Mr. Warton's wonder. Surrey, although married, was still a young and ardent cavalier, filled with the spirit of chivalry which was then fast declining. Every gallant knight, married or unmarried, delighted to celebrate the charms of some chosen fair, but we never heard of a husband celebrating his wife's charms by his prowess, although it was frequent to pay this homage to the wives of others, and this without the supposition of any impropriety or exciting any jealousy in the husband. Surrey being desirous of displaying his valour and skill in arms, and being but newly married, chose, with a delicacy that peculiarly marked his character, a young girl of twelve years old for his chivalric mistress, to avoid exciting any fears of rivalry in the bosom of his wife. He addressed his verses to a creation of his fancy, and it is worthy of remark that some of those sonnets usually attributed to the inspiration of Geraldine, are equally applicable to his

wife, especially one in which allusion is made to his "little son" who was born in 1536, probably during his father's absence.

Surrey, who had obtained considerable reputation as a military commander, and had been created a knight of the Garter, was made governor of Boulogne after the siege in 1544. Sometime afterwards he made an attack on a French convoy, but was repulsed with loss, and this affair so enraged Henry, that, although he repaired the disaster by a very successful encounter with a superior body of the enemy, the king never restored him to favour, but taking advantage of a pretence that his presence was necessary before the council, to explain in person some alterations he had recommended in the defences of the town, he sent over the Earl of Hertford to supersede him. The rest of his story is related in the text.

Surrey is said to have been only twenty-seven at the time of his death, but as his birth cannot be fixed with more precision than as having taken place between 1515 and 1520, his exact age is left uncertain.—*Ed.*

* The earl of Surrey continued not long a widower, for his youngest son, afterwards earl of Northampton, is said to have been at nurse at his father's death.—*FULMAN'S CORRECT.*



Engraved by W. G. Day

HENRY HOWARD, EARL OF SURREY.

OB. 1547.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

The earl of Surrey being but a commoner, was brought to his trial at Guildhall; and put upon an inquest of commoners consisting of nine knights and three esquires, by whom he was found guilty of high treason, and had sentence of death passed upon him, which was executed on the 19th of January at Tower-hill. It was generally condemned as an act of high injustice and severity, which loaded the Seymours with a popular odium that they could never overcome. He was much pitied, being a man of great parts and high courage, with many other noble qualities.

But the king, who never hated nor ruined anybody by halves, resolved to complete the misfortunes of that family, by the attainder of the father. And as all his eminent services were now forgotten, so the submissions he made could not allay a displeasure that was only to be satisfied with his life and fortune. He wrote to the king, protesting his innocence; "That he had never a thought to his prejudice, and could not imagine what could be laid to his charge: he had spent his whole life in his service, and did not know that ever he had offended any person; or that any were displeased with him, except for prosecuting the breakers of an act about the sacrament of the altar. But in that, and in everything else, as he had been always obedient to the king's laws, so he was resolved still to obey any laws he should make. He desired he might be examined with his accusers face to face, before the king, or at least before his council; and if it did not appear that he was wrongfully accused, let him be punished as he deserved. In conclusion, he begged the king would have pity on him, and restore him to his favour, taking all his lands or goods from him, or as much of them as he pleased." Yet all this had no effect on the king. So he was desired to make a more formal submission; which he did on the 12th of January under his hand, ten privy councillors being witnesses. In it he confessed, "First, in discovering the secret of the king's council. Secondly, his concealing his son's treason in order to give the arms of St. Edward the Confessor, which did only belong to the king, and to which his son had no right. Thirdly, that he had ever since his father's death borne in the first quarter of his arms the arms of England, with a difference of the labels of silver, that are the proper arms of the prince, which was done in prejudice of the king and the prince, and gave occasion for disturbing or interrupting the succession to the crown of the realm. This he acknowledged was high treason; he confessed he deserved to be attainted of high treason, and humbly begged the king's mercy and compassion." He yielded to all this, hoping by such a submission and compliance to have overcome the king's displeasure, but his expectations failed him.

A parliament was called, the reason whereof was pretended to be the coronation of the prince of Wales. But it was thought the true cause of calling it was to attain the duke of Norfolk; for which they had not colour enough to do it in a trial by his peers. Therefore an attainder by act of parliament was thought the better way: so it was moved, that the king intending to crown his son, prince of Wales, desired they would go on with all possible haste in the attainder, of the duke of Norfolk, that so those places which he held by patent might be disposed of by the king to such as he thought fit, who should assist at the coronation. And upon this slight pretence, since a better could not be found, the bill of attainder was read the first time on the 18th of January; and on the 19th

and 20th it was read the second and third time: and so passed in the house of lords; and was sent down to the commons,—who on the 24th sent it up also passed. On the 27th the lords were ordered to be in their robes, that the royal assent might be given to it; which the lord chancellor, with some others joined in commission, did give by virtue of the king's letters patent. And it had been executed the next morning, if the king's death had not prevented it. Upon what grounds this attainder was founded I can only give this account from the thirty-fourth act of the first parliament of queen Mary, in which this act is declared null and void by the common law of the land; for I cannot find the act itself upon record. In the act of repeal it is said, "That there was no special matter in the act of attainder, but only general words of treasons and conspiracies; and that out of their care of the preservation of the king and the prince, they passed it. But the act of repeal says also, that the only thing with which he was charged was, for bearing of arms, which he and his ancestors had borne both within and without the kingdom:

both in the king's presence, and in the sight of his progenitors ; which they might lawfully bear and give, as by good and substantial matter of record it did appear. It is also added, that the king died after the date of the commission ; that the king only empowered them to give his assent, but did not give it himself ; and that it did not appear by any record that they gave it. That the king did not sign the commission with his own hand, his stamp being only set to it,—and that not to the upper, but the nether part of it, contrary to the king's custom." All these particulars, though cleared afterwards, I mention now, because they give light to this matter.

As soon as the act was passed, a warrant was sent to the lieutenant of the Tower to cut off his head the next morning ; but the king dying in the night, the lieutenant could do nothing on that warrant. And it seems it was not thought advisable to begin the new king's reign with such an odious execution : and thus the duke of Norfolk escaped very narrowly. Both parties descanted on this differently. The conscientious papists said it was God's just judgment on him (who had in all things followed the king's pleasure, oftentimes against his own conscience) ; that he should smart under that power which himself had helped so considerably to make it be raised so high. The protestants could not but observe a hand of God in measuring out such a hard measure to him, that was so heavy on all those poor people that were questioned for heresy. But Cranmer's

carriage in this matter was suitable to the other parts of his life, for he withdrew to Croydon, and would not so much as be present in parliament when so unjust an act was passed ; and his absence at this time was the more considerable, since the king was so dangerously ill that it must be concluded it could be no slight cause that made him withdraw at such a time. But the duke of Norfolk had been his constant enemy, therefore he would not so much as be near the public councils, when so strange an act was passing. But at the same time the bishop of Winchester was officiously hanging on in the court ; and though he was forbid to come to council, yet always when the councillors went into the king's bedchamber, he went with them to the door, to make the world believe he was still one of the number, and staying at the door till the rest came out, he returned with them. But he was absolutely lost in the king's opinion.

There is but one other step of foreign business in this reign, which was an embassy sent over by the duke of Saxony, to let the king know of the league between the pope and the emperor for the extirpation of heresy,—and that the emperor was making war on him, and the other princes, in pursuance of that league ; therefore he desired the king's assistance. But at the same time, the emperor did by his agents everywhere disown that the war was made upon a religious account ; and said it was only to maintain the rights of the empire, which those princes had affronted. So the king answered, that as soon as it did appear to him that religion was the cause of the war, he would assist them. But that which made this so involved was, that though at Rome the pope declared it was a holy war, and ordered prayers and processions to be made for success ; yet the emperor in all his declarations took no notice of religion. He had also divided the protestant party, so that some of them joined with him, and others were neutrals. And when in Germany itself this matter was so little understood, it was easy to abuse strangers by giving them a wrong account of it.

The king was now overgrown with corpulency and fatness, so that he became more and more unwieldy. He could not go up or down stairs, but as he was raised up, or let down by an engine ; and an old sore in his leg became very uneasy to him ; so that all the humours in his body sinking down into his leg, he was much pained, and became exceeding froward and intractable, to which his inexcusable severity to the duke of Norfolk and his son may be in a great measure imputed. His servants durst scarce speak to him to put him in mind of his approaching end : and an act of parliament which was made for the security of the king's life, had some words in it against the foretelling of his death ; which made every one afraid to speak to him of it, lest he in his angry and imperious humours should have ordered them to be indicted upon that statute. But he felt nature declining apace, and so made the will that he had left behind him at his last going into France, be written over again ; with this only difference, that Gardiner bishop of Winchester,

whom he had appointed one of the executors of his will, and of the councillors to his son, till he came of age, was now left out : of which, when sir Anthony Brown put the king in mind, apprehending it was only an omission, he answered, "That he knew Gardiner's temper well enough, and though he could govern him, yet none of them would be able to do it ; and that he would give them much trouble." And when Brown at another time repeated the motion to the king, he told him, if he spake more of that he would strike him out of his will too. The will was said to be signed the 30th of December. It is printed at large by Fuller ; and the most material parts of it by Heylin. So I need say little of it, only the most signal clause in it was, that he excluded the line of Scotland out of the succession, and preferred the two daughters of the French queen by Charles Brandon to them : and this leads me to discover several things concerning this will, which have been hitherto unknown. I draw them from a letter written to sir William Cecil, then secretary of state to queen Elizabeth, (afterwards lord Burleigh,) by William Maitland of Leithington, secretary of state to the queen of Scotland. This Maitland was accounted a man of the greatest parts of any in his nation at that time ; though his treachery in turning over to the party that was against the queen very much blemished his other qualities : but he expiated his fault by a real repentance ; which appeared in his returning to his duty, and losing all afterwards in her

quarrel. His letter will be found in the collection. The substance and design of it is, to clear the right his mistress had to the crown of England, in case the queen should die without heirs of her body. Therein after he had answered other objections, he comes to this of the will. To it he says, "That according to the act of parliament, the king's will was to be signed with his own hand ; but this will was only signed by the stamp. Then the king never ordered the stamp to be put to it : he had been oft desired to sign it, but had always put it off ; but when they saw his death approaching, one William Clark servant to Thomas Hennage put the stamp to it, and some gentlemen that were waiting without, were called in to sign it as a witness. For this he appealed to the deposition of the lord Paget, and desired the marquis of Winchester, and Northampton, the earl of Pembroke, sir William Petre, sir Henry Nevil, sir Maurice Berkeley, sir Anthony Denny, doctor Rutts, and some others, might be examined ; and that their depositions might be entered in the chancery. He also appealed to the original will, by which it would appear, that it was not signed but only stamped ; and that not being according to the act of parliament, which in such extraordinary things must be taken, the will was of no force." Thus it appears what vulgar errors pass upon the world : and though for seventy-five years the Scottish race has enjoyed the crown of England, and after so long a possession it is very superfluous to clear a title which is universally acknowledged ; yet the reader will not be ill pleased to see how ill-grounded that pretence was, which some managed very seditiously during the reign of queen Elizabeth, for excluding that line.

But if this will was not signed by the king, other grants were certainly made by him on his death-bed : one was to the city of London of 500 marks a year, for endowing an hospital which was called Christ's hospital ; and he ordered the church of the Franciscans a little within Newgate to be opened, which he gave to the hospital. This was done on the 3d of January. Another was of Trinity College in Cambridge, one of the noblest foundations in Christendom. He continued in a decay till the 27th of the month ; and then many signs of his approaching end appearing, few would adventure on so unwelcome a thing as to put him in mind of his change then imminent : but sir Anthony Denny had the honesty and courage to do it, and desired him to prepare for death, and remember his former life, and to call on God for mercy through Jesus Christ. Upon which the king expressed his grief for the sins of his past life, yet he said he trusted in the mercies of Christ, which were greater than they were. Then Denny asked him if any churchman should be sent for ; and he said if any it should be archbishop Cranmer : and after he had rested a little, finding his spirits decay apace, he ordered him to be sent for to Croydon, where he was then. But before he could come the king was speechless : so Cranmer desired him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ, upon which he squeezed his hand, and soon after died ; after he had reigned thirty-seven years and nine months, in the six-and fiftieth year of his age. His death was kept up three days, for the journals of the house of lords show, that they continued reading

bills and going on in business till the 31st, and no sooner did the lord chancellor signify to them that the king was dead, and that the parliament was thereby dissolved. It is certain the parliament had no being after the king's breath was out; so their sitting till the 31st shows that the king's death was not generally known all those three days. The reasons of concealing it so long might either be, that they were considering what to do with the duke of Norfolk, or that the Seymours were laying their matters so as to be secure in the government before they published the king's death. I shall not adventure on adding any further character of him to that which is done with so much wit and judgment by the lord Herbert, but shall refer the reader wholly to him; only adding an account of the blackest part of it, the attainders that passed the last thirteen years of his life: which are comprehended within this book, of which I have cast over the relation to the conclusion of it.

In the latter part of his reign there were many things that seem great severities, especially as they are represented by the writers of the Roman party, whose relations are not a little strengthened by the faint excuses and the mistaken accounts that most of the Protestant historians have made. The king was naturally impetuous and could not bear provocation; the times were very ticklish; his subjects were generally addicted to the old superstition, especially in the northern parts; the monks and friars were both numerous and wealthy; the pope was his implacable enemy, the emperor was a formidable prince, and being then master of the Netherlands had many advantages for the war he designed against England. Cardinal Pole, his kinsman, was going over all the courts of Christendom, to persuade a league against England, as being a thing of greater necessity and merit than a war against the Turk. This being without the least aggravation the state of affairs at that time, it must be confessed that he was sore put to it. A superstition that was so blind and headstrong, and enemies that were both so powerful, so spiteful, and so industrious, made rigour necessary; nor is any general of an army more concerned to deal severely with spies and intelligencers, than he was to proceed against all the pope's adherents, or such as kept correspondence with Pole. He had observed in history, that upon much less provocation than himself had given not only several emperors and foreign princes had been dispossessed of their dominions, but two of his own ancestors Henry II. and King John had been driven to great extremities, and forced to unusual and most indecent submissions by the means of the popes and their clergy.

The pope's power over the clergy was so absolute, and their dependence and obedience to him was so implicit, and the popish clergy had so great an interest in the superstitious multitude, whose consciences they governed, that nothing but a stronger passion could either tame the clergy or quiet the people. If there had been the least hope of impunity, the last part of his reign would have been one continued rebellion; therefore to prevent a more profuse effusion of blood it seemed necessary to execute laws severely in some particular instances.

There is one calumny that runs in a thread through all the historians of the popish age, which not a few of our own have ignorantly taken up, that many were put to death for not swearing the king's supremacy. It is an impudent falsehood, for not so much as one person suffered on that account; nor was there any law for any such oath before the parliament in the twenty-eighth year of the king's reign, when the unsufferable bull of pope Paul III. engaged him to look a little more to his own safety. Then indeed in the oath for maintaining the succession of the crown, the subjects were required, under the pains of treason, to swear that the king was supreme head of the church of England, but that was not mentioned in the former oath that was made in the twenty-fifth and enacted in the twenty-sixth year of his reign. It cannot but be confessed, that to enact under pain of death that none should deny the king's titles, and to proceed upon that against offenders, is a very different thing from forcing them to swear the king to be the supreme head of the church.

The first instance of these capital proceedings was in Easter Term, in the beginning of the twenty-seventh year of his reign. Three priors and a monk of the Carthusian order, were then indicted of treason, for saying that the king was not supreme head under Christ of the church of England. These were John Houghton prior of the Charter-house near London, Augustin Webster prior of Axholme, Robert Laurence prior of Bevoll, and Richard Reynolds a monk of Sion: this last was

An account
of the King's
severities
against the
Popish Party.

Some Carthusians executed
for denying
the King's
supremacy.

esteemed a learned man for that time and that order. They were tried in Westminster-hall by a commission of Oyer and Terminer; they pleaded not guilty, but the jury found them guilty, and judgment was given that they should suffer as traitors. The record mentions no other particulars; but the writers of the popish side make a splendid recital of the courage and constancy they expressed both in their trial and at their death. It was no difficult thing for men so used to the legend, and the making of fine stories for the saints and martyrs of their orders, to dress up such narratives with much pomp; but as their pleading not guilty to the indictment shows no extraordinary resolution, so the account that is given by them of one Hall, a secular priest that died with them, is so false, that there is good reason to suspect all. He is said to have suffered on the same account, but the record of his attainer gives a very different relation of it.

He and Robert Feron were indicted at the same time "for having said many spiteful and treasonable things, as that the king was a tyrant, an heretic, a robber, and an adulterer; that they hoped he should die such a death as king John, and Richard III. died; that they looked when those in Ireland and Wales should invade England, and they were assured that three parts of four in England would be against the king; they also said that they should never live merrily till the king and the rulers were plucked by the pates and brought to the pot, and that it would never be well with the church till that was done." Hall had not only said this, but had also written it to Feron the 10th of March that year. When they were brought to the bar, they at first pleaded not guilty; but full proof being brought, they themselves confessed the indictment before the jury went aside, and put themselves on the king's mercy; upon which, this being an imagining and contriving both war against the king, and the king's death, judgment was given as in cases of treason; but no mention being made of Feron's death, it seems he had his pardon. Hall suffered with the four Carthusians, who were hanged in their habits.

They proceeded no further in Easter-term; but in Trinity-term there was another commission of Oyer and Terminer, by which Humphrey Middlemore, William Exmew, and Sebastian Nudigate, three monks of the Charter-house near London, were indicted of treason, for having said on the 25th of May, "that they neither could nor would consent to be obedient to the king's highness, as true, lawful, and obedient subjects, to take him to be supreme head on earth of the church of England." They all pleaded not guilty, but were found guilty by the jury; and judgment was given. When they were condemned, they desired that they might receive the body of Christ before their death. But (as Judge Spelman writ) the court would not grant it, since that was never done in such cases, but by order from the king. Two days after that they were executed. Two other monks of that same order, John Rochester and James Wolver, suffered on the same account at York, in May this year. Ten other Carthusian monks were shut up within their cells, where nine of them died: the tenth was hanged in the beginning of August. Concerning those persons, I find this said in some original letters, that they had brought over into England, and vended in it, some books that were written beyond sea, against the king's marriage, and his other proceedings, which being found in their house, they were pressed to peruse the books that were written for the king, but obstinately refused to do it; they had also been involved in the business of the Maid of Kent; for which, though all the accomplices in it, except those who suffered for it, were pardoned by act of parliament, yet such as had been concerned in it were still under jealousy, and it is no wonder that upon new provocations they met with the uttermost rigour of the law.

These trials made way for two others that were more signal: of the bishop of Rochester and sir Thomas More. The first of these had been a prisoner above a year, and was very severely used; he complained in his letters to Cromwell that he had neither clothes nor fire, being then about fourscore. This was understood at Rome; and upon it pope Clement, by an officious kindness to him, or rather in spite to king Henry, declared him a cardinal, and sent him a red hat. When the king knew this, he sent to examine him about it; but he protested he had used no endeavours to procure it, and valued it so little, that if the hat were lying at his feet, he would not take it up. It never came nearer him than Picardy: yet this did precipitate his ruin; but if he had kept his

And Hall a Priest for conspiring against the King.

Three other Monks executed.

Fisher's Trial and Death.

opinion of the king's supremacy to himself, they could not have proceeded further. He would not do that, but did upon several occasions speak against it ; so he was brought to his trial on the 17th of June. The lord chancellor, the duke of Suffolk, and some other lords, together with the judges, sate upon him by a commission of oyer and terminer. He pleaded not guilty ; but being found guilty, judgment was passed on him to die as a traitor ; but he was by a warrant from the king beheaded. Upon the 22nd of June, being the day of his execution, he dressed himself with more than ordinary care ; and when his man took notice of it, he told him he was to be that day a bridegroom. As he was led to the place of execution, being stopped in the way by the crowd, he opened his New Testament, and prayed to this purpose ; that as that book had been his companion and chief comfort in his imprisonment, so then some place might turn up to him that might comfort him in his last passage. This being said, he opened the book at a venture, in which these words of St. John's Gospel turned up : " This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent." So he shut the book with much satisfaction, and all the way was repeating and meditating on them. When he came to the scaffold he pronounced the " Te Deum ;" and after some other devotions, his head was cut off.

Thus died John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, in the 80th year of his age. He was a learned and devout man, but much addicted to the superstitions in which he had been bred up, and that led him to great severities against all that opposed them. He had been for many years confessor to the king's grandmother, the countess of Richmond ; and it was believed that he persuaded her to those noble designs for the advancement of learning, of founding two colleges in Cambridge, St. John's and Christ's college, and divinity professors in both universities. And in acknowledgment of this, he was chosen chancellor of the university of Cambridge. Henry VII. gave him the bishopric of Rochester, which he, following the rule of the primitive church, would never change for a better : he used to say his church was his wife, and he would never part with her, because she was poor. He continued in great favour with the king till the business of the divorce, was set on foot ; and then he adhered so firmly to the queen's cause and the pope's supremacy that he was carried by that headlong into great errors, as appears by the business of the Maid of Kent. Many thought the king ought to have proceeded against him rather upon that, which was a point of state, than upon the supremacy, which was matter of conscience. But the king was resolved to let all his subjects see there was no mercy to be expected by any that denied his being supreme head of the church, and therefore made him and More two examples for terrifying the rest. This being much censured beyond sea, Gardiner, that was never wanting in the most servile compliances, wrote a vindication of the king's proceedings. The lord Herbert had it in his hands, and tells us it was written in elegant Latin, but that he thought it too long, and others judged it was too vehement, to be inserted in his history

On the 1st of July, sir Thomas More was brought to his trial. The special matter in his indictment is, that on the 7th of May preceding, before Cromwell, Bedyll, and some others that were pressing him concerning the king's supremacy, he said he would not meddle with any such matter, and was fully resolved to serve God, and think upon his passion, and his own passage out of this world. He had also sent divers messages by one George Gold to Fisher, to encourage him in his obstinacy ; and said, " The act of parliament is like a sword with two edges, for if a man answer one way, it will confound his soul, and if he answer another way, it will confound his body." He had said the same thing on the 3rd of June, in the hearing of the lord chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, and others ; and that he would not be the occasion of the shortening his own life. And when Rich, the king's solicitor, came to deal with him further about it, but protested that he came not with any authority to examine him, they discoursed the matter fully ; Rich pressed him, " that since the parliament had enacted that the king was supreme head, the subjects ought to agree to it ; and said Rich, what if the parliament should declare me king, would you not acknowledge me ? I would, said More, *Quia* (as it is in the indictment) *Rex per Parliamentum fieri potest, et per Parliamentum deprivari* ; but More turned the argument on Rich, and said, what if the parliament made an act that God was not God ? Rich acknowledged

His Character.

More's Trial and Death

it could not bind : but replied to More, that since he would acknowledge him king, if he were made so by act of parliament, why would he not acknowledge the king supreme head, since it was enacted by parliament. To that More answered, that the parliament had power to make a king, and the people were bound to acknowledge him, whom they made ; but for the supremacy, though the parliament had enacted it, yet those in foreign parts had never assented to it." This was carried by Rich to the king, and all these particulars were laid together, and judged to amount to a denial of the supremacy. Judge Spelman writ, that More being on his trial, pleaded strongly against the statute that made it treason to deny the supremacy, and argued that the king could not be supreme head of the church : when he was brought to the bar, he pleaded not guilty, but being found guilty, judgment was given against him as a traitor. He received it with that equal temper of mind, which he had showed in both conditions of life, and then set himself wholly to prepare for death ; he expressed great contempt of the world, and that he was weary of life, and longed for death ; which was so little terrible to him, that his ordinary facetiousness remained with him even on the scaffold. It was censured by many as light and undecent ; but others said, that way having been so natural to him on all other occasions, it was not at all affected ; but showed that death did no way discompose him, and could not so much as put him out of his ordinary humour. Yet his rallying everything on the scaffold, was thought to have more of the Stoic than the Christian in it. After some time spent in secret devotions, he was beheaded on the 6th of July.

Thus did sir Thomas More end his days, in the 53d year of his age*. He was a man of rare virtues, and excellent parts : in his youth he had freer thoughts of things, as appears by his *Utopia*, and his letters to Erasmus ; but afterwards he became superstitiously devoted to the interests and passions of the popish clergy : and as he served them when he was in authority, even to assist them in all their cruelties ; so he employed his pen in the same cause, both in writing against all the new opinions in general, and in particular against Tindal, Frith, and Barnes, as also an unknown writer, who seemed of neither party, but reprov'd the corruptions of the clergy, and condemned their cruel proceedings. More was no divine at all, and it is plain to any that reads his writings, that he knew nothing of antiquity, beyond the quotations he found in the canon law, and in the master of the sentences ; (only he had read some of St. Austin's treatises), for upon all points of controversy, he quotes only what he found in these collections ; nor was he at all conversant in the critical learning upon the Scriptures ; but his peculiar excellency in writing was, that he had a natural easy expression, and presented all the opinions of popery with their fair side to the reader, disguising or concealing the black side of them with great art ; and was no less dexterous in exposing all the ill consequences that could follow on the doctrine of the reformers : and had upon all occasions great store of pleasant tales, which he applied wittily to his purpose. And in this consists the great strength of his writings, which were designed rather for the rabble, than for learned men. But for justice, contempt of money, humility, and a true generosity of mind, he was an example to the age in which he lived.

But there is one thing unjustly added to the praise of these two great men, or rather feigned, on design to lessen the king's honour ; that Fisher and he penned the book which the king wrote against Luther. This Sanders first published, and Bellarmine and others since have taken it up upon his authority. Strangers may be pardoned such errors, but they are inexcusable in an Englishman. For in More's printed works there is a letter written by him out of the Tower to Cromwell, in which he gives an account of his behaviour concerning the king's divorce and supremacy : among other particulars one is, " that when the king showed him his book against Luther, in which he had asserted the pope's primacy to be of divine right, More desired him to leave it out ; since as there had been many contests between popes and other princes, so there might fall in some between the pope and the king ; therefore he thought it was not fit for the king to publish anything which might be afterwards made use of against himself : and advised him either to leave out that point, or

* The year of sir Thomas More's birth is not certain : higher : others say 1480 ; and others 1481.—FULMAN's by Erasmus's reckoning, it was in the year 1479, if not CORRECT.

to touch it very tenderly ; but the king would not follow his counsel, being perhaps so fond of what he had writ, that he would rather run himself upon a great inconvenience, than leave out anything that he fancied so well written." This shows that More knew that book was written by the king's own pen *; and either Sanders never read this, or maliciously concealed it, lest it should discover his foul dealing.

These executions so terrified all people, that there were no further provocations given ; and all persons either took the oaths, or did so dexterously conceal their opinions, that till the rebellions of Lincolnshire, and the north, broke out, none suffered after this upon a public account. But when these were quieted, then the king resolved to make the chief authors and leaders of those commotions public examples to the rest. The duke of Norfolk proceeded against many of them by martial law ; there were also trials at common law of a great many more that were taken prisoners, and sent up to London. The lords Darcy and

Hussey were tried by their peers, the marquis of Exeter sitting steward. And a commission of oyer and terminer being issued out for the trial of the rest, Sir Robert Constable, Sir John Bulmer and his lady, Sir Francis Pigot, Sir Stephen Hamilton, and Sir Thomas Piercy, and Ask, that had been their captain ; with

the abbots of Whalley, Jerveux, Bridlington, Lenton, Woburn, and Kingstead, and Mackrall the monk, that first raised the Lincolnshire rebellion, with sixteen more, were indicted of high treason, for the late rebellions. And after all the steps of the rebellion were reckoned up, it is added in the indictment, that they had met together on the 17th of January, and consulted how to renew it, and prosecute it further, being encouraged by the new risings that were then in the north ; by which they had forfeited all the favour, to which they could have pretended, by virtue of the indemnity that was granted in the end of December, and of the pardons which they had taken out. They were all found guilty, and had judgment as in cases of treason ; divers of them were carried down into Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, and executed in the places where their treasons were committed ; but most of them suffered at London, and among others the lady Bulmer, (whom others† call Sir John Bulmer's harlot) was burnt for it in Smithfield.

The only censure that passed on this was, that advantages were taken on too slight grounds to break the king's indemnity and pardon ; since it does not appear that after their pardon they did anything more than meet and consult. But the kingdom was so shaken with that rebellion, that if it had not been for the great conduct of the duke of Norfolk, the king had by all appearance lost his crown. And it will not seem strange that a king, (especially so tempered as this was,) had a mind to strike terror into the rest of his subjects, by some signal examples, and to put out of the way the chief leaders of that design : nor was it to be wondered at, that the abbots and other clergymen who had been so active in that commotion, were severely handled. It was by their means that the discontents were chiefly fomented ; they had taken all the oaths that were enjoined them, and yet continued to be still practising against the state ; which, as it was highly contrary to the peaceable doctrines of the Christian religion, so it was in a special manner contrary to the rules which they professed ; that obliged them to forsake the world, and to follow a religious and spiritual course of life.

The next example of justice was a year after this, of one Forrest, an Observant friar. He had been, as Sanders says, confessor to queen Katharine, but it seems departed from her interests ; for he insinuated himself so into the king, that he recovered his good opinion. Being an ignorant and lewd man, he was accounted by the better sort of that house to which he belonged, in Greenwich, a reproach to their order. (Concerning this, I have seen a large account in an original letter, written by a brother of the same house.) Having regained the king's good opinion, he put all those who had favoured the divorce under great fears, for he proceeded cruelly against them. And one Rainscroft, being suspected to have given secret intelligence of what was done among them, was shut up, and so hardly used that he died in their hands, which was (as that letter relates) done by friar Forrest's means. This friar was found to have denied the king's

* But see the note above, page 24, where, upon the authority of sir Thomas More himself, it appears that it was the work of others, and that, at the utmost, the king only superintended its execution.—ED. † Hall.

supremacy ; for, though he himself had sworn it, yet he had infused it into many in confession, that the king was not the supreme head of the church. Being questioned for these practices, which were so contrary to the oath that he had taken, he answered, “ that he took that oath with his outward man, but his inward man had never consented to it.”—(Hall.) Being brought to his trial, and accused of several heretical opinions that he held, he submitted himself to the church. Upon this he had more freedom allowed him in the prison ; but some coming to him, diverted him from the submission he had offered ; so that when the paper of abjuration was brought him, he refused to set his hand to it : upon which he was judged an obstinate heretic. The records of these proceedings are lost ; but the books of that time say, that he denied the gospel : it is like it was upon that pretence, that without the determination of the church it had no authority, upon which several writers of the Roman communion have said indecent and scandalous things of the Holy Scriptures. He was brought to Smithfield, where were present the lords of the council, to offer him his pardon if he would abjure. Latimer made a sermon against his errors, and studied to persuade him to recant ; but he continued in his former opinions, so he was put to death in a most severe manner. He was hanged in a chain about his middle, and the great image that was brought out of Wales was broken to pieces, and served for fuel to burn him. He showed great unquietness of mind, and ended his life in an ungodly manner, as Hall says, who adds this character of him : “ that he had little knowledge of God and his sincere truth, and less trust in him at his ending.”

In winter that year a correspondence was discovered with cardinal Pole, who was barefaced in his treasonable designs against the king. His brother, sir Geoffrey Pole, discovered the whole plot. For which the marquis of Exeter, (that was the king's cousin-german by his mother, who was Edward IV.'s daughter,) the lord Montacute, the cardinal's brother, sir Geoffrey Pole, and sir Edward Nevill, were sent to the Tower in the beginning of November. They were accused for having maintained a correspondence with the cardinal, and for expressing a hatred of the king, with a dislike of his proceedings, and a readiness to rise upon any good opportunity that might offer itself.

The special matter brought against the lord Montacute, and the marquis of Exeter, who were tried by their peers on the 2nd and 3rd of December, in the thirtieth year of this reign, is, “ that whereas Cardinal Pole, and others, had cast off their allegiance to the king, and gone and submitted themselves to the pope, the king's mortal enemy, the lord Montacute did, on the 24th of July, in the twenty-eighth year of the king's reign, a few months before the rebellion broke out, say that he liked well the proceedings of his brother the cardinal, but did not like the proceedings of the realm ; and said, I trust to see a change of this world ; I trust to have a fair day upon those knaves that rule about the king ; and I trust to see a merry world one day.” Words to the same purpose were also charged on the marquis. The lord Montacute further said, “ I would I were over the sea with my brother, for this world will one day come to stripes : it must needs so come to pass, and I fear we shall lack nothing so much as honest men.” He also said, “ he had dreamed that the king was dead, and though he was not yet dead, he would die suddenly ; one day his leg will kill him, and then we shall have jolly stirring ; saying also, that he never had loved him from his childhood, and that cardinal Wolsey would have been an honest man, if he had had an honest master.” And the king having said to the lords he would leave them one day, having some apprehensions he might shortly die, that lord said, “ if he will serve us so, we shall be happily rid ; a time will come, I fear, we shall not tarry the time, we shall do well enough.” He had also said, “ he was sorry the lord Abergavenny was dead, for he could have made ten thousand men ; and for his part he would go and live in the west, where the marquis of Exeter was strong ;” and had also said, upon the breaking of the northern rebellion, “ that the lord Darcy played the fool, for he went to pluck away the council, but he should have begun with the head first, but I beshrew him for leaving off so soon.” These were the words charged on those lords, as clear discoveries of their treasonable designs ; and that they knew of the rebellion that brake out, and only intended to have kept it off to a fitter opportunity. They were also accused of correspondence with cardinal Pole, that was

the king's declared enemy. Upon these points the lords pleaded not guilty, but were found guilty by their peers, and so judgment was given.

On the 4th of December were indicted sir Geoffrey Pole, for holding correspondence with his brother the cardinal, and saying that he approved of his proceedings, but not of the king's; sir Edward Nevill, brother to the lord Abergavenny, for saying the king was a beast, and worse than a beast; George Crofts, chancellor of the cathedral of Chichester, for saying the king was not, but the pope was, supreme head of the church; and John Collins, for saying, the king would hang in hell one day for the plucking down of abbeys. All those, sir Edward Nevill only excepted, pleaded guilty, and so they were condemned; but sir Geoffrey Pole was the only person of the number that was not executed, for he had discovered the matter. At the same time also, cardinal Pole, Michael Throgmorton, gentleman, John Hilliard and Thomas Goldwell, clerks, and William Peyto,* a Franciscan of the Observance, were attainted in absence; because they had cast off their duty to the king, and had subjected themselves to the bishop of Rome, Pole being made cardinal by him; and for writing treasonable letters, and sending them into England. On the 4th of February following, sir Nicholas Carew,† that was both master of the horse and knight of the garter, was arraigned for being an adherent to the marquis of Exeter, and having spoken of his attainer as unjust and cruel, he was also attainted and executed upon the 3d of March. When he was brought to the scaffold, he openly acknowledged the errors and superstition in which he had formerly lived; and blessed God for his imprisonment; "for he then began to relish the life and sweetness of God's holy word, which was brought him by his keeper, one Phillips, who followed the Reformation, and had formerly suffered for it."

After these executions, followed the parliament in the year 1539, in which not only these attainers that were already passed were confirmed, but new ones, of a strange and unheard-of nature, were enacted. It is a blemish never to be washed off, and which cannot be enough condemned, and was a breach of the most sacred and unalterable rules of justice, which is capable of no excuse; it was the attainting of some persons whom they held in custody, without bringing them to a trial; concerning which, I shall add what the great lord chief-justice Coke writes (4 Instit. 37, 38): "Although I question not the power of the parliament, for without question the attainer stands of force in law, yet this I say of the manner of proceeding, '*Auferat obliuio si potest, si non utrumque silentium tegat.*' For the more high and absolute the jurisdiction of the court is, the more just and honourable it ought to be in the proceedings, and to give example of justice to inferior courts." The chief of these were the marchioness of Exeter and the countess of Sarum. The special matter charged on the former is, her confederating herself to sir Nicholas Carew in his treasons: to which is added, "that she had committed divers other abominable treasons. The latter is said to have confederated herself with her son the cardinal, with other aggravating words." It does not appear by the journal that any witnessses were examined; only that day that the bills were read the third time in the house of lords, Cromwell showed them a coat of white silk, which the lord admiral had found among the countess of Sarum's clothes, in which the arms of England were wrought on the one side, and the standard that was carried before the rebels was on the other side. This was brought as an evidence that she approved of the rebellion. Three Irish priests were also attainted for carrying letters out of Ireland to the pope and cardinal Pole, as also sir Adrian Fortescue, for endeavouring to raise a rebellion; Thomas Dingley, a knight of St.

* Thuanus calls him William, and says he was *loci ignobilis*; but his true name by which he was made cardinal was Petro; whether he was so christened, or assumed it when he became a friar, is not certain. He was descended from an ancient and eminent family in Warwickshire, yet remaining.—FULLMAN'S CORRECT.

† Sir Nicholas Carew, of the Carews of Beddington, in Surrey, was the son of Sir Richard Carew, Knight Banneret, and Magdalen, daughter of Sir Robert Oxenbridge. At an early age he was introduced to the court of Henry VIII., where he soon became a favourite, and was made one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber. At one period he

fell under the king's displeasure, owing to his inordinate predilection for French fashions, and was sentenced to a kind of honourable banishment, as governor of Ruysbank in Picardy. He was, however, soon recalled, and continued in high favour with the king, who made him master of the horse, and created him knight of the garter, until the accusation mentioned in the text was brought against him. Fuller mentions a tradition that a quarrel had happened between him and the king at a game at bowls, and that this was the cause of his ruin. He was buried in the church of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, in the same tomb with Thomas lord D'Arcy, and others of his family.—ED.



SIR NICHOLAS CAREW.

OR 1679

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

John of Jerusalem, and Robert Granceter, merchant, for going to several foreign princes, and persuading them to make war upon the king, and assist the lords Darcy and Hussey in the rebellion they had raised. Two gentlemen, a Dominican friar, and a yeoman, were by the same act attainted, for saying, that that venomous serpent the bishop of Rome was supreme head of the church of England; another gentleman, two priests, and a yeoman, were attainted for treason in general, no particular crime being specified. Thus sixteen persons were in this manner attainted, and if there was any examination of witnesses for convicting them, it was either in the star-chamber, or before the privy-council; for there is no mention of any evidence that was brought in the journals. There was also much haste made in the passing this bill; it being brought in the 10th of May, was read that day for the first and second time, and the 11th of May for the third time. The commons kept it five days before they sent it back, and added some more to those that were in the bill at first; but how many were named in the bill originally, and how many were afterwards added, cannot be known. Fortescue and Dingley suffered the 10th of July. As for the countess of Sarum, the lord Herbert saw in a record, that bulls from the pope were found in her house, "that she kept correspondence with her son, and that she forbade her tenants to have the New Testament in English, or any other of the books that had been published by the king's authority." She was then about seventy years of age, but showed by the answers she made that she had a vigorous and masculine mind. She was kept two years prisoner in the Tower after the act had passed, the king by that reprieve designing to oblige her son to a better behaviour; but upon a fresh provocation, by a new rebellion in the north, she was beheaded, and in her the name and line of Plantagenet determined. The marchioness of Exeter died a natural death. In November this year, were the abbots of Reading, Glastonbury, and Colchester, attainted of treason, of which mention was made formerly.

In the parliament that sat in the year 1540 they went on to follow that strange precedent which they had made the former year. By the 56th act Giles Heron was attainted of treason, no special matter being mentioned.

By the 57th act, Richard Fetherstoun, Thomas Abell, and Edward Powel, priests, and William Horn, a yeoman, were attainted for denying the king's supremacy, and adhering to the bishop of Rome: by the same act the wife of one Tirrell, Esq., was attainted for refusing her duty of allegiance, and denying Prince Edward to be prince and heir of the crown; and one Laurence Cook of Doncaster was also attainted for contriving the king's death.

By the 58th act, Gregory Buttolph, Adam Damply, and Edward Brindholm, clerks, and Clement Philpot, gentleman, were attainted for adhering to the bishop of Rome, for corresponding with cardinal Pole, and endeavouring to surprise the town of Calais. By the same act, Barnes, Gerard, and Jerome were attainted, of whose sufferings an account has been already given.

By the 59th act, William Bird, a priest, and chaplain to the lord Hungerford, was attainted for having said to one that was going to assist the king against the rebels in the north—"I am sorry thou goest; seest thou not how the king plucketh down images and abbeys every day? and if the king go thither himself, he will never come home again, nor any of them all which go with him; and in truth it were pity he should ever come home again:" and at another time, upon one's saying, "O good Lord, I ween all the world will be heretics in a little time;" Bird said, "Doest thou marvel at that? I tell thee it is no marvel, for the great Master of all is an heretic, and such a one as there is not his like in the world."

By the same act the lord Hungerford was likewise attainted. The crimes specified are, "that he, knowing Bird to be a traitor, did entertain him in his house as his chaplain; that he ordered another of his chaplains, sir Hugh Wood, and one doctor Maudlin, to use conjuring that they might know how long the king should live, and whether he should be victorious over his enemies or not; and that these three years last past he had frequently committed the detestable sin of sodomy with several of his servants." All these were attainted by that parliament. The lord Hungerford was executed the same day with Cromwell; he died in such disorder that some thought he was frantic, for he called often to the executioner to despatch him, and said he was weary of life and longed to be dead, which seemed strange in a man

that had so little cause to hope in his death. For Powel, Fetherstoun, and Abell, they suffered the same day with Barnes and his friends, as hath been already shown.

This year Sampson, bishop of Chichester, and one doctor Wilson, were put in the Tower upon suspicion of correspondence with the pope; but upon their submission they had their pardon and liberty. In the year 1541, five priests and ten secular persons, some of them being gentlemen of quality, were raising a new rebellion in Yorkshire; which was suppressed in time, and the promoters of it, being apprehended, were attainted and executed; and this occasioned the death of the countess of Sarum, after the execution of the sentence had been delayed almost two years.

The last instance of the king's severity was in the year 1543, in which one Gardiner, that was the bishop of Winchester's kinsman and secretary, and three other priests, were tried for denying the king's supremacy, and soon after executed*. But what special matter was laid to their charge cannot be known, for the record of their attainder is lost.

These were the proceedings of this king against those that adhered to the interests of Rome: in which, though there is great ground for just censure, for as the laws were rigorous, so the execution of them was raised to the highest that the law could admit; yet there is nothing in them to justify all the clamours which that party have raised against king Henry, and by which they pursue his memory to this day; and are far short, both in number and degrees, of the cruelties of queen Mary's reign, which yet they endeavour all that is possible to extenuate or deny.

To conclude, we have now gone through the reign of king Henry VIII., who is rather to be reckoned among the great than the good princes. He exercised so much severity on men of both persuasions, that the writers of both sides have laid open his faults and taxed his cruelty. But as neither of them were much obliged to him, so none have taken so much care to set forth his good qualities as his enemies have done to enlarge on his vices. I do not deny that he is to be numbered among the ill princes, yet I cannot rank him with the worst.

* Gardiner was executed, the other three were pardoned, are said to have been Master More, Master Heyhode, and according to an account I have seen, MS. Their names Master Roper.—ANON. CORRECT.

ADDENDA.

After some of the sheets of this history were wrought off, I met with manuscripts of great authority, out of which I have collected several particulars that give a clear light to the proceedings in those times, which since they came too late to my knowledge to be put in their proper places, I shall here add them with references to the places to which they belong.

Ad Page 150, line 10.

THERE it is said, that the earl of Wiltshire, father to queen Anne Boleyn, was one of the peers that judged her.

In this I too implicitly followed doctor Heylin, he seeming to write with more than ordinary care for the vindication of that queen, and with such assurance, as if he had seen the records concerning her, so that I took this upon trust from him. The reason of it was, that in the search I made of attainders, I did not find the record of her trial; so I concluded, that either it was destroyed by order during her daughter's reign, or was accidentally lost since that time: and thus having no record to direct me, I too easily followed the printed books in that particular. But after that part of this history was wrought off, I by chance met with it in another place where it was mislaid; and there I discovered the error I had committed. The earl of Wiltshire was not one of her judges; those by whom she was tried were the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earls of Arundel, Oxford, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, Sussex, and Huntington, and the lords Audley, Delaware, Mountague, Morley, Dacres, Cobham, Maltravers, Powis, Mounteagle, Clinton, Sands, Windsor, Wentworth, Burgh, and Mordaunt: in all twenty-six, and not twenty-eight as I reckoned them upon a vulgar error. The record mentions one particular concerning the earl of Northumberland, that he was taken with a sudden fit of sickness, and was forced to leave the court before the lord Rochford was tried. This might have been only casual: but since he was once in love with the queen, and had designed to marry her (see page 34), it is no wonder if so sad a change in her condition did raise an unusual disorder in him.

When I had discovered the mistake I had made, as I resolved to publish this free confession of it; so I set myself not without some indignation to examine upon what authority doctor Heylin had led me into it. I could find no author that went before him in it, but Sanders; the chief design of whose writing was to defame queen Elizabeth, and to blast her title to the crown. To that end it was no ill piece of his skill, to persuade the world of her mother's lewdness, to say, that her own father was convinced of it, and condemned her for it. And doctor Heylin took this, as he has done many other things, too easily upon Sanders's testimony.

Ad Page 161, line 3.

The articles of religion of which an abstract is there set down, are indeed published by Fuller: but he saw not the original, with all the subscriptions to it; which I have had in my hands, and therefore I have put it in the collection with three other papers, which were soon after offered to the king by Cranmer.

The one is in the form of fifteen queries, concerning some abuses by which the people had been deceived ; as namely, by these doctrines, that without contrition sinners may be reconciled to God ; that it is in the power of the priest to pardon or not to pardon sin at his pleasure ; and that God's pardon cannot be obtained without priestly absolution. Also he complained that the people trusted to outward ceremonies ; and their curates for their own gain encouraged them in it. It was observed that the opinion of clergymen's being exempted from the secular judge was ill grounded ; that bishops did ordain without due care and trial : that the dignified clergy misapplied their revenues, did not follow their first institution, and did not reside upon their benefices.

And in fine he moves that the four sacraments, which had been left undetermined by the former articles, might be examined : the outward signs and actions, the promises made upon them, and the efficacy that was in them, being well considered.

The second paper consists of two resolutions, made concerning confirmation by the archbishop of Canterbury, and Stokesley, bishop of London, there are several other papers concerning confirmation, but these are only subscribed : and the rest do generally follow these two prelates, who were then the heads of two different parties. The archbishop went on this ground, that all things were to be tried by the Scripture ; but Stokesley and almost the whole clergy were for receiving the tradition of the church, as not much inferior to the Scriptures, which he asserts in his subscription.

The third paper was offered to the king by Cranmer, to persuade him to proceed to a further reformation : that things might be long and well considered before they were determined, that nothing might be declared a part of God's faith, without good proofs from scripture : the departing from which rule had been the occasion of all the errors that had been in the church : that now men would not be led as they had been, but would examine matters : that many things were now acknowledged to be truths, such as the unlawfulness of the pope's usurped power, for which many had formerly suffered death. Whereupon he desires that some points might be examined by scripture : as, whether there is a purgatory, whether departed souls ought to be invoked, whether tradition ought to be believed ; whether there be any satisfaction besides the satisfaction of Christ, whether freewill may dispose itself to grace, and whether images ought to be kissed, or used to any other end but as representations of a piece of history ? In all these he desired the king would suspend his judgment : and in particular, that he would not determine against the lawfulness of the marriage of the clergy, but would for some time silence both parties. He also proposed that this point might, by order from the king, be examined in the universities before indifferent judges : that all the arguments against it might be given to the defenders twelve days before the public disputation ; and he offered, that if those who should defend the lawfulness of priests' marriage, were in the opinion of indifferent judges overcome, they should willingly suffer death for it ; but if otherwise, all they desired was, that in that point the king might leave them in the liberty to which the word of God left them.

Ad Page 183, line 23.

I have seen a much fuller paper concerning orders and ecclesiastical functions (which the reader will find in the collection) signed by Cromwell, the two archbishops and eleven bishops, and twenty divines and canonists, declaring that the power of the keys and other church functions is formally distinct from the power of the sword. That this power is not absolute, but to be limited by the rules that are in the scripture, and is ordained only for the edification and good of the church ; that this power ought to be still preserved, since it was given by Christ as the means of reconciling sinners to God. Orders were also declared a sacrament, since they consisted of an outward action instituted by Christ, and an inward grace conferred with them ; but that all inferior orders, janitors, lectors, &c., were brought into the church to beautify and adorn it, and were taken from the temple of the Jews. And that in the New Testament there is no mention made but of deacons or ministers, and priests or bishops ; nor is there belonging to orders any other ceremony mentioned in the Scripture, but prayer and imposition of hands.

This was signed either in the year 1537 or 1538, since it is subscribed both by John Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, and Edward Fox, bishop of Hereford; for the one was consecrated in 1537, and the other died in May, 1538.

On this paper I will add two remarks: the one is, that after this I do never find the inferior degrees under a deacon mentioned in this church; so it seems at this time they were laid aside. They were first set up in the church about the end of the second or the beginning of the third century, in the middle of which we find both Cornelius, bishop of Rome, and St. Cyprian, mentioning them as orders that were then established; and it seems they were designed as previous steps to the sacred functions, that none might be ordained to these but such as had been long before separated from a secular state of life, and had given good proofs of themselves in these lower degrees. But it turned in the church of Rome to be only a matter of form; and many took the first tonsure, that they might be exempted from the secular power, and be qualified for commendams, and some other worldly advantages to which these lower orders were sufficient, by those rules which the canonists had brought in.

Another thing is, that both in this writing and in the "Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man," bishops and priests are spoken of as one and the same office. In the ancient church they knew none of those subtleties which were found out in the latter ages. It was then thought enough that a bishop was to be dedicated to his function by a new imposition of hands, and that several offices could not be performed without bishops, such as ordination, confirmation, &c.; but they did not refine in these matters, so much as to inquire whether bishops and priests differed in order and office, or only in degree. But after the schoolmen fell to examine matters of divinity with logical and unintelligible niceties, and the canonists began to comment upon the rules of the ancient church, they studied to make bishops and priests seem very near one another, so that the difference was but small: * they did it with different designs. The schoolmen having set up the grand mystery of transubstantiation, were to exalt the priestly office as much as was possible; for the turning the host into God was so great an action, that they reckoned there could be no office higher than that which qualified a man to so mighty a performance; therefore, as they changed the form of ordination from what it was anciently believed to consist in, to a delivering of the sacred vessels, and held that a priest had his orders by that rite, and not by the imposition of hands; so they raised their order or office so high as to make it equal with the order of a bishop; but as they designed to extol the order of priesthood, so the canonists had as great a mind to depress the episcopal order. They generally wrote for preferment, and the way to it was to exalt the papacy. Nothing could do that so effectually as to bring down the power of bishops. This only could justify the exemptions of the monks and friars, the pope setting up legantine courts, and receiving at first appeals, and then original causes before them, together with many other encroachments on their jurisdiction; all which were unlawful, if the bishops had by divine right jurisdiction in their dioceses; therefore, it was necessary to lay them as low as could be, and to make them think that the power they held was rather as delegates of the apostolic see, than by a commission from Christ or his apostles: so that they looked on the declaring episcopal authority to be of divine right, as a blow that would be fatal to the court of Rome; and, therefore, they did after this at Trent use all possible endeavours to hinder any such decision. It having been then the common style of that age to reckon bishops and priests as the same office, it is no wonder if at this time the clergy of this church, the greatest part of them being still leavened with the old superstition, and the rest of them not having enough of spare time to examine lesser matters, retained still the former phrases in this particular.

On this I have insisted the more, that it may appear how little they have considered things, who are so far carried with their zeal against the established government of this church, as to make much use of some passages of the schoolmen and canonists that deny them

* Though most of the schoolmen asserted bishops and priests to be of the same order, for the reason here specified, their being equally appointed to the consecration of the eucharist, which they thought to be the highest and most perfect function; yet they allowed the bishops a super-

riority of jurisdiction, which some of them were content to call a superior order; as the canonists did also generally, notwithstanding their endeavours to depress the episcopal authority for the advancement of the papal.—GRANGER'S CORRECT.

to be distinct offices ; for these are the very dregs of popery, the one raising the priests higher for the sake of transubstantiation, the other pulling the bishops lower for the sake of the pope's supremacy, and by such means bringing them almost to an equality. So partial are some men to their particular conceits, that they make use of the most mischievous topics when they can serve their turn, not considering how much further these arguments will run if they ever admit them.

Ad Page 187, line 50.

The princes of Germany did always press the king to enter into a religious league with them : the first league that was made in the year 1536, was conceived in general terms against the pope as the common enemy, and for setting up true religion according to the gospel ; but they did afterwards send over ambassadors to treat about particulars ; and they having presented a memorial of these, there were conferences appointed between them and some bishops and divines of this church. I find no divines were sent over hither but Frederick Miconius, minister of Gotha, by whom Melancthon, who could not be spared out of Germany, sent several letters to the king ; the fullest and longest of them will be found in the collection. It is to all

Collect. this purpose, to persuade the king to go on vigorously in the reforming of abuses
Addenda, according to the word of God. The king sent over the particulars which they
Numb. 6. proposed in order to a perfect agreement, to Gardiner, who was then at Paris : upon which he sent back his opinion touching them all, the original of which, under his own hand, I have seen, but it relates so much to the other paper that was sent him, which I never saw, that without it his meaning can hardly be understood, and therefore I have not put it in the collection. The main thing in it, at which it chiefly drives, is to press the king to finish first a civil league with them, and to leave those particulars concerning religion to be afterwards treated of. The king followed his advice so far as to write to the German princes to that effect : but when the king declared his resolution to have the Six Articles established, all that favoured the reformation were much alarmed at it, and pressed their friends in Germany to interpose with the king for preventing it. I have seen an original letter of Hains, Dean of Exeter, in which he laments the sad effects that would follow on that act, which was then preparing ; that all the corruptions in the church rose from the establishing some points without clear proofs from scripture : he wished the Germans would consider of it, for if the king and parliament should make such a law, this was a precedent for the emperor to make the like in the diet of the empire. Neither were the German ambassadors backward in doing their friends in England all the service they could ; for after they had held several conferences with those that were appointed by the king to treat with them,

Collect. they, finding they could not prevail with them, wrote a long and learned letter
Addenda, to the king, against the taking away the chalice in the sacrament, and against
Numb. 7. private masses and the celibate of the clergy, with some other abuses which the reader will find in the collection, as it is copied from the original, which I have seen : to this I have added the answer which the king wrote to it. He employed
Collect. Tonstall, bishop of Durham, to draw it, for I have seen a rude draught of a great
Addenda, part of it written with his hand. By both these compared together, every indifferent
Numb. 8. reader will clearly see the force and simplicity of the arguments on the one hand, and the art and shuffling that was used on the other side. As soon as the act was passed, notwithstanding all their endeavours to the contrary, they, in an audience before the king, represented the great concern their masters would have, when the king, on whom they had relied so much, as the defender of the faith, should proceed with the severity expressed in that act against those that agreed with them in doctrine, and pressed the king earnestly to put a stop to the execution of it. The king promised he would see to it, and that though he judged the act necessary to restrain the insolence of some of his subjects, yet it should not be executed but upon great provocation ; he also proposed the renewing a civil league with them, without mentioning matters of religion. To this the princes made answer that the league, as it was at first projected, was chiefly upon a design of religion, and therefore without a common consent of all that were in their league, they could not alter it : they lamented this passing of the late act, but writ their thanks to the king for stopping the execution of it, and warned

him that some of his bishops, who set him on to these courses, were in their hearts still for all the old abuses, and for the pope's supremacy; and were pressing on the king to be severe against his best subjects, that they might thereby bring on a design which they could not hope to effect any other way: they advised the king to beware of such counsels. They also proposed that there might be a conference agreed on between such divines as the king would name, and such as they should depute, to meet either in Gueldres, Hamburg, Bremen, or any other place that should be appointed by the king, to examine the lawfulness of private masses, of denying the chalice, and the prohibiting the marriage of the clergy. On these things they continued treating till the divorce of Anne of Cleves and Cromwell's fall, after which I find little correspondence between the king and them.

Ad Page 188, line 17.

When I mentioned the king's letters, directing the bishops how to proceed in a reformation, I had not seen them, but I have since seen an original of them subscribed by the king's hand. In these he challenged the clergy as guilty of great indiscretions; that the late rebellion had been occasioned by them; therefore, he required the bishops to take care, that the articles formerly published should be exactly obeyed; and to go over their dioceses in person, and preach obedience to the laws, and the good ends of those ceremonies that were then retained, that the people might neither despise them, nor put too much trust in them, and to silence all disputes and contentions concerning things indifferent; and to signify to the king's council if there were any priests in their dioceses that were married, and yet did discharge any part of the priestly office. All which will be better understood by the letter itself, that I have put into the collection.

Ad page 189, line 42.

I do there acknowledge that I knew not what arguments were used against the necessity of auricular confession. But I have made since that time a considerable discovery in this particular, from an original letter written all with the king's own hand to Tonstall; by which it appears there had been conferences in the house, and that the archbishop of York, the bishop of Winchester and Durham, had pleaded much for it, as necessary by a divine institution; and that both the king and the archbishop of Canterbury had maintained, that though it was good and profitable, yet it was not necessary by any precept of the gospel; and that though the bishops brought several texts out of Scripture and ancient doctors, yet these were so clearly answered by the king and the archbishop, that the whole

house was satisfied with it; yet Tonstall drew up in a writing all the reasons he had made use of in that debate, and brought them to the king, which will be found in the collection, with the annotations and reflections which the king wrote on the margin with his own hand, taken from the original; together with the king's letter, written in answer to them. By this it will appear that the king did set himself much to study points of divinity, and examined matters with a scrupulous exactness. The issue of the debate was, that though the popish party endeavoured to have got auricular confession declared to be commanded by Christ, as a part of the sacrament of penance, yet the king overruled that; so it was enacted that auricular confession was necessary and expedient to be retained in the church of God. These debates were in the house of lords, which appears not only by the king's letter that speaks of the house, but by the act of parliament; in the preamble of which it is said, that the king had come himself to the parliament, and had opened several points of high learning to them.

Ad page 192, line 39.

There I mention the king's diligence in drawing an act of parliament with his own hand; but since that was printed I have seen many other acts and papers, if not originally penned by the king, yet so much altered by his corrections, that in some sort they may be esteemed his draughts. There are two draughts of the act of the Six Articles, both corrected in many places by the king, and in some of these the correction is three lines long. There is another act concerning precontracts of marriage, likewise corrected very much by his pen. Many

draughts of proclamations, particularly those about the use of the Bible in English, are yet extant, interlined and altered with his pen. There is a large paper written by Tonstall, of arguments for purgatory, with copious animadversions on it, likewise written by the king; which show that then he did not believe there was a purgatory. I have also seen the draught of that part of the Necessary Erudition for a Christian Man, which explains the Creed, full of corrections with the king's own pen; as also the queries concerning the sacraments mentioned page 211, with large annotations written with his hand on the margin; likewise an extract, all written with his own hand, of passages out of the Fathers

Collect.	against the marriage of the clergy; and to conclude there is a paper with which
Addenda,	the collection ends, containing The True Notion of the Catholic Church, which
Number 12.	has large emendations added with the king's hand: those I have set by

themselves on the margin of the paper.

THE HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

PART II.

OF THE PROGRESS MADE IN IT TILL THE SETTLEMENT OF IT IN THE BEGINNING OF QUEEN
ELIZABETH'S REIGN.

THE PREFACE.

THE favourable reception which the former part of this work had, together with the new materials that were sent me from noble and worthy hands, have encouraged me to prosecute it, and to carry down the History of the Reformation of this Church till it was brought to a complete settlement in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, which I now offer to the world.

The great zeal of this age for what was done in that, about religion, has made the history of it to be received and read with more than ordinary attention and care; and many have expressed their satisfaction in what was formerly published, by contributing several papers of great consequence to what remained: and since I found no part of the first volume was more universally acceptable than that wherein I was only a transcriber, I mean the collection of records and authentic papers, which I had set down in confirmation of the more remarkable and doubtful parts of the history: I continue the same method now. I shall repeat nothing here that was in my former preface, but refer the reader to such things as concern this History in general, and my encouragement in the undertaking and prosecution of it, to what is there premised to the whole work; and therefore I shall now enlarge on such things as do more particularly relate to this volume.

The papers that were conveyed to me from several hands are referred to, as the occasion to mention them occurs in the History, with such acknowledgments as I thought best became this way of writing, though far short of the merits of those who furnished me with them. But the store-house from whence I drew the greatest part both of the History and Collection, is the often-celebrated Cotton Library, out of which, by the noble favour of its truly learned owner, Sir John Cotton, I gathered all that was necessary for composing this Part, together with some few things which had escaped me in my former search, and belong to the first Part; and those I have mixed in the Collection added to this volume upon such occasions as I thought most pertinent. But among all the remains of the last age, that are with great industry and order laid up in that treasury, none pleased me better, nor were of more use to me, than the "*Journal of King Edward's Reign*," written all with his own hand, with some other papers of his, which I have put by themselves in the beginning of the Collection. Of these I shall say nothing here, having given a full account of them in the history of his reign, to which I refer the reader. I find most of our writers have taken parcels out of them, and Sir John Heyward has transcribed from them the greatest part of his book; therefore I thought this a thing of such consequence, that, upon good advice, I have published them all faithfully copied from the originals.

But as others assisted me towards the perfecting this part, so that learned divine and most exact inquirer into historical learning, Mr. Fulman, rector of Hamton-Meysey in Gloucestershire, did most signally oblige me by a collection of some mistakes I had made in the former work. He had for many years applied his thoughts with a very searching care to the same subject, and so was able to judge more critically of it than other readers. Some of those had escaped me, others had not come within my view, in some particulars my vouchers were not good, and in others I had mistaken my authors. These I publish at the

end of this volume, being neither ashamed to confess my faults nor unwilling to acknowledge from what hand I received better information. My design in writing is to discover truth, and to deliver it down impartially to the next age ; so I should think it both a mean and criminal piece of vanity to suppress this discovery of my errors ; and though the number and consequence of them had been greater than it is, I should rather have submitted to a much severer penance, than have left the world in the mistakes I had led them into : yet I was not a little pleased to find that they were neither many, nor of importance to the main parts of the History ; and were chiefly about dates or small variations in the order of time. I hope this Part has fewer faults, since that worthy person did pursue his former kindness so far, as to review it beforehand, and with great judgment to correct such errors as he found in it : those I had formerly fallen into made me more careful in examining even the smallest matters. Yet if, after all my care and the kind censures of those who have revised this work, there is anything left that may require a further retraction, I shall not decline to make it, so soon as I see there is need of it, being, I hope, raised above the poor vanity of seeking my own reputation by sacrificing truth to it.

Those to whose censure I submitted this whole History in both its Parts, were chiefly three great divines, whose lives are such examples, their sermons such instructions, their writings such unanswerable vindications of our church, and their whole deportment so suitable to their profession, that as I reckon my being admitted into some measure of friendship with them among the chief blessings of my life, so I know nothing can more effectually recommend this work than to say that it passed with their hearty approbation, after they had examined it with that care which their great zeal for the cause concerned in it, and their goodness to the author and freedom with him, obliged them to use. They are so well known, that without naming them, those of this age will easily guess who they are ; and they will be so well known to posterity, by their excellent writings, that the naming them is so high an advantage to my book, that I much doubt whether it is decent for me to do it. One of them, Dr. Lloyd, is now, while I am writing, by his Majesty's favour promoted to the bishopric of St. Asaph ; a dignity to which, how deservedly soever his great learning, piety, and merit, has advanced him, yet I particularly know how far he was from any aspirings to it. It was he I described in my former preface, that engaged me first to this design, and for that reason he has been more than ordinary careful to examine it, with that exactness that is peculiar to him. The other two are the reverend, learned, and judicious deans of Canterbury and St. Paul's, Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Stillingfleet, too well known to receive any addition from the characters I can give of them.

Others gave me supplies of another sort, to enable me to go through with an undertaking that put me to no small expense. I am not ashamed to acknowledge, that the straitness of my condition made this uneasy to me, being destitute of all public provision : but I should be much ashamed of my ingratitude, if I did not celebrate their bounty who have taken such care of me, as not to leave this addition of charge on one who lives not without difficulties. I must again repeat my thanks, for the generous kindness, protection, and liberal supplies of Sir Harbottle Grimstone, Master of the Rolls, this being the sixth year of my subsistence under him, to whom I must ever acknowledge that I am more beholden than to all men living. The noble Mr. Boyle, as he employs both his time and wealth for the good of mankind, (for which he considers himself as chiefly born, and which he has promoted not only in his own excellent writings, that have made him so famous over all the world, but in many other designs that have been chiefly carried on at his cost,) so hath he renewed his kindness to me in largesses suitable to so great a mind. Others were also pleased to join their help. The right honourable the Lord Finch, now lord high chancellor of England, whose great parts and greater virtues are so conspicuous, that it were a high presumption in me to say anything in his commendation, being in nothing more eminent than in his zeal for and care of this church, thought it might be of some importance to have its history well digested, and therefore as he bore a large share of my expense, so he took it more particularly under his care, and under all the burdens of that high employment which he now bears, yet found time for reading it in manuscript, of which he must have robbed himself, since he never denies it to those who have a right to it on any public account ; and hath added such remarks

and corrections as are no small part of any finishing it may be judged to have. The lord Russell, the inheritor of that zeal for true religion, and the other virtues that have from the first beginnings of the Reformation, in a continued entail, adorned that noble family of Bedford, beyond most others of the kingdom, did espouse the interests of the Protestant religion in this particular, as he has done on all other more public occasions; and by a most liberal supply encouraged me to prosecute this undertaking. That worthy counsellor, whose celebrated integrity and clear judgment have raised him so high in his profession, Anthony Keek, Esquire, did also concur in easing me of the charge that searching, copying and gathering materials put me to: and having received as much from these my noble benefactors, as did enable me to carry on my design, I did excuse myself at other persons' hands, who very generously offered to supply me in the expense which this work brought with it. That was done in a most extraordinary manner, by the right honourable the earl of Halifax, whom, if I reckon among the greatest persons this age has produced, I am sure all that know him will allow, that I speak modestly of him: he indeed offered me the yearly continuance of a bounty, that would not only have defrayed all this expense, but have been an entire and honourable subsistence to me; and though my necessities were not so pressing as to persuade me to accept it, yet so unusual a generosity doth certainly merit the highest acknowledgments I can make for it.

But I now turn to that which ought to be the chief subject of this preface, to remove the prejudices, by which weak and unwary persons have been prepossessed in their judgments concerning the Reformation, during that period of it that falls within this volume. I know the duty of an historian leads him to write as one that is of neither party, and I have endeavoured to follow it as carefully as I could, neither concealing the faults of the one party, nor denying the just praises that were due to any of the other side, and have delivered things as I found them, making them neither better nor worse than indeed they were: but now that I am not yet entered into that province, and am here writing my own thoughts, and not relating the actions of other men, I hope it will be judged no indecent thing to clear the reader's mind of those impressions, which may either have already biassed him too much, or may upon a slight reading of what follows, arise in his thoughts: unless he were prepared and armed with some necessary reflections, which every one that may possibly read this history, has not had the leisure, or other opportunities, to make to such a degree as were needful.

It is certainly an unjust way of proceeding, in any that is to be a judge, to let himself be secretly possessed with such impressions of persons and things, as may bias his thoughts: for where the scales are not well adjusted, the weight cannot be truly reckoned. So that it is an indirect method to load men's minds with prejudices, and not to let them into the trial of truth, till their inclinations are first swayed such a way. I deny not but in matters of religion most commonly men receive such notions, before they can well examine them, as do much determine them in the inquiries they make afterwards, when their understandings grow up to a fuller ripeness: but those pre-occupations, if rightly infused, are rather such as give them general notions of what is good and honest in the abstracted ideas, than concerning matters of fact: for every wise and pious man must avoid all such methods of instruction, as are founded on falsehood and craft: and he that will breed a man to love truth, must form in him such a liking of it, that he may clearly see he would bribe him into no opinion or party by false or indirect arts: but since men are generally so apt to let some easy notions enter into their minds, which will pre-engage their affections, and for most part those who set themselves to gain proselytes do begin with such arts, it will not be amiss to give the reader such an account of these, as may prepare him against them, that so he may with a clearer mind consider what is now to be delivered to him, concerning the reformation of religion among us.

I shall begin with that which is most commonly urged; that the whole church being one body, the changes that were made in religion, did break that unity, and dissolve the bond by which the catholic church is to be knit together, and that therefore the first reformers began, and we still continue, a schism in the church.

In answer to this, it is to be considered that the bishops and pastors of the church are

obliged to instruct their people in the true faith of Christ, according to the Scriptures : the nature of their function being a sacred trust, binds them to this ; they were also at their consecration engaged to it, by a formal sponson, according to the questions and answers that are in the Roman Pontifical to this day. Pastors owe it as a debt to their people to teach them according to the Scriptures : they owe a charity to their brethren, and are to live with them in the terms of brotherly love, and friendly correspondence ; but if that cannot be had on easier terms, than the concealing necessary truths, and the delivering gross errors to those committed to their charge, it is certain that they ought not to purchase it at so dear a rate. When the pastors of this church saw it overrun with errors and corruptions, they were obliged by the duty they owed to God and to their people, to discover them ; and to undeceive their misled flocks. It is of great importance to maintain peace and unity, but if a party in the church does set up some doctrines and practices, that do much endanger the salvation of souls, and makes advantages by these, so that there is no hope left to gain them by rational and softer methods, then as St. Peter was to be withstood to his face, in a lesser matter, much more are those, who pretend no higher than to be his successors, to be withstood, when the things are of great moment and consequence. When heresies sprung up in the primitive church, we find the neighbouring bishops condemned them, without staying for the concurrence of other churches ; as in the case of Samosatenus, Arius, and Pelagius : and even when the greatest part of the church was become Semi-Arian, and many great councils, chiefly that at Ariminum, consisting of above eight hundred bishops, as some say, had through ignorance and fear complied, the orthodox bishops did not forbear to instruct those committed to their care according to the true faith. A general concurrence is a thing much to be laboured for ; but when it cannot be had, every bishop must then do his duty so as to be answerable to the chief Bishop of Souls.

So that instead of being led away by so slight a prejudice, we must turn our inquiries to this, whether there were really such abuses in the church as did require a reformation ? and whether there was any reason to hope for a more general concurrence in it ? In the following History the reader will see what corruptions were found to be both in the doctrine and worship of this church : from whence he may infer what need there was of reformation. And it is very plain that they had no reason to expect the concurrence of other churches ; for the council of Trent had already made a great progress, and it was very visible that, as the court of Rome governed all things there, so they were resolved to admit of no effectual reformation of any considerable matters ; but to establish, by a more formal decision, those errors and abuses that had given so much scandal to the Christian world for so many ages.

This being the true state of the case, it is certain that if there were really great corruptions either in belief or manners in this church, then the bishops were bound to reform them : since the backwardness of others in their duty could not excuse them from doing theirs, when they were clearly convinced of it. So that the reader is to shake off this prejudice, and only to examine, whether there was really such need of a reformation ; since, if that be true, it is certain the bishops of this, as well as of other churches, were bound to set about it ; and the faultiness of some could be no excuse to the rest.

The second prejudice is, that the Reformation was begun and carried on, not by the major part of the bishops and clergy, but by a few selected bishops and divines, who, being supported by the name of the king's authority, did frame things as they pleased ; and, by their interest at court, got them to be enacted in parliament : and after they had removed such bishops as opposed them, then they procured the Convocation to consent to what was done. So that, upon the matter, the Reformation was the work of Cranmer with a few more of his party, and not of this church, which never agreed wholly to it till the bishops were so modelled as to be compliant to the designs of the court. In short, the resolution of this is to be taken from a common case ; when the major part of a church is, according to the conscience of the supreme civil magistrate, in an error, and the lesser part is in the right. The case is not hard if well understood : for in the whole Scripture there is no promise made to the major part of the pastors of the church ; and, there being no divine promise

made about it, it is certain that the nature of man is such that truth, separated from interest, hath few votaries; but, when it is opposite to it, it must have a very small party. So that most of those things which needed reformation, being such as added much to the wealth and power of the clergy, it had been a wonder, indeed, if the greater part had not opposed it. In that case, as the smaller part were not to depart from their sentiments, because opposed in them by a more numerous party that was too deeply concerned in the matter: so it was both natural for them, and very reasonable, to take sanctuary in the authority and protection of the prince and the law. That princes have an authority in things sacred was so universally agreed to in king Henry's reign, and was made out upon such clear evidence of reason and precedents, both in the Jewish state and in the Roman empire, when it turned Christian, that this ground was already gained. It is the first law in Justinian's code, made by Theodosius when he came to the empire,—that all should everywhere, under severe pains, follow that faith which was received by Damasus bishop of Rome, and Peter of Alexandria.—And why might not the king and laws of England give the like authority to the archbishops of Canterbury and York?

When the Empire, and especially the eastern part of it, had been during the reign of Constantius, and Valens succeeding him after a short interval, so overspread with Arianism, it is scarce to be imagined how it could have been reformed in any other manner: for they durst not at first trust it to the discretion of a synod; and yet the question then on foot was not so linked with interest, being a speculative point of divinity, as those about which the contests were in the beginnings of the Reformation.

It is not to be imagined how any changes in religion can be made by sovereign princes, unless an authority be lodged with them of giving the sanction of a law to the sounder, though the lesser part of a church; for as princes and lawgivers are not tied to an implicit obedience to clergymen, but are left to the freedom of their own discerning, so they must have a power to choose what side to be of where things are much inquired into. The jurisdiction of synods, or councils, is founded either on the rules of expediency and brotherly correspondence, or on the force of civil laws: for when the Christian belief had not the support of law, every bishop taught his own flock the best he could, and gave his neighbours such an account of his faith at, or soon after, his consecration as satisfied them, and so maintained the unity of the church. The formality of synods grew up in the church from the division of the Roman empire, and the dignity of the several cities; which is a thing so well known, and so plainly acknowledged by the writers of all sides, that it were a needless imposing on the reader's patience to spend time to prove it. Such as would understand it more perfectly will find it in "*De Marca*," the late archbishop of Paris's books, "*De Concordia Imperii*" and "*Sacerdotii*;" and in Blondel's works, "*De la Primauté de l'Eglise*." None can imagine there is a divine authority in that which sprang from such a beginning. The major part of synods cannot be supposed to be, in matters of faith, so assisted from Heaven, that the lesser part must necessarily acquiesce in their decrees, or that the civil powers must always measure their laws by their votes; especially where interest does visibly turn the scales. And this may satisfy any reasonable man as to this prejudice; that if archbishop Cranmer and Holgate, the two primates and metropolitans of this church, were in the right, in the things that they procured to be reformed, though the greater part of the bishops being biassed by base ends, and generally both superstitious and little conversant in the true theological learning, did oppose them; and they were thereby forced to order matters so, that at first they were prepared by some selected bishops and divines, and afterwards enacted by king and parliament, this is no just exception to what was so managed. And such a Reformation can no more be blasted by being called a parliament-religion than the reformations made by the kings of Israel without or against the majority of the priests, could be blemished by being called the kings' religion.

A third prejudice is, that the persons who governed the affairs at court were weak or ill men: that the king being under age, things were carried by those who had him in their power. And for the two great ministers of that reign, or rather the administrators of it, the dukes of Somerset and Northumberland, as their violent and untimely deaths may seem to be effects of the indignation of Heaven for what they did; so they were both eminently

faulty in their administration, and are supposed to have sought too much their own ends. This seems to cast a blemish on their actions, and to give some reason to suspect the things were not good which had such instruments to advance them.

But this prejudice, compounded of many particulars, when taken to pieces will appear of no force to blast the credit of what they did. By our law the king never dies, and is never young nor old ; so that the authority of the king is the same, whether administered by himself or by his governors, when he is under age. Nor are we to judge of men by the events that befall them. These are the deepest secrets of Divine Providence, into which it is impossible for men of limited understandings to penetrate ; and if we make judgments of persons and things by accidents, we shall very often most certainly conclude falsely. Solomon made the observation, which the series of human affairs ever since hath fully justified, that there are just men to whom it happens according to the work of the wicked, and wicked men to whom it happens according to the work of the righteous ; and the inquiring into these seemingly unequal steps of God's governing the world, is a vanity. As for the duke of Northumberland, the Reformation is not at all concerned in him, for if we believe what he said, when there was the least reason to suspect him, on the scaffold, he was all the while a papist in his heart : and so no wonder if such a man, striking in for his own ambitious ends, with that which was popular, even against the persuasions of his conscience, did very ill things. The duke of Somerset was indeed more sincere, and though he was not without his faults (which we may safely acknowledge, since the Man of Infallibility is not pretended to be without sin), yet these were not such heinous transgressions, but rather such as human infirmity exposes most men to when they are raised to a high condition. He was too vain, too much addicted to his own notions, and being a man of no extraordinary parts, he was too much at the disposal of those who by flatteries and submissions insinuated themselves into him, and he made too great haste to raise a vast estate to be altogether innocent ; but I never find him charged with any personal disorders, nor was he ever guilty of falsehood, of perverting justice, of cruelty, or of oppression. He was so much against the last of these, that he lost the affections of the nobility for being so careful of the commons, and covering them from the oppression of their landlords. The business of his brother, though it has a very ill appearance, and is made to look worse by the lame account our books give of it, seems to have been forced on him : for the admiral was a man of most incurable ambition, and so inclined to raise disturbance, that after so many relapses and such frequent reconciliations, he still breaking out into new disorders, it became almost necessary to put him out of a capacity of doing more mischief. But if we compare the duke of Somerset with the great ministers even in the best courts, we shall find him better than most of them ; and if some few have carried their prosperity better, many more even of those who are otherwise recorded for extraordinary persons, have been guilty of far greater faults. He who is but a little acquainted with history, or with the courts of princes, must needs know so much of this argument, that he will easily cure himself of any ill effects which this prejudice may have on him.

A fourth prejudice is raised from the great invasions which were then made upon the church lands, and things dedicated to pious uses, which is a thing hated by men of all religions, and branded with the odious names of sacrilege, and robbing of God ; so that the spoils of religious houses and churches seem to have been the secret motives that at first drew in, and still engage so many, to the Reformation. This has more weight in it than the former, and therefore deserves to be more fully considered.

The light of nature teaches that those who are dedicated to the service of God and for instructing the people, ought to be so well provided for that they may be delivered from the distractions of secular cares, and secured from the contempt which follows poverty, and be furnished with such means as may both enable them to know that well wherein they are to instruct others, and to gain such an interest in the affections of those among whom they labour, as modest hospitality and liberal almsgiving may procure. In this all nations and religions have so generally agreed, that it may be well called a law of nations, if not of nature. Had churchmen been contented with this measure, it is very probable things had never run to the other extreme so much as they have done. But as the pope got

to himself a great principality, so the rest of his clergy designed to imitate him in that as much as was possible: they spared no pains, nor thought they any methods too bad, that could set forward these projects. The belief of purgatory, and the redeeming of souls out of it by masses, with many other public cheats imposed on the world, had brought the wealth of this and other nations into their hands. Upon the discovery of this imposture, it was but a reasonable and just proceeding of the government to re-assume those lands, and dispose otherwise of them, which had been for most part fraudulently drawn from the former ages; for indeed the best part of the soil of England being in such ill hands, it was the interest of the whole kingdom to have it put to better uses: so that the abbeyes being generally raised and endowed by the efficacy of those false opinions, which were infused into the people, I can see no just exception against the dissolution of them, with the chantries, and other foundations of like superstition; and the fault was not in taking them away, but in not applying a greater part of them to uses truly religious.

But most of these monasteries had been enriched by that, which was indeed the spoil of the church, for in many places the tithes which belonged to the secular clergy were taken from them, and by the authority of papal bulls were given to the monasteries. This was the original of the greatest mischief that came on this church at the Reformation; the abbots having possessed themselves of the tithes, and having left to those who served the cure either some small donative or stipend, and at best the small tithes or vicarage, those who purchased the abbey-lands from the crown in the former reign, had them with no other charge reserved for the incumbents, but that small pittance that the abbots had formerly given them; and this is now a much less allowance than the curates had in the times of popery; for though they have now the same right by their incumbency that they then had, yet in the time of superstition, the fees of obits, exequies, soul-masses, and such other perquisites did furnish them so plentifully, that considering their obligation to remain unmarried, they lived well, though their certain maintenance was but small; but these things falling off by the Reformation, which likewise leaves the clergy at liberty in the matter of marriage, this has occasioned much ignorance and scandal among the clergy. I shall not enter into the debate about the divine right of tithes; this I am sure of, a decent maintenance of the clergy is of natural right, and that it is not better looked to is a public reproach to the whole nation; when in all other religions and nations, those who serve at the altar live by it. The ancient allowances for the curates in market-towns being generally so small, because the number and wealth of the people made the perquisites so considerable, has made those places to be too often but ill supplied: and what way this makes for the seducers of all hands, when the minister is of so mean a condition, and hath so incompetent a maintenance that he can scarce secure himself from extreme want, and great contempt, I leave it to every man to judge.

This is as high a contempt of religion and the gospel as any can be, and is one of those things for which this nation has much to answer to God; that now in one hundred and twenty years' time, so little has been done by public authority for the redress of such a crying oppression. Some private persons have done great things this way, but the public has yet done nothing suitable to the occasion: though their neighbour nation of Scotland has set them a very good example, where, by the great zeal and care of king James, and the late blessed king, acts and orders of parliament have been made, for examining the whole state of the clergy, and for supplying all poor livings so plentifully, that in glebe and tithes all benefices are now raised, to at least fifty pounds sterling yearly. What greater scorn can be put upon religion than to provide so scantily for those that are trusted with the care of souls, that some hundreds of parishes in England pay not ten pounds a year to their pastors, and perhaps some thousands not fifty? This is to be numbered among those crying sins that are bringing down vengeance on us, since by this many souls are left to perish, because it is not possible to provide them with able and faithful shepherds. I shall not examine all the particular reasons that have obstructed the redress of this mischief, but those concerned in it may soon find some of them out in themselves. And here I acknowledge a great and just prejudice lies against our Reformation, which no man can fully answer. But how

faulty soever we may be in this particular, they of the church of Rome have little reason to object it to us, since the first and true occasion of it was of their own doing. Our fault is, that at the dissolution of the monasteries, restitution was not made to the parish priests of what the popes had sacrilegiously taken from them. And now that we are upon the utter extirpation of popery, let us not retain this relic of it. And I pray God to inspire and direct his majesty and his two houses of parliament effectually to remove this just, and, for ought I know, only great scandal of our English Reformation.

A fifth prejudice, which seems to give ill impressions of our Reformation, is, that the clergy have now no interest in the consciences of the people, nor any inspection into their manners, but they are without yoke or restraint. All the ancient canons for the public penance of scandalous offenders are laid aside, and our clergy are so little admitted to know or direct the lives and manners of their flocks, that many will scarce bear a reproof patiently from them; our ecclesiastical courts are not in the hands of the bishops and their clergy, but put over to the civilians, where too often fees are more strictly looked after, than the correction of manners. I hope there is not cause for so great a cry, but so it is, these courts are much complained of: and public vice and scandal is but little enquired after or punished: excommunication is become a kind of secular sentence, and is hardly now considered as a spiritual censure, being judged and given out by laymen, and, often upon grounds, which, to speak moderately, do not merit so severe and dreadful a sentence. There are besides this a great many other abuses, brought in in the worst times, and now purged out of some of the churches of the Roman communion, which yet continue, and are too much in use among us, such as pluralities, non-residences, and other things of that nature; so that it may be said, that some of the manifest corruptions of popery, where they are recommended by the advantages that accompany them, are not yet thoroughly purged out, notwithstanding all the noise we have made about reformation in matters much more disputable, and of far less consequence.

This whole objection, when all acknowledged, as the greatest part of it cannot be denied, amounts indeed to this, that our reformation is not yet arrived at that full perfection, that is to be desired. The want of public penance and penitentiary canons is indeed a very great defect; our church does not deny it, but acknowledges it in the preface to the office of Communion. It was one of the greatest glories of the primitive church, that they were so governed, that none of their number could sin openly without public censure, and a long separation from the holy communion; which they judged was defiled by a promiscuous admitting of all persons to it. Had they consulted the arts of policy, they would not have held in converts by so strict a way of proceeding, lest their discontent might have driven them away, at a time when to be a Christian was attended with so many discouragements, that it might seem dangerous, by so severe a discipline, to frighten the world out of their communion. But the pastors of that time resolved to follow the rules delivered them by the apostles, and trusted God with the success, which answered and exceeded all their expectations: for nothing convinced the world more of the truth of that religion, than to see those trusted with the care of souls, watch so effectually over their manners, that for some sins which, in these loose ages in which we live, pass but for common effects of human frailty, men were made to abstain from the communion for many years, and did cheerfully submit to such rules as might be truly medicinal for curing those diseases in their minds.

But alas! the churchmen of the latter ages being once vested with this authority, to which the world submitted, as long as it saw the good effects of it, did soon learn to abuse it; and to bring the people to a blind subjection to them. It was one of the chief arts by which the papacy swelled to its height: for confessors, instead of bringing their penitents to open penance, set up other things in the room of it; pretending they could commute it, and in the name of God accept of one thing for another: and they accepted of a penitent's going, either to the holy war, or which was more holy of the two, to one of the pope's wars against heretics, or deposed princes; and gave full pardons to those who thus engaged in their designs. Afterwards (when the pope had no great occasion to kill men, or the people no great mind to be killed in his service) they accepted of money, as an alms to God: and

so all public penance was laid down, and murder or merchandise was set up in its room. This being the state of things at the Reformation, it is no wonder if the people could not be easily brought to submit to public penance; which had been for some ages entirely laid aside: and there was reason why they should not be forward to come under the yoke of their priests, lest they should have raised upon that foundation such a tyrannical dominion over them as others had formerly exercised. This made some Reformed churches beyond sea bring in the laity with them, into their courts, which if they had done merely as a good expedient, for removing the jealousy which the world then had of ecclesiastical tyranny, there was no great objection to have been made to it; but they made the thing liable to very great exception, when they pretended a divine institution for those lay elders. Here in England, it is plain the nation would not bear such authority to be lodged with the clergy at first; but it will appear in the following work, that a platform was made of an ecclesiastical discipline, though the bishops had no hopes of reducing it into practice, till the king should come to be of age, and pass a law for the authorising of it: but he dying before this was effected, it was not prosecuted with that zeal that the thing required in queen Elizabeth's time: and then those who in their exile were taken with the models beyond seas, contending more to get it put in the method of other churches, than to have it set up in any other form, that contention begat such heat, that it took men off from this and many other excellent designs: and whereas the presbyters were found to have had anciently a share in the government of the churches, as the bishop's council and assistants, some of them that were of hot tempers demanding more than their share, they were by the immoderate use of the counterpoise kept out of any part of ecclesiastical discipline; and all went into those courts commonly called the spiritual courts; without making distinction between those causes of testaments, marriages, and such other suits, that require some learning in the civil and canon law, and the other causes of the censures of the clergy and laity, which are of a more spiritual nature, and ought indeed to be tried only by the bishops and clergy; for they are no small part of the care of souls, which is incumbent on them: and by them only excommunications ought to be made, as being a suspension from the sacred rites of Christians, of which none can be the competent judges but those to whom the charge of souls is committed. The worst that can be said of all these abuses is, that they are relics of popery, and we owe it to the unhappy contests among ourselves, that a due correction has not been yet given to them.

From hence one evil has followed, not inferior to these from whence it flows, that the pastoral charge is now looked on by too many, rather as a device only for instructing people, to which they may submit as much as they think fit, than as a care of souls, as indeed it is: and it is not to be denied but the practice of not a few of us of the clergy has confirmed the people in this mistake, who consider our function as a method of living, by performing divine offices, and making sermons; rather than as a watching over the souls of the flocks committed to us, visiting the sick, reproving scandalous persons, reconciling differences, and being strict at least in governing the poor, whose necessities will oblige them to submit to any good rules, we shall set them for the better conduct of their lives. In these things does the pastoral care chiefly consist, and not only in the bare performing of offices, or pronouncing sermons, which every one almost may learn to do after some tolerable fashion. If men had a just notion of this holy function, and a right sense of it before they were initiated into it, those scandalous abuses of plurality of benefices with cure, (except where they are so poor and contiguous, that both can scarce maintain one incumbent, and one man can discharge the duty of both very well) non-residences, and the hiring out that sacred trust to pitiful mercenaries at the cheapest rates, would soon fall off. These are things of so crying a nature, that no wonder if the wrath of God is ready to break out upon us. These are abuses that even the church of Rome, after all her impudence, is ashamed of, and are at this day generally discountenanced all France over. Queen Mary here in England, in the time of popery, set herself effectually to root them out. And that they should be still found among Protestants, and in so reformed a church, is a scandal that may justly make us blush. All the honest prelates at the council of Trent endeavoured to get residence declared to be of divine right, and so not to be dispensed with upon any

consideration whatsoever : and there is nothing more apparently contrary to the most common impressions, which all men have about matters of religion, than that benefices are given for the office to which they are annexed : and if in matters of men's estates, or of their health, it would be a thing of high scandal, for one to receive the fees, and commit the work to the care of some inferior or raw practitioner, how much worse is it to turn over so important a concernment, as the care of souls must be confessed to be, to mean hands ? And to conclude, those who are guilty of such disorders, have much to answer for, both to God, for the neglect of those souls for which they are to give an account, and to the world, for the reproach they have brought on this church and on the sacred functions, by their ill practices ; nor could the divisions of this age ever have risen to such a height, if the people had not been possessed with ill impressions of some of the clergy, from those inexcusable faults, that are so conspicuous in too many that are called shepherds : " Who clothe themselves with the wool, but have not fed the flock, that have not strengthened the diseased, nor healed the sick, nor bound up that which was broken, nor brought again that which was driven away, nor sought that which was lost, but have ruled them with force and cruelty : " and if we would look up to God who is visibly angry with us, and has made us base and contemptible among the people, we should find great reason to reflect on those words of Jeremy : " The pastors are become brutish, and have not sought the Lord, therefore they shall not prosper, and all their flocks shall be scattered."

But I were very unjust, if, having ventured on so plain and necessary a reprehension, I should not add, that God has not so left this age and church, but there is in it a great number in both the holy functions, who are perhaps as eminent in the exemplariness of their lives, and as diligent in their labours, as has been in any one church in any age since miracles ceased. The humility and strictness of life in many of our prelates and some that were highly born, and yet have far outgone some others from whom more might have been expected, raises them far above censure, though perhaps not above envy. And when such think not the daily instructing their neighbours a thing below them, but do it with as constant a care, as if they were to earn their bread by it, when they are so affable to the meanest clergymen that come to them, when they are so nicely scrupulous about those whom they admit into holy orders, and so large in their charities, that one would think they were furnished with some unseen ways, these things must raise great esteem for such bishops, and seem to give some hopes of better times. Of all this I may be allowed to speak the more freely, since I am led to it by none of those bribes, either of gratitude, or fear, or hope, which are wont to corrupt men to say what they do not think : but I were much to blame, if in a work that may perhaps live some time in the world, I should only find fault with what is amiss, and not also acknowledge what is so very commendable and praiseworthy. And when I look into the inferior clergy, there are, chiefly about this great city of London, so many so eminent, both for the strictness of their lives, the constancy of their labours, their excellent and plain way of preaching, (which is now perhaps brought to as great a perfection, as ever was since men spoke as they received it immediately from the Holy Ghost) the great gentleness of their deportment to such as differ from them, their mutual love and charity, and in a word for all the qualities that can adorn ministers or Christians, that if such a number of such men cannot prevail with this debauched age, this one thing to me looks more dismally than all the other affrighting symptoms of our condition ; that God having sent so many faithful teachers, their labours are still so ineffectual.

I have now examined all the prejudices that either occur to my thoughts, or that I have met with in books or discourses, against our Reformation ; and I hope upon a free inquiry into them, it will be found that some of them are of no force at all, and that the other, which are better grounded, can amount to no more than this, that things were not managed with that care, or brought to that perfection that were to be desired : so that all the use we ought to make of these objections, is to be directed by them to do those things which may complete and adorn that work, which was managed by men subject to infirmities, who neither could see everything, nor were able to accomplish all that they had projected, and saw fit to be done.

But from the matter of the following history, another objection of another sort may arise, which though it has no relation to the Reformation, yet leaves no small imputation on the nation, as too apt to change, and be carried about with every religion in vogue, since in little more than twenty years' time, there were four great changes made in religion; and in all these the main body of the nation turned with the stream: and it was but a small number that stood firm and suffered for their consciences. But if the state of the nation be well considered, there will be nothing in all this so strange as at first view it may perhaps appear: for in the times of popery the people were kept in such profound ignorance, that they knowing nothing of religion beyond the outward forms and pageantry, and being highly dissatisfied with the ill lives of the clergy, and offended with their cruelty against those that contradicted their opinions, it is no wonder that they were inclined to hear preachers of any sort, who laid out to them the reasons of the doctrine they delivered, and did not impose it on them in gross, as the others had done. These teachers being also men of innocent tempers and good lives, and being recommended to the compassion of the nation, by their sufferings, and to their esteem, by their zeal and readiness to run all hazards for their consciences, had great advantages to gain on the belief and affections of the people. And to speak freely, I make no doubt, but if the Reformation had been longer a hatching under the heat of persecution, it had come forth perfecter than it was. This disposition of the people, and king Henry's quarreling with the pope, made the way easy for the first change; but then the severities about the Supremacy on one hand, and the Six Articles on the other, made people to stagger and reel between the two religions. And all people being fond of new things, and the discoveries of the impostures of the priests and lewdness of the monks increasing their dislike of them, it was no wonder the Reformation went on with so little tumult and precipitation till king Edward's time. But though there were then very learned and zealous divines, who managed and carried on the changes that were made, yet still the greater part of the clergy was very ignorant, and very corrupt; which was occasioned by the pensions that were reserved out of the rents of the suppressed monasteries to the monks during their lives, or till they were provided with livings. The abbey lands, that were sold with the charge of these annexed to them, coming into the hands of persons who had no mind to have that burden lie longer on them, they got these monks provided with benefices, that so they might be eased of that charge. And for the other abbays that still remained with the crown, the same course was taken; for the monks were put into all the small benefices that were in the king's gift. So that the greatest part of the clergy were such as had been formerly monks or friars, very ignorant for most part, and generally addicted to their former superstition, though otherwise men that would comply with anything rather than forfeit their livings. Under such incumbents nothing but ignorance and unconcernedness in religion could prevail. By this means it was that the greater part of the nation was not well instructed, nor possessed with any warmth and sincere love to the Reformation, which made the following change under queen Mary more easily effected. The proceedings in king Edward's time were likewise so gentle and moderate, flowing from the calm temper of archbishop Cranmer, and the policy of others, who were willing to accept of anything they could obtain, hoping that time would do the business, if the over-driving it did not precipitate the whole affair: that it was an easy thing for a concealed papist to weather the difficulties of that reign. There were also great scandals given by the indiscretion of many of the new preachers. The misgovernment of affairs under the duke of Somerset, with the restless ambition of the duke of Northumberland, did alienate the nation much from them; and a great aversion commonly begets a universal dislike of everything that is done by those whom we hate.

All these things concurred to prepare the minds of the people to the change made by queen Mary; but in her reign popery did more plainly discover itself in the many repeated burnings, and the other cruelties then openly exercised. The nation was also in such danger of being brought under the uneasy yoke of Spanish government, and they were many of them in fear of losing their new-gotten church lands; these things, together with the loss of Calais in the end of her reign, which was universally much resented as a lasting dishonour to the nation, raised in them a far greater aversion to her government, and to every thing that had been

done in it, than they had to the former. The genius of the English leads them to hate cruelty and tyranny ; and when they saw these were the necessary concomitants of popery, no wonder it was thrown out with so general an agreement, that there was scarce any considerable opposition made to it, except by some few of their clergy, who, having changed so oft, were ashamed of such repeated recantations, and so resolved at last to stand their ground : which was the more easy to resolve on under so merciful a prince, who punished them only by a forfeiture of their benefices, and that being done, took care of their subsistence for the rest of their lives ; Bonner himself not being excepted, though so deeply dyed in the blood of so many innocents.

All these things laid together, it will not seem strange that such great alterations were so easily brought about in so short a time. But from the days of queen Elizabeth, that the old monks were worn out, and new men better educated were placed in churches, things did generally put on a new visage ; and this church has since that time continued to be the sanctuary and shelter of all foreigners, and the chief object of the envy and hatred of the popish church, and the great glory of the Reformation ; and has wisely avoided the splitting asunder, on the high points of the divine decrees, which have broken so many of the Reformed beyond sea ; but in these has left divines to the freedom of their several opinions ; nor did she run on that other rock, of desiring at first so peremptorily the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament, which divided the German and the Helvetian churches, but in that did also leave a latitude to men of different persuasions. From this great temper it might have reasonably been expected, that we should have continued united at home, and then, for things sacred as well as civil, we had been out of the danger of what all our foreign enemies could have contrived or done against us.

But the enemy, while the watchman slept, sowed his tares even in this fruitful field ; of which it may be expected I should give some account here, and the rather because I end this work at the time when those unhappy differences first arose, so that I give them no part in this History ; and yet I have in the search I made seen some things of great importance, which are very little known, that give me a clearer light into the beginnings of these differences than is commonly to be had ; of which I shall discourse so as becomes one who has not blindly given himself up to any party, and is not afraid to speak the truth even in the most critical matters.

There were many learned and pious divines in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, who being driven beyond sea, had observed the new models set up in Geneva and other places, for the censuring of scandalous persons, of mixed judicatories of the ministers and laity : and these reflecting on the great looseness of life which had been universally complained of in king Edward's time, thought such a platform might be an effectual way for keeping out a return of the like disorders. There were also some few rites reserved in this church, that had been either used in the primitive church, or, though brought in of latter time, yet seemed of excellent use to beget reverence in holy performances ; which had also this to be said for them, that the keeping these still, was done in imitation of what Christ and his apostles did in symbolising with the Jewish rites, to gain the Jews thereby as much as could be ; so it was judged necessary to preserve these, to let the world see that though corruptions were thrown out, yet the reformers did not love to change only for change sake, when it was not otherwise needful, and this they hoped might draw in many, who otherwise would not so easily have forsaken the Roman communion. Yet these divines excepted to those, as compliances with popery, and though they professed no great dislike to the ceremonies themselves, or doubt of their lawfulness, yet were they against their continuance, upon that single account, which was indeed the chief reason why they were continued. But all this debate was modestly managed, and without violent heat or separation : afterwards some of the queen's courtiers had an eye to the fair manors of some of the greater sees, and being otherwise men of ill tempers and lives, and probably of no religion, would have persuaded the queen that nothing could unite all the Reformed churches so effectually, as to bring the English church to the model beyond sea, and that it would much enrich the crown, if she took the revenues of bishoprics and cathedrals into her own hands. This made those, on the other hand, who laid to heart the true interest of the Protestant religion, and therefore

endeavoured to preserve this church in that strong and well-modelled frame to which it was brought (particularly the Lord Burleigh, the wisest statesman of that age, and perhaps of any other), study how to engage the queen out of interest to support it, and they demonstrated to her that these new models would certainly bring with them a great abatement of her prerogative ; since if the concerns of religion came into popular hands, there would be a power set up distinct from hers, over which she could have no authority.

This she perceived well, and therefore resolved to maintain the ancient government of the church : but by this means it became a matter of interest, and so these differences, which might have been more easily reconciled before, grew now into formal factions ; so that all expedients were left unattempted which might have made up the breach ; and, it becoming the interest of some to put it past reconciling, this was too easily effected. Those of the division finding they could not carry their main design, raised all the clamours they could against the churchmen, and put in bills into the parliament against the abuses of pluralities, non-residences, and the excesses of the spiritual courts. But the queen being possessed with this, that the parliament's meddling in these matters tended to the lessening of her authority, of which she was extremely sensible, got all these bills to be thrown out. If the abuses that gave such occasion to the mal-contented to complain, had been effectually redressed, that party must have had little to work on, but these things furnished them with new complaints still : the market-towns being also ill-provided for, there were voluntary contributions made for lectures in these places. The lecturers were generally men that overtopped the incumbents in diligent and zealous preaching, and they depending on the bounty of the people for their subsistence, were engaged to follow the humours of those who governed those voluntary contributions. All these things tended to the increase of the party, which owed its chief growth to the scandalous maintenance of the ministers of great towns, for which reason they were seldom of great abilities, and to the scandals given by the pluralities and non-residences of others, that were over-provided. Yet the government in civil matters was so steady all the queen's reign, that they could do no great thing, after she once declared herself so openly and resolutely against them.

But upon king James's coming to the crown, and the divisions that came to be afterwards in parliaments, between the two too often-named parties, for the court and country ; and clergymen being linked to the interests of the crown, all those who in civil matters opposed the designs of the court, resolved to cherish those of the division, under the colour of their being hearty protestants, and that it was the interest of the reformed religion to use them well, and that all protestants should unite ; and indeed the differences between them were then so small, that if great art had not been used to keep them asunder, they had certainly united of their own accord. But the late unhappy wars engaged those, who before only complained of abuses, into a formal separation which still continues, to the great danger and disgrace of the protestant religion. I shall not make any observations on later transactions, which fall within all men's view ; but it is plain that from the beginning there have been laboured designs to make tools of the several parties, and to make a great breach between them, which lays us now so open to our common enemy. And it looks like a sad forerunner of ruin when we cannot, after so long experience of the mischievous effects of these contests, learn to be so wise as to avoid the running on those rocks, on which our fathers did so unfortunately split ; but, on the contrary, many steer as steadily towards them, as if they were the only safe harbours, where they may securely weather every storm.

But being now to lead the reader into so agreeable a prospect, as I hope the Reformation of the Church will be to him, I will hold him yet a little longer before I open it, and desire him for his better preparation to it to reflect on the nature of religion in general, and of the Christian in particular. That religion is chiefly designed for perfecting the nature of man, for improving his faculties, governing his actions, and securing the peace of every man's conscience, and of the societies of mankind in common, is a truth so plain, that without further arguing about it all will agree to it. Every part of religion is then to be judged by its relation to the main ends of it ; and since the Christian doctrine was revealed from heaven, as the most perfect and proper way that ever was, for the advancing the good of mankind, nothing can be a part of this holy faith but what is proportioned to the end for which it was

designed. And all the additions that have been made to it, since it was first delivered to the world, are justly to be suspected; especially where it is manifest, at first view, that they were intended to serve carnal and secular ends. What can be reasonably supposed in the papacy, where the popes are chosen by such intrigues, either of the two crowns, the nephews of the former pope, or the craft of some aspiring men, to entitle them to infallibility or universal jurisdiction? What can we think of redeeming souls out of purgatory, or preserving them from it by tricks, or some mean pageantry; but that it is a foul piece of merchandise? What is to be said of implicit obedience, the priestly dominion over consciences, the keeping the Scriptures out of the people's hands, and the worship of God in a strange tongue? but that these are so many arts to hoodwink the world, and to deliver it up into the hands of the ambitious clergy? What can we think of the superstition and idolatry of images, and all the other pomp of the Roman worship; but that by these things the people are to be kept up in a gross notion of religion, as a splendid business, and that the priests have a trick of saving them, if they will but take care to humour them, and leave that matter wholly in their hands? And to sum up all, what can we think of that constellation of prodigies in the sacrament of the altar, as they pretend to explain it, and all really to no purpose; but that it is an art to bring the world by wholesale to renounce their reason and sense, and to have a most wonderful veneration for a sort of men who can with a word perform the most astonishing thing that ever was?

I should grow too large for a preface, if I would pursue this argument as far as it will go. But if on the other hand we reflect on the true ends of this holy religion, we must needs be convinced that we need go nowhere else out of this church to find them; but are completely instructed in all parts of it, and furnished with all the helps to advance us to that which is indeed the end of our faith, the salvation of our souls. Here we have the rules of holy obedience, and the methods of repentance and reconciliation for past sins, clearly set before us; we believe all that doctrine which Christ and his apostles delivered, and the primitive church received; we have the comfort of all those sacraments which Christ instituted, and in the same manner that he appointed them: all the helps to devotion that the gospel offers are in every one's hand. So what can it be that should so extravagantly seduce any who have been bred up in a church so well constituted, unless a blind superstition in their temper, or a desire to get heaven in some easier method than Christ has appointed, do strangely impose on their understandings, or corrupt their minds. Indeed the thing is so unaccountable, that it looks like a curse from Heaven on those who are given up to it, for their other sins; for an ordinary measure of infatuation cannot carry any one so far in folly. And it may be laid down for a certain maxim, that such as leave us have never had a true and well-formed notion of religion, or of Christianity in its main and chief design, but take things in parcels, and without examining them suffer themselves to be carried away by some prejudices which only darken weaker judgments.

But if it is a high and unaccountable folly for any to forsake our communion, and go over to those of Rome, it is at the same time an inexcusable weakness in others who seem full of zeal against popery, and yet upon some inconsiderable objections do depart from the unity of this body, and form separate assemblies and communions; though they cannot object anything material either to our doctrine or worship. But the most astonishing part of the wonder is, that in such differences there should be so little mutual forbearance or gentleness to be found; and that these should raise such heats as if the substance of religion were concerned in them. This is of God, and is a stroke from Heaven on both sides for their other sins. We of the church communion have trusted too much to the supports we receive from the law; we have done our duties too slightly, and have minded the care of souls too little; therefore God, to punish and awaken us, has suffered so many of our people to be wrested out of our hands: and those of the Separation have been too forward to blood and war, and thereby have drawn much guilt on themselves, and have been too compliant with the leaders of their several factions, or rather apt to outrun them. It is plain God is offended with us all; and therefore we are punished with this fatal blindness, not to see at this time the things that belong to our peace.

And this leads me to reflections of another sort, with which I shall conclude this preface,

which I have now drawn out to a greater length than at first I intended. It is apparent the wrath of God hangs over our heads, and is ready to break out upon us. The symptoms of our ill condition are as sad as they are visible ; and one of the worst is, that each sort and party is very ready to throw the guilt of it off themselves, and cast it on others with whom they are displeased : but no man says, What have I done ? The clergy accuse the laity, and the laity condemn the clergy. Those in the city charge the country, and the country complains of the city : every one finds out somewhat wherein he thinks he is least concerned, and is willing to fix on that all the indignation of Heaven, which, God knows, we ourselves have kindled against ourselves. It cannot be denied, since it is so visible, that universally the whole nation is corrupted, and that the Gospel has not had those effects among us which might have been expected after so long and so free a course as it has had in this island. Our wise and worthy progenitors reformed our doctrine and worship, but we have not reformed our lives and manners : what will it avail us to understand the right methods of worshipping God if we are without true devotion, and coldly perform public offices, without sense and affection, which is as bad as a bead-roll of prayers in whatever language they be pronounced ? What signifies our having the sacraments purely administered among us, if we either contemptuously neglect them, or irreverently handle them, more perhaps in compliance with law than out of a sense of the holy duties incumbent on us ? for what end are the Scriptures put in our hands, if we do not read them with great attention, and order our lives according to them ? and what does all preaching signify, if men go to church merely for form, and hear sermons only as set discourses, which they will censure or commend as they think they see cause, but are resolved never to be the better for them ? If to all these sad considerations we add the gross sensuality and impurity, that is so avowedly practised that it is become a fashion, so far it is from being a reproach ; the oppression, injustice, intemperance, and many other immoralities among us, what can be expected but that these abominations receiving the highest aggravation they are capable of, from the clear light of the Gospel which we have so long enjoyed, the just judgments of Heaven should fall on us so signally as to make us a reproach to all our neighbours ? But, as if all this were not enough to fill up the measure of our iniquities, many have arrived at a new pitch of impiety, by defying Heaven itself with their avowed blasphemies and atheism : and if they are driven out of their atheistical tenets, which are indeed the most ridiculous of any in the world, they set up their rest on some general notions of morality and natural religion, and do boldly reject all that is revealed : and where they dare vent it, (alas ! where dare they not do it ?) they reject Christianity and the Scriptures with open and impudent scorn, and are absolutely insensible of any obligation of conscience in anything whatsoever : and even in that morality, which they for decency's sake magnify so much, none are more barefacedly and grossly faulty. This is a direct attempt against God himself, and can we think that he will not visit for such things, nor be avenged on such a nation ? And yet the hypocrisy of those who disguise their flagitious lives with a mask of religion is, perhaps, a degree above all ; though not so scandalous till the mask falls off, and that they appear to be what they truly are. When we are all so guilty, and when we are so alarmed by the black clouds that threaten such terrible and lasting storms, what may be expected but that we should be generally struck with a deep sense of our crying sins, and turn to God with our whole souls ? But if, after all the loud awakenings from Heaven, we will not hearken to that voice, but will still go on in our sins, we may justly look for unheard-of calamities, and such miseries as shall be proportioned to our offences ; and then we are sure they will be great and wonderful.

Yet if, on the other hand, there were a general turning to God, or, at least, if so many were rightly sensible of this, as, according to the proportion that the mercies of God allow, did some way balance the wickedness of the rest ; and if these were as zealous in the true methods of imploring God's favour as others are in procuring his displeasure ; and were not only mourning for their own sins, but for the sins of others ; the prayers and sighs of many such might dissipate that dismal cloud which our sins have gathered, and we might yet hope to see the Gospel take root among us : since that God who is the Author of it is merciful, and full of compassion, and ready to forgive ; and this holy religion, which by his

grace is planted among us, is still so dear to him, that if we by our own unworthiness do not render ourselves incapable of so great a blessing, we may reasonably hope that he will continue that which at first was by so many happy concurring providences brought in, and was by a continued series of the same indulgent care advanced by degrees, and at last raised to that pitch of perfection which few things attain in this world. But this will best appear in the ensuing History, from which I fear I may have too long detained the reader.

10th September, 1680.



Engraved by J. A. Kneller

KING EDWARD THE SIXTH.

OB. 1553.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

Printed by J. B. G. & Co. in the Strand, near the Temple.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

PART II.—BOOK I.

OF THE LIFE AND REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE SIXTH.

EDWARD, the Sixth King of England of that name, was the only son of King Henry VIII., by his best beloved queen Jane Seymour, or St. Maur, daughter to Sir Edward VI. John Seymour, who was descended from Roger St. Maur, that married one of born; the daughters and heirs of the lord Beauchamp of Hacche. Their ancestors came into England with William the Conqueror, and had at several times made themselves considerable by the noble acts they did in the wars. He was born at Hampton-court on the 12th day of October, being St. Edward's eve, in the year 1537,* and lost his mother the day after he was born, who died, not by the cruelty of the chirurgeons ripping up her belly to make way for the prince's birth, (as some writers gave out, to represent king Henry barbarous and cruel in all his actions, whose report has been since too easily followed); but as the original letters that are yet extant show, she was well delivered of him, and the day following was taken with a distemper incident to women in that condition, of which she died.

He was soon after christened, the archbishop of Canterbury and the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk being his godfathers, according to his own journal, though Hall says the last was only his godfather when he was bishopped; he continued under the charge and care of the women till he was six years old, and then he was put under the government of Dr. Cox and Mr. Cheek; the one was to be his preceptor for his manners, and the knowledge of philosophy and divinity; the other for the tongues and mathematics; and he was also provided with masters for the French, and all other things becoming a prince, the heir of so great a crown.

He gave very early many indications of a good disposition to learning, and of a most wonderful probity of mind, and above all, of great respect to religion, and everything relating to it. So that when he was once in one of his childish diversions, somewhat being to be reached at, that he and his companions were too low for, one of them laid on the floor a great Bible that was in the room to step on, which he beholding with indignation, took up the Bible himself, and gave over his play for that time. He was in all

* The queen died on the 14th, say Hall, Stow, Speed, and Herbert; on the 15th, saith Hennings; on the 17th, if the letter of the physicians be true in Fuller's Church Hist. p. 422, Cott. lib. [The king's journal says "within few days after her son died." George Lilly, who lived at the same time and near the place, says *Duodecem post*

die moritur—*Chron.* And so the continuation of Fabian. These seem to be the best authorities.—ANON CORRECT. Queen Jane died on the 24th October, according to a journal written by Cecil, that was in twelve days after king Edward's birth: so it is in the *Heralde's office*.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.]

things subject to the orders laid down for his education, and profited so much in learning, that all about him conceived great hopes of extraordinary things from him, if he should live. But such unusual beginnings seemed rather to threaten the too early end of a life, that by all appearance was likely to have produced such astonishing things. He was so forward in his learning, that before he was eight years old he wrote Latin letters to his father, who was a prince of that stern severity, that one can hardly think those about his son durst cheat him by making letters for him. He used also at that age to write both to his godfather the archbishop of Canterbury, and to his uncle, who was first made viscount Beauchamp, as descended from that family, and soon after earl of Hartford. It seems queen Catherine Parr understood Latin, for he wrote to her also in the same language. But the full character of this young prince is given us by Cardan, who wrote it after his death, and in Italy, where this prince was accounted an heretic, so that there was nothing to be got or expected Collection. by flattering him; and yet it is so great, and withal so agreeing in all things to Numb. 1. truth, that as I shall begin my collection of papers at the end of this volume with his words in Latin, so it will be very fit to give them here in English.

“All the graces were in him: he had many tongues when he was yet but a child; together Cardan's with the English, his natural tongue, he had both Latin and French; nor was he Character of ignorant, as I hear, of the Greek, Italian, and Spanish, and perhaps some more. him. But for the English, French, and Latin, he was exact in them, and apt to learn every thing. Nor was he ignorant of logic, of the principles of natural philosophy, nor of music. The sweetness of his temper was such as became a mortal, his gravity becoming the majesty of a king, and his disposition suitable to his high degree. In sum, that child was so bred, had such parts, was of such expectation, that he looked like a miracle of a man. These things are not spoken rhetorically, and beyond the truth, but are indeed short of it.” And afterwards he adds:—“He was a marvellous boy; when I was with him, he was in the 15th year of his age, in which he spoke Latin as politely and as promptly as I did. He asked me what was the subject of my books, *de rerum varietate*, which I had dedicated to him? I answered, that in the first chapter I gave the true cause of comets, which had been long inquired into, but was never found out before. ‘What is it?’ said he. I said, it was the concourse of the light of wandering stars. He answered, ‘How can that be, since the stars move in different motions? How comes it that the comets are not soon dissipated, or do not move after them according to their motions?’ To this I answered, They do move after them, but much quicker than they, by reason of the different aspect, as we see in a crystal, or when a rainbow rebounds from the wall; for a little change makes a great difference of place. But the king said, ‘How can that be, where there is no subject to receive that light, as the wall is the subject for the rainbow?’ To this I answered, that this was as in the Milky-way, or where many candles were lighted, the middle place where their shining met was white and clear.—From this little taste it may be imagined what he was; and indeed the ingenuity and sweetness of his disposition had raised in all good and learned men the greatest expectation of him possible. He began to love the liberal arts before he knew them, and to know them before he could use them: and in him there was such an attempt of nature, that not only England, but the world, has reason to lament his being so early snatched away. How truly was it said of such extraordinary persons, that their lives are short, and seldom do they come to be old? He gave us an essay of virtue, though he did not live to give a pattern of it. When the gravity of a king was needful, he carried himself like an old man; and yet he was always affable and gentle, as became his age. He played on the lute; he meddled in affairs of state, and for bounty, he did in that emulate his father; though he even, when he endeavoured to be too good, might appear to have been bad; but there was no ground of suspecting any such thing in the son, whose mind was cultivated by the study of philosophy.

It has been said in the end of his father's life, that he then designed to create him Prince of Wales; for, though he was called so, as the heirs of this crown are, yet he was not by a formal creation invested with that dignity. This pretence was made use of to hasten forward the attainder of the duke of Norfolk; since he had many offices for life, which the king intended to dispose of, and desired to

A design to
create him
Prince of
Wales.

have them speedily filled, in order to the creating of his son Prince of Wales. In the mean time his father died, and the earl of Hartford, and sir Anthony Brown, were sent by the council to give him notice of it, being then at Hartford, and to bring him to the Tower of London; and having brought him to Enfield, with his sister the lady Elizabeth, they let him know of his father's death, and that he was now their king. On the 31st of January the king's death was published in London, and he proclaimed king.

At the Tower, his father's executors, with the rest of the privy-council, received him with the respects due to their king; so, tempering their sorrow for the death of their late master, with their joy for his son's happy succeeding him; that by an excess of joy they might not seem to have forgot the one so soon, nor to bode ill to the other by an extreme grief. The first thing they did was the opening king Henry's will, by which they found he had nominated sixteen persons to be his executors and governors to his son, and to the kingdom, till his son was eighteen years of age. These were the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord Wriothesley, lord chancellor, the lord St. John, great master of the household, the lord Russell, lord privy-seal, the earl of Hartford, lord great-chamberlain, the viscount Lisle, lord-admiral, Tonstall, bishop of Durham, sir Anthony Brown, master of the horse, sir William Paget, secretary of state, sir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentations, sir Edward Montague, lord chief-justice of the common pleas, judge Bromley, sir Anthony Denny, and sir William Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy-chamber, sir Edward Wotton, treasurer of Calais, and Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York. These, or the major part of them, were to execute his will, and to administer the affairs of the kingdom: by their consent were the king and his sisters to be disposed of in marriage; but with this difference, that it was only ordered, that the king should marry by their advice, but the two sisters were so limited in their marriage, that they were to forfeit their right of succession if they married without their consent, it being of far greater importance to the peace and interest of the nation who should be their husbands, if the crown did devolve on them, than who should be the king's wife. And by the act passed in the 35th year of king Henry, he was empowered to leave the crown to them, with what limitations he should think fit. To the executors the king added by his will, a privy-council who should be assisting to them. These were, the earls of Arundel and Essex, sir Thomas Cheyney, treasurer of the household, sir John Gage, comptroller, sir Anthony Wingfield, vice-chamberlain, sir William Petre, secretary of state, sir Richard Rich, sir John Baker, sir Ralph Sadler, sir Thomas Seymour, sir Richard Southwell, and sir Edmund Peckham. The king also ordered, that if any of the executors should die, the survivors, without giving them a power of substituting others, should continue to administer affairs. He also charged them to pay all his debts and the legacies he left, and to perfect any grants he had begun, and to make good everything that he had promised. The will being opened and read, all the executors, judge Bromley and the two Wottons only excepted, were present, and did resolve to execute the will in all points, and to take an oath for their faithful discharge of that trust.

But it was also proposed, that for the speedier despatch of things, and for a more certain order and direction of all affairs, there should be one chosen to be head of the rest, to whom ambassadors and others might address themselves. It was added, to caution this, that the person to be raised to that dignity should do nothing of any sort without the advice and consent of the greater part of the rest. But this was opposed by the lord chancellor, who thought that the dignity of his office, setting him next the archbishop of Canterbury, who did not much follow secular affairs, he should have the chief stroke in the government; therefore he pressed, that they might not depart from the king's will in any particular, neither by adding to it, nor taking from it. It was plain the late king intended they should be all alike in the administration, and the raising one to a title or degree above the rest, was a great change from what he had ordered. And whereas it was now said, that the person to be thus nominated was to have no manner of power over the rest, that was only to exalt him into a high dignity with the less envy or apprehension of danger; for it was certain great titles always make way for high power. But the earl of

Hartford had so great a party among them, that it was agreed to ; the lord chancellor himself consenting, when he saw his opposition was without effect, that one should be raised over the rest in title, to be called the protector of the king's realms, and governor of his person. The next point held no long debate, who should be nominated to this high trust, for they unanimously agreed that the earl of Hartford, by reason of his nearness of blood to the king, and the great experience he had in affairs, was the fittest person. So he was declared "protector of the realm, and governor to the king's person ; but with that special and express condition, that he should not do any act but by the advice and consent of the other executors, according to the will of the late king." Then they all went to take their oaths, but it was proposed that it should be delayed till the next day, that so they might do it upon better consideration. More was not done that day, save that the lord chancellor was ordered to deliver up the seals to the king, and to receive them again from his hands ; for king Henry's seal was to be made use of, either till a new one was made, or till the king was crowned. He was also ordered to renew the commissions of the judges, the justices of peace, the presidents of the north, and of Wales, and of some other officers. This was the issue of the first council-day under this king ; in which the so easy advancement of the earl of Hartford to so high a dignity gave great occasion to censure, it seeming to be a change of what king Henry had designed. But the king's great kindness to his uncle made it pass so smoothly ; for the rest of the executors, not being of the ancient nobility, but courtiers, were drawn in easily to comply with that which was so acceptable to their young king. Only the lord chancellor, who had chiefly opposed it, was to expect small favour at the new protector's hands. It was soon apparent what emulation there was between them ; and the nation being then divided, between those who loved the old superstition, and those who desired a more complete reformation, the protector set himself at the head of the one, and the lord chancellor at the head of the other party.

The next day the executors met again, and first took their oaths most solemnly for their faithful executing the will. They also ordered all those who were by the late king named privy-councillors to come into the king's presence, and there they declared to the king the choice they had made of his uncle, who gave his assent to it. It was also signified to the lords of the council, who likewise with one voice gave their consent to it ; and despatches were ordered to be sent to the emperor, the French king, and the regent of Flanders, giving notice of the king's death, and of the constitution of the council, and the nomination of the protector during the minority of their young king. All despatches were ordered to be signed only by the protector ; and all the temporal lords, with all the bishops about the town, were commanded to come and swear allegiance to the king. On the 2nd of February the protector was declared lord treasurer and earl marshal, these places having been designed for him by the late king upon the duke of Norfolk's attainder. Letters were also sent to Calais, Boulogne, Ireland, the marches of Scotland, and most of the counties of England, giving notice of the king's succession, and of the order now settled. The will was also ordered to be enrolled, and every of the executors was to have an exemplification of it under the great seal ; and the clerks of the council were also ordered to give to every of them an account of all things done in council under their hands and seals ; and the bishops were required to take out new commissions of the same form with those they had taken out in king Henry's time (for which see page 196 of the former Part), only with this difference, that there is no mention made of a vicar-general in these commissions, as was in the former, there being none after Cromwell advanced to that dignity. Two of these commissions are yet extant, one taken out by Cranmer, the other taken out by Bonner. But this was only done by reason of the present juncture, because the bishops being generally addicted to the former superstition, it was thought necessary to keep them under so arbitrary a power as that subjected them to ; for they hereby held their bishoprics only during the king's pleasure, and were to exercise them as his delegates in his name, and by his authority. Cranmer set an example to the rest, and took out his commission, which is in the Collection. But this was afterwards judged too heavy a yoke, and therefore the new bishops that were made by this

Which is
declared in
Council.

The Bishops
take out Com-
missions for
their Bishop-
rics.

Collection
Number 2.

king were not put under it (and so Ridley, when made bishop of London in Bonner's room, was not required to take out any such commission); but they were to hold their bishoprics during life.

There was a clause in the king's will, requiring his executors to make good all that he had promised in any manner of ways. Whereupon, sir William Paget, sir Anthony Denny, and sir William Herbert, were required to declare what they knew of the king's intentions and promises; the former being the secretary whom he had trusted most, and the other two, those that attended on him in his bedchamber during his sickness; though they were called gentlemen of the privy-chamber, for the service of the gentlemen of the bedchamber was not then set up. Paget declared, that when the evidence appeared against the duke of Norfolk, and his son the earl of Surrey, the king, who used to talk oft in private with him alone, told him that he intended to bestow their lands liberally; and since by attainders and otherwise the nobility were much decayed, he intended to create some peers, and ordered him to write a book of such as he thought meetest: who thereupon proposed the earl of Hartford to be a duke; the earl of Essex to be a marquis; the viscount Lisle to be an earl; the lords St. John, Russell, and Wriothesley, to be earls; and sir Tho. Seymour, sir Thom. Cheyney, sir Richard Rich, sir William Willoughby, sir Tho. Arundel, sir Edmund Sheffield, sir Jo. St. Leiger, sir — Wymbish, sir — Vernon of the Peak, and sir Christopher Danby, to be barons. Paget also proposed a distribution of the duke of Norfolk's estate. But the king liked it not, and made Mr. Gates bring him the books of that estate; which being done, he ordered Paget to tot upon the earl of Hartford (these are the words of his deposition) a thousand marks; on the lords Lisle, St. John, and Russell, 200*l.* a year; to the lord Wriothesley, 100*l.*; and for sir Tho. Seymour, 300*l.* a year; but Paget said it was too little, and stood long arguing it with him, yet the king ordered him to propose it to the persons concerned, and see how they liked it; and he putting the king in mind of Denny, who had been oft a suitor for him, but he had never yet in lieu of that obtained anything for Denny, the king ordered 200*l.* for him, and 400 marks for sir William Herbert, and remembered some others likewise. But Paget having, according to the king's commands, spoken to those who were to be advanced, found that many of them desired to continue in their former ranks, and thought the lands the king intended to give were not sufficient for the maintenance of the honour to be conferred on them, which he reported to the best advantage he could for every man, and endeavoured to raise the king's favour to them as high as he could. But while this was in consultation, the duke of Norfolk very prudently apprehending the ruin of his posterity, if his lands were divided into many hands, out of which he could not so easily recover them, whereas, if they continued in the crown, some turn of affairs might again establish his family, and intending also to oblige the king by so unusual a compliment, sent a desire to him that he would be pleased to settle all his lands on the prince (the now king), and not give them away; "for," said he, according to the phrase of that time, "they are good and stately gear." This wrought so far on the king, that he resolved to reserve them for himself, and to reward his servants some other way. Whereupon Paget pressed him once to resolve on the honours he would bestow, and what he would give with them, and they should afterwards consider of the way how to give it. The king growing still worse, said to him, "That if ought came to him but good, as he thought he could not long endure, he intended to place them all about his son, as men whom he trusted and loved above all other, and that therefore he would consider them the more." So, after many consultations, he ordered the book to be thus filled up: "The earl of Hartford to be earl marshal and lord treasurer, and to be duke of Somerset, Exeter, or Hartford, and his son to be earl of Wiltshire, with 800*l.* a year of land, and 300*l.* a year out of the next bishop's land that fell void; the earl of Essex to be marquis of Essex; the viscount Lisle to be earl of Coventry; the lord Wriothesley to be earl of Winchester; sir Tho. Seymour to be a baron and lord admiral; sir Richard Rich, sir Jo. St. Leiger, sir William Willoughby, sir Ed. Sheffield, and sir Christopher Danby, to be barons, with yearly revenues to them, and several other persons." And having at the suit of sir Edward North, promised to give the earl of Hartford six of the best prebends that should fall in any cathedral, except deaneries and treasurerships; at his suit he agreed

The Reason
of the new
Creation of
many Noble-
men.

that a deanery and a treasurerhip should be instead of two of the six prebendaries. And thus all this being written as the king had ordered it, the king took the book and put it in his pocket, and gave the secretary order to let every one know what he had determined for them. But before these things took effect the king died: yet being on his deathbed, put in mind of what he had promised, he ordered it to be put in his will, that his executors should perform everything that should appear to have been promised by him. All this Denny and Herbert confirmed; for they then waited in his chamber; and when the secretary went out, the king told them the substance of what had passed between them, and made Denny read the book over again to him; whereupon Herbert observed that the secretary had remembered all but himself; to which the king answered, he should not forget him, and ordered Denny to write 400*l.* a year for him. All these things being thus declared upon oath, and the greatest part of them having been formerly signified to some of them, and the whole matter being well known and spread abroad, the executors, both out of conscience to the king's will and for their own honours, resolved to fulfil what the king had intended but was hindered by death to accomplish. But being apprehensive both of wars with the emperor and French king, they resolved not to lessen the king's treasure nor revenue, nor to sell his jewels or plate, but to find some other ways to pay them; and this put them afterwards on selling the chantry lands.

The business of Scotland was then so pressing, that Balnaves, who was agent for those that had shut themselves within the castle of St. Andrews, had this day 1180*l.* ordered to be carried to them for a half year's pay to the soldiers of that garrison. There were also pensions appointed for the most leading men in that business. The earl of Rothes' eldest son had 280*l.*; sir James Kircaldy had 200*l.*; and many others had smaller pensions allowed them, "for their amity," as it is expressed in the 1547, Feb. 6. council books. That day the lord protector knighted the king, being authorised to do it by letters patents. So it seems, that as the laws of chivalry required that the king should receive knighthood from the hand of some other knight, so it was judged too great a presumption for his own subject to give it, without a warrant under the great seal. The king at the same time knighted sir John Hublethorn, the lord mayor of London. When it was known abroad what a distribution of honour and wealth the council had resolved on, it was much censured: many saying that it was not enough for them to have drained the dead king of all his treasure, but that the first step of their proceedings in their new trust was to provide honour and estates for themselves; whereas it had been a more decent way for them to have reserved their pretensions till the king had come to be of age. Another thing in the attestations seemed much to lessen the credit of the king's will, which was said to be signed the 30th of December, and so did bear date: whereas this narration insinuates that it was made a very little while before he died, not being able to accomplish his design in these things which he had projected: but it was well known that he was not so ill on the 30th of December.

It may perhaps seem strange that the earl of Hartford had six good prebends promised him; two of these being afterwards converted into a deanery and a treasurerhip. But it was ordinary at that time. The lord Cromwell had been dean of Wells: and many other secular men had these ecclesiastical benefices without cure conferred on them. For which, there being no charge of souls annexed to them, this might seem to be an excuse. Yet even those had a sacred charge incumbent on them in the cathedrals; and were just and necessary encouragements, either for such as by age or other defects were not fit for a parochial charge, and yet might be otherwise capable to do eminent service in the church; or for the support of such as in their parochial labours did serve so well as to merit preferment, and yet perhaps were so meanly provided for as to need some farther help for their subsistence. But certainly they were never intended for the enriching of such lazy and sensual men, who having given themselves up to a secular course of life, had little of a churchman but the habit and name, and yet used to rail against sacrilege in others, not considering how guilty themselves were of the same crime, enriching their families with the spoils of the church, or with the goods of it, which were put into their hands for better uses. And it was no wonder that when clergymen had thus abused

Secular Men
had their Ec-
clesiastical
Dignities.



SIR ANTHONY DENNY.

OB 1549

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{OR} THE EARL OF RADNOR

these endowments, secular men broke in upon them, observing plainly that the clergy who enjoyed them made no better use of them than laics might do; though instead of reforming an abuse that was so generally spread, they, like men that minded nothing more than the enriching of themselves, took a certain course to make the mischief perpetual, by robbing the church of those endowments and helps it had received from the munificence of the founders of its cathedrals, who were generally the first Christian kings of this nation, which had it been done by law, would have been a thing of very bad consequence; but as it was done, was directly contrary to the Magna Charta, and to the king's coronation oath.

But now they that were weary of the popish superstitions observing that archbishop Cranmer had so great a share of the young king's affection, and that the protector and he were in the same interests, began to call for a further reformation of religion; and some were so full of zeal for it, that they would not wait on the slow motions of the state. So

Images removed without Authority out of one Church in London.

the curate and churchwardens of St. Martin's, in Ironmonger-lane in London, took down the images and pictures of the saints, and the crucifix out of their church, and painted many texts of Scripture upon the walls; some of them "according to a perverse translation," as the complaint has it; and in the place where the crucifix was, they set up the king's arms with some texts of Scripture about it. Upon this the bishop and lord mayor of London complained to the council.

And the curate and churchwardens being cited to appear, answered for themselves, that the roof of their church being bad, they had taken it down, and that the crucifix and images were so rotten, that when they removed them they fell to powder: that the charge they had been at in repairing their church was such, that they could not buy new images: that they had taken down the images in the chancel, because some had been guilty of idolatry towards them. In conclusion, they said, what they had done was with a good intention; and if they had in anything done amiss, they asked pardon, and submitted themselves. Some were for punishing them severely; for all the papists reckoned that this would be a leading case to all the rest of this reign: and if this was easily passed over, others would be from that remissness animated to attempt such things everywhere. But on the other hand, those at court who had designed to set forward a reformation, had a mind only so far to check the heat of the people, as to keep it within compass, but not to dishearten their friends too much. Cranmer and his party were for a general removing of all images; and said that in the late king's time order being given to remove such as were abused to superstition; upon that there were great contests in many places what images had been so abused, and what not; and that these disputes would be endless unless all were taken away.

In the purest times of Christianity they had no images at all in their churches. One of the first councils, namely that at Elvira in Spain, made a canon against the painting what they worshipped on the walls. Epiphanius was highly offended when he saw a veil hanging before the door of a church with a picture on it, which he considered so little as not to know well whose picture it was, but thought it might be Christ's, or some other saint's; yet he tore it, and gave them of that place money to buy a new veil in its room. Afterwards, with the rest of the pomp of heathenism, images came to be set up in churches; yet so as that there was no sort of worship paid to them. But in the time of pope Gregory the First, many went into extremes about them; some were for breaking them, and others worshipped them; that pope thought the middle way best, neither to break, nor to worship them, but to keep them only to put the people in mind of the saints. Afterwards there being subtle questions started about the unity of Christ's person and will, the Greek emperors generally inclined to have the animosities raised by these, removed by some comprehensive words to which all might consent: which the interest of state as well as religion seemed to require; for their empire every day declining, all methods for uniting it were thought good and prudent. But the bishops were stiff and peremptory: so in the sixth general council they condemned all who differed from them. Upon this the emperors that succeeded would not receive that council, but the bishops of Rome ordered the pictures of all the bishops who had been at that council to be set up in the churches: upon which the emperors contended against these or any pictures whatsoever in churches. And herein that happened which is not

An Account of the Progress of Image-worship.

unusual, that one controversy rising occasionally out of another, the parties forsake the first contest, and fall into sharp conflicts about the occasional differences. For now the emperors and popes quarrelled most violently about the use of images, and ill names going a great way towards the defaming an opinion, the popes and their party accused all that were against images, as favouring Judaism, or Mahometanism, which was then much spread in Asia and Africa: the emperors and their party accusing the others of gentilism and heathenish idolatry. Upon this occasion Gregory the Third first assumed the rebellious pretension to a power to depose Leo the emperor from all his dominions in Italy. There was one general council at Constantinople that condemned the use or worship of images; and soon after another at Nice did establish it: and yet at the same time Charles the Great, though not a little linked in interest to the bishops of Rome, holding both the French and imperial crowns by the favour of the popes, wrote or employed Alcuinus (a most learned countryman of ours as those times went) to write in his name against the worship of images. And in a council at Frankfort it was condemned, which was also done afterwards in another council at Paris. But in such ages of ignorance and superstition, anything that wrought so much on the senses and imaginations of the people was sure to prevail in conclusion. And this had in a course of seven more ages been improved, by the craft and impostures of the monks, so wonderfully, that there was no sign of divine adoration that could be invented that was not applied to these images. So in king Henry's time that temper was found that such images as had been abused to superstition should be removed; and for other images external worship, such as kneeling, censing, and praying before them, was kept up, but the people were to be taught that these were not at all intended to the image, but to that which was represented by it. And upon this there was much subtle arguing. Among Cranmer's papers I have seen several arguments for a moderate use of images. But to all these they opposed the second commandment, as plainly forbidding all visible objects of adoration; together with what was in the Scriptures against the idolatry of the heathens, and what the fathers had written against the gentiles. And they added, that how excusable soever that practice might have been in such dark and barbarous ages, in which the people knew little more of divine matters than what they learned from their images, yet the horrible abuses that followed on the bringing them into churches, made it necessary now to throw them all out. It was notorious that the people everywhere doted on them, and gave them divine honour: nor did the clergy, who were generally too guilty themselves of such abuses, teach them how to distinguish aright: and the acts of worship that were allowed, were such, that besides the scandal such worship had in it, and the danger of drawing people into idolatry, it was in itself inexcusable to offer up such external parts of religious adoration to gold or silver, wood or stone. So Cranmer and others, being resolved to purge the church of this abuse, got the worst part of the sentence, that some had designed against the curate and churchwardens, to be mitigated into a reprimand; and as it is entered in the council books, "In respect of their submission, and of some other reasons which did mitigate their offence, (these were Cranmer's arguments against images) they did pardon their imprisonment, which was at first determined, and ordered them to provide a crucifix, or at least some painting of it till one were ready, and to beware of such rashness for the future." But no mention is made of the other images.

The carriage of the council in this matter discovering the inclinations of the greatest part of them, and Dr. Ridley having in his Lent sermon preached against the superstition that was generally had to images and holy water, it raised a great heat over England: so that Gardiner hearing that on Mayday the people of Portsmouth had removed and broken the images of Christ and the saints, wrote about it with great warmth to one captain Vaughan, that waited on the protector, and was then at Portsmouth. "He desired to know whether he should send one to preach against it; though he thought that was the casting precious stones to hogs, or worse than hogs, as were these Lollards." He said that Luther had set out a book against those who removed images, and himself had seen them still in the Lutheran churches: and he "thought the removing images was on design to subvert religion and the state of the world:"

Many begin
to pull down
Images;

at which Gar-
diner is much
offended.

he argues for them from the king's image on the seal, Cæsar's image on the coin brought to Christ, the king's arms carried by the heralds: he condemns false images; but for those that were against true images, he thought "they were possessed with the devil." Vaughan sent his letter to the protector, with one from Gardiner to himself, who finding the reasoning in it not so strong but that it might be answered, wrote to him himself, "That he allowed of his zeal against innovations, but that there were other things that needed to be looked to as much. Great difference there was between the civil respect due to the king's arms, and the worship given to images. There had been a time in which the abuse of the Scriptures was thought a good reason to take them from the people, yea and to burn them: though he looked on them as more sacred than images; which if they stood merely as remembrancers, he thought the hurt was not great; but it was known that for the most part it was otherwise: and upon abuse the brazen serpent was broken, though made at God's commandment: and it being pretended that they were the books of the people, he thought the bible a much more intelligible and useful book. There were some too rash, and others too obstinate. The magistrate was to steer a middle course between them; not considering the antiquity of things so much, as what was good and expedient." Gardiner wrote again to the protector, complaining of Bale and others, who published books to the dishonour of the late king; and that all were running after novelties; and often inculcates it, that things should be kept in the state they were in, till the king were of age: and in his letters reflects both on the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Durham for consenting to such things.

But finding his letters had no effect on the protector, he wrote to Ridley: "That by the law of Moses we were no more bound not to have images than not to eat blood-puddings. Image and Idol might have been used promiscuously in former times, as King and Tyrant were; yet there was a great difference between these, according to the notions we now have. He cites pope Gregory, who was against both adoring and breaking them: and says the worship is not given to the image, so there is no idolatry but to him represented by it: and as the sound of speech did by the ear beget notions in us, so he did not see but the sight of an image might stir up devotion. He confessed there had been abuses, as there is in everything that is in men's hands: he thinks imagery, and graving, to be of as good use for instruction, as writing or printing: and because Ridley had also preached against the superstition of holy water to drive away devils, he added, that a virtue might be in water, as well as in Christ's garment, St. Peter's shadow, or Elisha's staff. Pope Marcellus ordered Equitius to use it, and the late king used to bless cramp-rings both of gold and silver, which were much esteemed everywhere; and when he was abroad they were often desired from him. This gift he hoped the young king would not neglect. He believed the invocation of the name of God might give such a virtue to holy water as well as to the water of baptism." For Ridley's answer to this, I never saw it; so these things must here pass without any reply: though it is very probable an ordinary reader will with a very small measure of common sense and learning, see how they might have been answered. The thing most remarkable here is about these cramp-rings which king Henry used to bless, of which I never met with anything before I saw this letter: but since I understand the office of blessing of these rings is extant, as it was prepared for queen Mary's use, as shall be told in her reign: it must be left to conjecture whether he did it as a practice of former kings, or whether, upon his being made supreme head, he thought fit to take on him, as the pope did, to consecrate such things, and send them about. Where to be sure fancy and flattery would raise many stories of the wonderful effects of what he had so blessed; and perhaps these might have been as true as the reports made of the virtues of Agnus Dei's, touched beads, blessed pebbles, with such other goodly ware which the friars were wont to carry about and distribute to their benefactors as things highly sanctified. This I set down more fully, and have laid some things together that fell not out till some months after this, being the first step that was made towards a reformation in this reign.

Upon this occasion it is not unlikely that the council wrote their letters to all the

justices of peace of England, on the 12th of February, letting them know that they had sent down new commissions to them for keeping the peace; ordering them to assemble together, and first to call earnestly on God for his grace to discharge their duties faithfully according to the oaths which they were to take, and that they should impartially, without corruption or sinister affection, execute their office, so that it might appear that they had God and the good of their king and country before their eyes, and that they should divide themselves into the several hundreds, and see to the public peace, and that all vagabonds and disturbers of the peace should be duly punished; and that once every six weeks they should write to the lord protector and council the state in which the county was, till they were otherwise commanded. That which was sent into the county of Norfolk will be found in the Collection.

But now the funeral of the deceased king, and the coronation of his son, were to be dispatched. In the coronation-ceremonies that had been formerly used, there were some things that did not agree with the present laws of the land; as the promise made to the abbots for maintaining their lands and dignities. They were also so tedious, that a new form was ordered to be drawn, which the reader will find in the Collection. The most material thing in it is the first ceremony, whereby the king being showed to the people at the four corners of the stage, the archbishop was to demand their consent to it, and yet in such terms as should demonstrate that he was no elective prince; "for he being declared the rightful and undoubted heir both by the laws of God and man, they were desired to give their good wills and assents to the same, as by their duty of allegiance they were bound to do." This being agreed on the 13th of February, on the day following king Henry's body was with all the pomp of a royal funeral removed to Syon in the way to Windsor. There great observation was made on a thing that was no extraordinary matter; he had been extremely corpulent, and dying of a dropsy, or something like it, it was no wonder if a fortnight after, upon so long a motion, some putrid matter might run through the coffin. But Syon having been a house of religious women, it was called a signal mark of the displeasure of Heaven, that some of his blood and fat dropped through the lead in the night; and to make this work mightily on weak people, it was said that the dogs licked it next morning. This was much magnified in commendation of friar Peto, afterwards made cardinal, who (as was told at page 114 of the former Part) had threatened him, in a sermon at Greenwich, that the dogs should lick his blood: though to consider things more equally, it had been a wonder indeed if it had been otherwise; but having met with this observation in a MS. written near that time, I would not envy the world the pleasure of it. Next day he was brought to Windsor, and interred in St. George's chapel; and he having by his will left that church 600*l.* a year for ever, for two priests to say mass at his tomb daily, for four obits yearly, and a sermon at every obit, with 10*l.* to the poor, and for a sermon every Sunday, together with the maintenance of thirteen poor knights, the judges were consulted how this should be well settled in law; who advised that the lands which the king had given should be made over to that college by indentures tripartite, the king being one party, the protector and the other executors a second, and the dean and chapter of Windsor a third party. These were to be signed with the king's hand, and the great seal put to them, with the hands and seals of all the rest; and then patents were to be given for the lands founded on the king's testament, and the indentures tripartite.

But the pomp of this business ministered an occasion of inquiring into the use and lawfulness of soul-masses and obits, which came to be among the first things that were reformed. Christ had instituted the sacrament to be celebrated in remembrance of his death, and it was a sacrament only to those who did participate in it; but that the consecrating the sacrament could be of any use to departed souls, seemed a thing not easy to be conceived: for if they are the prayers of the living that profit the dead, then these would have done as well without a mass. But the people would not have esteemed bare prayers so much, nor have paid so dear for them; so that the true original of soul-masses was thought to have been only to increase the esteem and wealth of the clergy. It is

true, in the primitive church there was a commemoration of the saints departed in "the daily sacrifice," so they termed the communion, and such as had given any offence at their death were not remembered in it : so that for so slight an offence as the leaving a priest tutor to one's children, which might distract them from their spiritual care, one's name was to be left out of that commemoration in Cyprian's time : which was a very disproportioned punishment to that offence, if such commemorations had been thought useful or necessary to the souls departed. But all this was nothing to the private masses for them, and was indeed nothing at first but an honourable mention of such as had died in the faith ; and they believing then generally that there was a glorious thousand years to be on earth, and that the saints should rise, some sooner and some later, to have their part in it, they prayed in general for their quiet rest, and their speedy resurrection. Yet these prayers growing, as all superstitious devices do, to be more considered, some began to frame an hypothesis to justify them by ; that of the thousand years being generally exploded. And in St. Austin's time they began to fancy there was a state of punishment even for the good in another life, out of which some were sooner and some later freed, according to the measure of their repentance for their sins in this life. But he tells us, this was taken up without any sure ground, and that it was no way certain. Yet by visions, dreams, and tales, the belief of it was so far promoted, that it came to be generally received in the next age after him ; and then as the people were told that the saints interceded for them, so it was added that they might intercede for their departed friends ; and this was the foundation of all that trade of soul-masses and obits. Now the deceased king had acted like one who did not believe that these things signified much ; otherwise he was to have but ill reception in purgatory, having by the subversion of the monasteries deprived the departed souls of the benefit of the many masses that were said for them in these houses ; yet it seems at his death he would make the matter sure, and to show he intended as much benefit to the living, as to himself being dead, he took care that there should be not only masses and obits, but so many sermons at Windsor, and a frequent distribution of alms for the relief of the poor. But upon this occasion it came to be examined what value there was in such things ; yet the archbishop plainly saw that the lord chancellor would give great opposition to every motion that should be made for any further alteration ; for which he and all that party had this specious pretence always in their mouths, that their late glorious king was not only the most learned prince, but the most learned divine in the world, (for the flattering him did not end with his life,) and that therefore they were at least to keep all things in the condition wherein he had left them, till the king were of age. And this seemed also necessary on considerations of state ; for changes in matter of religion might bring on commotions and disorders, which they as faithful executors ought to avoid. But to this it was answered, that as their late king was infinitely learned, (for both parties flattered him dead, as well as living) so he had resolved to make great alterations, and was contriving how to change the mass into a communion : that therefore they were not to put off a thing of such consequence, wherein the salvation of people's souls was so much concerned, but were immediately to set about it. But the lord chancellor gave quickly great advantage against himself to his enemies, who were resolved to make use of any error he might be guilty of, so far as to ease themselves of the trouble he was like to give them.

The king's funeral being over, order was given for the creation of peers. The protector was to be duke of Somerset, the earl of Essex to be marquis of Northampton, the viscount Lisle to be earl of Warwick, the lord Wriothesley earl of Southampton ; besides the new creation of the lords Seymour, Rich, Willoughby of Parham, and Sheffield ; and the rest it seems excusing themselves from new honours, as it appeared from the deposition of Paget, that many of those on whom the late king had intended to confer titles of honour had declined it formerly. On the 20th of February, being Shrove-Sunday, the king was crowned by the archbishop of Canterbury, according to the form that was agreed to ; the protector serving in it as lord steward, the marquis of Dorset as lord constable, and the earl of Arundel as earl marshal, deputed by the protector. A pardon was proclaimed, out of which the duke of Norfolk, cardinal Pole, and some others, were excepted.

The Creation
of Peers.

1547. Feb. 20.
Coronation.

The first business of importance after the coronation was the lord chancellor's fall, who, resolving to give himself wholly to matters of state, had on the 18th of February put the great seal to a commission, directed to sir Robert Southwell, master of the rolls, John Tregonnel, esq., master of chancery, and to John Oliver and Anthony Bellasis, clerks, masters of chancery; setting forth, "that the lord chancellor being so employed in the affairs of state that he could not attend on the hearing of causes in the court of chancery, these three masters, or any two of them, were empowered to execute the lord chancellor's office in that court, in as ample manner as if he himself were present; only their decrees were to be brought to the lord chancellor to be signed by him before they were enrolled." This being done without any warrant from the lord protector and the other executors, it was judged a high presumption in the lord chancellor thus to devolve on others that power which the law had trusted in his hands. The persons named by him increased the offence which this gave, two of them being canonists, so that the common lawyers looked upon this as a precedent of very high and ill consequence; and being encouraged by those who had no goodwill to the chancellor, they petitioned the council in this matter, and complained of the evil consequences of such a commission, and set forth the fears that all the students of the law were under, of a change that was intended to be made of the laws of England. The council remembered well they had given no warrant at all to the lord chancellor for the issuing out any such commission; so they sent it to the judges, and required them to examine the commission with the petition grounded upon it, who delivered their opinions on the last of February:—That the lord chancellor ought not without warrant from the council to have set the seal to it; and that by his so doing he had by the common law forfeited his place to the king, and was liable to fine and imprisonment at the king's pleasure. This lay sleeping till the 6th of March, and then the judges' answer being brought to the council, signed by all their hands, they entered into a debate how far it ought to be punished. The lord chancellor carried it very high; and as he had used many menaces to those who had petitioned against him, and to the judges for giving their opinions as they did, so he carried himself insolently to the protector, and told him he held his place by a better authority than he held his: that the late king, being empowered to it by act of parliament, had made him not only chancellor, but one of the governors of the realm during his son's minority, and had by his will given none of them power over the rest to throw them out at pleasure; and that, therefore, they might declare the commission void if they pleased, to which he should consent, but they could not for such an error turn him out of his office, nor out of his share of the government. To this it was answered, that by the late king's will they, or the major part of them, were to administer till the king was of age; that this subjected every one of them in particular to the rest; that otherwise if any of them broke out into rebellion, he might pretend he could not be attainted nor put from the government; therefore, it was agreed on, that every of them in particular was subject to the greater part. Then the lord chancellor was required to show what warrant he had for that he had done. Being now driven from that which he chiefly relied on, he answered for himself, that he had no warrant, yet he thought by his office he had power to do it; that he had no ill intention in it, and therefore submitted himself to the king's mercy, and to the gracious consideration of the protector and the council; and desired that in respect of his past services, he might forego his office with as little slander as might be, and that as to his fine and imprisonment they would use moderation. So he was made to withdraw—"The counsellors (as it is entered into the council book) considering in their consciences his abuses sundry ways in his office, to the great prejudice and utter decay of the common laws, and the prejudice that might follow by the seals continuing in the hands of so stout and arrogant a person, who would as he pleased put the seals to such commissions without warrant, did agree that the seal should be taken from him, and he be deprived of his office, and be further fined as should be afterwards thought fitting—only they excused him from imprisonment." So he being called in, and heard say all he could think of for his own justification, they did not judge it of such importance as might move them to change their mind. Sentence was therefore given, that he should stay in the council chamber and closet till the sermon was ended; that then he should go home with the seal to Ely-house,

The Lord
Chancellor is
removed from
his Office.

where he lived ; but that after supper the lord Seymour, sir Anthony Brown, and sir Edward North, should be sent to him, and that he should deliver the seal into their hands, and be from that time deprived of his office and confined to his house during pleasure, and pay what fine should be laid on him. To all which he submitted, and acknowledged the justice of their sentence. So the next day the seal was put into the lord St. John's hands*, till they should agree on a fit man to be lord chancellor, and it continued with him several months. On the day following, the late king's will being in his hands for the granting of exemptions of it under the great seal, it was sent for, and ordered to be laid up in the treasury of the exchequer ; and the earl of Southampton continued in his confinement till the 29th of June, but then he entered into a recognisance of 4,000*l.* to pay what fine they should impose on him, and upon that he was discharged of his imprisonment. But in all this sentence, they made no mention of his forfeiting his being one of the late king's executors, and of the present king's governors ; either judging that, being put in these trusts as he was lord chancellor, the discharging him of his office did by consequence put an end to them, or perhaps they were not willing to do anything that might seem to change the late king's will ; and therefore by keeping him under the fear of a severe fine, they chose rather to oblige him to be absent, and to carry himself quietly, than by any sentence to exclude him from his share in that trust ; which I incline the rather to believe, because I find him afterwards brought to council without any order entered about it : so that he seems to have come thither rather on a former right than on a new choice made of him. Thus fell the lord chancellor, and in him the popish party lost their chief support, and the protector his most emulous rival. The reader will find the commission with the opinion of the judges

Collection
Number 5.

about it in the Collection, from which he will be better able to judge of these proceedings against him, which were summary and severe, beyond the usage of the privy council, and without the common forms of legal processes ; but the council's authority had been raised so high by the act mentioned (page 193 of the former Part), that they were empowered sufficiently for matters of that nature.

That which followed a few days after made this be the more censured, since the lord protector, who hitherto held his office but by the choice of the rest, and under great restrictions, was now resolved to hold it by patent, to which the late chancellor had been unwilling to consent. The pretence for it was, that the foreign ministers, the French ambassador in particular, desired to be satisfied concerning his power, and how far they might treat with him, and depend on the assurances and promises

he gave. So the protector and council did on the 13th of March petition the king that they might act by a commission under the great seal, which might empower and justify them in what they were to do. And that was to be done in this manner. The king and the lords were to sign the warrant for it, upon which the lord St. John (who though he had the keeping of the great seal, was never designed to be lord keeper, nor was empowered to hear causes) should set the seal to it. The original warrant was to be kept by the protector, and exemptions of it were to be given to foreign ministers. To this order sir Thom. Cheyney set his hand, upon what authority I do not so clearly see, since he was none of the executors. By this commission, (which will be found

Collection
Number 6.

in the Collection) it is set forth, "That the king being under age, was desired by divers of the nobles and prelates of the realm, to name and authorise one above all others, to have the charge of the kingdom, with the government of his person ; whereupon he had formerly by word of mouth named his uncle to be protector and governor of his person ; yet for a more perfect declaration of that, he did now ratify and approve all he had done since that nomination, and constituted him his governor and the protector of his kingdom till he should attain the full age of eighteen years ; giving him the full authority that belonged to that office, to do everything as he by his wisdom should think for the honour, good, and prosperity of the king and kingdoms ; and that he might be furnished with a council for his aid and assistance, he did by the advice of his uncle and

* 29 Junii sigillum magnum Will. Pawlet Militis Domino S. Jo. de Basing, liberatum fuit, Pat. 1, Edw. 6, p. 4.—
DUCCALE ORIG. JURID.

others, nobles, prelates, and wise men, accept of these persons for his counsellors:—the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord St. John president, the lord Russell, lord privy-seal, the marquis of Northampton, the earls of Warwick and Arundel, the lord Seymour, the bishop of Durham, the lord Rich, sir Thomas Cheyney, sir Joh. Gage, sir Anthony Brown, sir Anthony Wingfield, sir William Paget, sir William Petre, sir Ralph Sadler, sir John Baker, doctor Wotton, sir Anth. Denny, sir William Herbert, sir Edw. North, sir Ed. Montague, sir Ed. Wotton, sir Edm. Peckham, sir Tho. Bromley, and sir Richard Southwell; giving the protector power to swear such other commissioners as he should think fit; and that he with so many of the council as he should think meet, might annul and change what they thought fitting; restraining the council to act only by his advice and consent." And thus was the protector fully settled in his power, and no more under the curb of the co-executors, who were now mixed with the other counsellors, that by the late king's will were only to be consulted with as they saw cause. But as he depressed them to an equality with the rest of the counsellors, so he highly obliged the others who had been formerly under them, by bringing these equally with them into a share of the government. He had also obtained to himself a high authority over them, since they could do nothing without his consent, but he was only bound to call for so many of them as he thought meet, and was not limited to act as they advised, but clothed with the full regal power; and had it in his hands to oblige whom he would, and to make his party greater by calling into the council such as he should nominate. How far this was legal I shall not enquire. It was certainly contrary to king Henry's will. And that being made upon an act of parliament, which empowered him to limit the crown and the government of it at his pleasure, this commission, that did change the whole government during the king's minority, seems capable of no other defence, but that it being made by the consent of the major part of the executors, it was still warrantable even by the will, which devolved the government on them, or the major part of them.

All this I have opened the more largely, both because none of our historians have taken any notice of the first constitution of the government during this reign, and being ignorant of the true account of it, they have committed great errors: and because having obtained, by the favour of that most industrious collector of the transactions of this age, Mr. Rushworth, the original council-book, for the two first years of this reign, I had a certain authority to follow in it: the exactness of that book being beyond anything I ever met with in all our records. For every council-day the privy-counsellors that were present set their hands to all that was ordered; judging so great caution necessary when the king was under age. And therefore I thought this a book of too great consequence to lie in private hands: so the owner having made a present of it to me, I delivered it to that noble and virtuous gentleman, sir John Nicolas, one of the clerks of the council, to be kept with the rest of their books.

And having now given the reader a clear prospect of the state of the court, I shall next turn to the affairs that were under their consideration. That which was first brought before them was concerning the state of Germany. Francis Burgartus, chancellor to the duke of Saxe, with others from the other princes and cities of the empire, were sent over upon the news of the former king's death to solicit for aids from the new king toward the carrying on the war with the emperor. In order to the clearing of this, and to give a just account of our councils in reference to foreign affairs, especially the cause being about religion, I shall give a short view of the state of Germany at this time. The emperor, having formed a design of a universal monarchy, laid hold on the differences of religion in Germany, as a good mean to cover what he did, with the specious pretence of punishing heresy, and protecting the catholics. But before he had formed this design, he procured his brother to be chosen king of the Romans, and so declared his successor in the empire; which he was forced to do, being obliged to be much in Spain and his other hereditary dominions; and being then so young as not to enter into such deep counsels as he afterwards laid. But his wars in Italy put him off in ill terms with the pope; and being likewise watched over in all his motions by Francis I. and Henry VIII., and the Turk often breaking into Hungary and Germany, he was forced to great compliances with the princes of the empire: who being animated by

The state of
Affairs in
Germany.

1531 Jan. 11.
Ferdinand
crowned King
of the Romans.

the two great crowns, did enter into a league for their mutual defence against all aggressors. And at last in the year 1544, in the Diet held at Spire, the emperor, being engaged in war with France, and the Turk, both to secure Germany, and to obtain money of the princes, was willing to agree to the edict made there; which was, that till there was a free council in Germany, or such an assembly in which matters of religion might be settled, there should be a general peace, and none was to be troubled for religion; the free exercise of both religions being allowed; and all things were to continue in the state they were then in. And the imperial chamber at Spire was to be reformed: for the judges of that court being all papists, there were many processes depending at the suit of the ecclesiastics against the Protestant princes, who had driven them out of their lands: and the princes expecting no fair dealing from them, all these processes were now suspended, and the chamber was to be filled up with new judges, that should be more favourable to them. They obtaining this decree, contributed very liberally to the wars the emperor seemed to be engaged in. Who having his treasure thus filled, presently made peace both with France and the Grand Seignior, and resolved to turn his wars upon the empire, and to make use of that treasure and force they had contributed, to invade their liberties, and to subdue them entirely to himself. Upon this he entered into a treaty with the pope, that a council should be opened in Trent; upon which he should require the princes to submit to it, which if they refused to do, he should make war on them. The pope was to assist him with ten thousand men, besides heavy taxes laid on his clergy; to which he willingly consented. But the emperor knowing, that if religion were declared to be the ground of the war, all the protestants would unite against him, who were the much greater number of the empire; resolved to divide them among themselves, and to pretend somewhat else than religion as the cause of the war. There were then four of the electors of that religion; the count Palatine, the duke of Saxe, the marquis of Brandenburg, and the archbishop of Cologne; besides the landgrave of Hesse, the duke of Wittenburg, and many lesser princes: and almost all the cities of the empire. Bohemia and the other hereditary dominions of the house of Austria were also generally of the same religion. The northern kings and the Swiss cantons were firmly united to them: the two crowns of England and France were likewise concerned in interest to support them against the Austrian family. But the emperor got France and England engaged in a war between themselves. So that he was now at leisure to accomplish his designs on the empire, where some of the princes being extremely old, as the count Palatine, and Herman, archbishop of Cologne; others being of soft and inactive tempers, as the marquis of Brandenburg; and others discontented and ambitious, as Maurice of Saxony, and the brothers of Brandenburg: he had indeed none of the first rank to deal with, but the duke of Saxe and the landgrave of Hesse, who were both great captains, but of such different tempers, that where they were in equal command, there was no great probability of success. The former was a prince of the best composition of any in that age, he was sincerely religious, and one of the most equal-tempered men that was then alive, neither lifted up with success, nor cast down with misfortunes: he had a great capacity, but was slow in his resolutions. The landgrave on the other hand had much more heat, was a quicker man, and of an impatient temper, on which the accidents of life made deep impressions.

When the emperor began to engage in this design, the pope, being jealous of his greatness, and desirous to entangle him in a long and expensive war, published the secret ends of the league; and opened the council in Trent in November 1545, where a few bishops and abbots, with his legates presiding over them, usurped the most glorious title of "The most Holy Oecumenical Council representing the Catholic Church." They entered by such slow steps, as were directed from Rome, into the discussion of articles of doctrine; which were, as they were pleased to call it, explained to them by some divines, for most part friars, who amused the more ignorant bishops with the nice speculations with which they had been exercised in the schools; where hard and barbarous words served in good stead to conceal some things not so fit to be proposed barefaced, and in plain terms. The emperor having done enough towards his design, that a council was opened in Germany,

endeavoured to keep them from determining points of doctrine, and pressed them to examine some abuses in the government of the church, which had, at least given occasion to that great alienation of so many from the see of Rome and the clergy. There were also divers wise and learned prelates, chiefly of Spain, who came thither, full of hopes of getting these abuses redressed. Some of them had observed, that in all times, heresies and schisms did owe their chief growth to the scandals, the ignorance, and negligence of the clergy, which made the laity conceive an ill opinion of them, and so disposed them both in inclination and interest to cherish such as opposed them ; and therefore they designed to have many great corruptions cast out ; and observing that bishops' non-residence was a chief occasion of all those evils, they endeavoured to have residence declared to be of divine right ; intending thereby to lessen the power of the papacy, which was grown to that height, that they were slaves to that see, taxed by it at pleasure, and the care of their dioceses extorted out of their hands by the several ranks of exempted priests ; and also to raise the episcopal authority to what it was anciently, and to cut off all those encroachments which the see of Rome had made on them at first by craft, and which they still maintained by their power ; but the court of Rome was to lose much by all reformatations, and some cardinals openly declared, that every reformation gave the heretics great advantages, and was a confession that the church had erred, and that these very things so much complained of were the chief nerves of the popedom, which being cut, the greatness of their court must needs fall ; and therefore they did oppose all these motions, and were still for proceeding in establishing the doctrine. And though the opposing a decree to oblige all to residence was so grossly scandalous that they were ashamed of it, yet they intended to secure the greatness of the court by a salvo for the pope's privilege and dignity in granting dispensations. These proceedings at Trent discovered what was to be expected from that council, and alarmed all the protestants to think what they were to look for, if the emperor should force them to submit to the decrees of such an assembly, where those whom they called heretics could expect little, since the emperor himself could not prevail so far as to obtain or hinder delays, or to give preference for matters of discipline to points of doctrine. So the

1546. Jan- protestants met at Frankfort, and entered into councils for their common safety,
uary, Princes in case any of them should be disturbed about religion ; chiefly for preserving
meet at Frank- the elector of Cologne, whom the pope had cited to Rome for heresy. They
fort.

wrote to the emperor's ministers, that they heard from all hands that the emperor was raising great forces, and designing a war against them ; who thought themselves secured by the edict of Spire, and desired nothing but the confirmation of that, and the regulation of the imperial chamber, as was then agreed on. A meeting being proposed between the emperor and the landgrave, the landgrave went to him to Spire, where the emperor denied he had any design of a war, with which the other charged him : only he said he had with great difficulty obtained a council in Germany, and therefore he hoped they would submit to it. But after some expostulations on both hands, the landgrave left him ; and now the thing was generally understood, though the emperor did still deny it, and said he would make no war about religion, but only against the disturbers of the peace of the empire. By this means he got the elector Palatine to give little or no aid to the other princes. The marquis of Brandenburg was become jealous of the greatness of Saxe, and so was at first neuter, but afterward openly declared for the emperor. But Maurice the duke of Saxe's near kinsman, who by that duke's means was settled in a fair principality, which his uncle George had left him only on condition that he turned papist, notwithstanding which he got him to be possessed of it ; was made use of by the emperor as the best instrument to work his ends. To him therefore he promised the electoral dignity with the dominions belonging to the duke of Saxe, if he would assist him in the war against his kinsman the present elector ; and gave him assurance under his hand and seal, that he would make no change in religion, but leave the princes of the Augsburg confession the free exercise of their religion. And thus the emperor singled out the duke of Saxe and the landgrave from the rest, reckoning wisely, that if he once mastered them, he should more easily overcome all the rest. He pretended some other quarrels against them, as that of the duke of Brunswick, who having begun a war with his neighbours was taken

prisoner, and his dominions possessed by the landgrave. That with some old quarrels was pretended the ground of the war. Upon which the princes published a writing to show that it was religion only, and a secret design to subdue Germany, that was the true cause of the war; and those alleged were sought pretences to excuse so infamous a breach of faith, and of the public decrees: that the pope who designed the destruction of all of that confession, had set on the emperor to this; who easily laid hold on it, that he might master the liberty of Germany. Therefore they warned all the princes of their danger. The emperor's forces being to be drawn together out of several places in Italy, Flanders, Burgundy, and Bohemia, they whose forces lay nearer had a great advantage if they had known how to

1546. June, use it: for in June they brought into the field seventy thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse, and might have driven the emperor out of Germany, had they proceeded vigorously at first. But the divided command was fatal to them, for when one was for action, the other was against it. So they lost their opportunity, and gave the emperor time to gather all his forces about him, which were far inferior to theirs in strength; but the emperor gained by time, whereas they who had no great treasure lost much. All the summer and a great deal of the winter was spent without any considerable action, though the two armies were oft in view one of another. But in

1546. July the beginning of the winter, the emperor having proscribed the duke of Saxe, 20. Duke of Saxe and Landgrave proscribed, and promised to bestow the principality on Maurice, he fell into Saxony, and carried a great many of the cities which were not prepared for any such impression. This made the duke separate his army, and return to the defence of his own country; which he quickly recovered, and drove Maurice almost out of all his own principality. The states of Bohemia also declared for the elector of Saxony. Nov. 23. The Elector returns into Saxony.

This was the state of the affairs there. The princes thought they had a good prospect for the next year, having mediated a peace between the crowns of England and France, whose forces falling into Flanders, must needs have bred a great distraction in the emperor's councils. But king Henry's death gave them great apprehensions, and not without cause. For when they sent hither for an aid in money to carry on the war, the protector and council saw great danger on both

1546. Jan. 7. Peace concluded between England and France. hands: if they left the Germans to perish, the emperor would be then so lifted up, that they might expect to have an uneasy neighbour of him: on the other hand it was a thing of great consequence to engage an infant king in such a war. Therefore their succours from hence were like to be weak and very slow. Howsoever, the council ordered Paget to assure them that within three or four months they should send fifty thousand crowns to their assistance: which was to be covered thus; the merchants of the Still-yard were to borrow so much of the king, and to engage to bring home stores to that value; they having the money, should send it to Hamburg, and so to the duke of Saxe. But the princes received a second blow in the loss of Francis I. of France; who having lived long in a familiarity and friendship with king Henry, not ordinary for crowned heads, was so much affected with the news of his death, that he was never seen cheerful after it. He made royal funeral rites to be performed to his memory in the church of Notre-Dame: to which the clergy (who one would have thought should have been glad to have seen his funerals celebrated in any fashion) were very averse: but that king had emancipated himself to a good degree from a servile subjection to them, and would be obeyed. He outlived the other not long, for he died the last of March. He was the chief patron of learned men and advancer of learning that had been for many ages.

1547. Mar. 31. Francis I. died. He was generally unsuccessful in his wars, and yet a great commander. At his death he left his son an advice to beware of the brethren of Lorraine, and to depend much on the counsellors whom he had employed. But his son, upon his coming to the crown, did so deliver himself up to the charms of his mistress Diana, that all things were ordered as men made their court to her; which the ministers that had served the former king scorning to do, and the brothers of the house of Lorraine doing very submissively, the one were discharged of their employments, and the other governed all the councils. Francis had been oft fluctuating in the business of religion. Sometimes he had resolved to shake

off the pope's obedience, and set up a patriarch in France ; and had agreed with Henry VIII. to go on in the same councils with him. But he was first diverted by his alliance with Clement VII., and afterwards by the ascendant which the cardinal of Tournon had over him, who engaged him at several times into severities against those that received the Reformation. Yet he had such a close eye upon the emperor's motions, that he kept a constant good understanding with the protestant princes, and had no doubt assisted them if he had lived. But upon his death new counsels were taken ; the brothers of Lorraine were furiously addicted to the interests of the papacy, one of them being a cardinal, who persuaded the king rather to begin his reign with the recovery of Boulogne out of the hands of the English. So that the state of Germany was almost desperate before he was aware of it. And indeed the Germans lost so much in the death of these two kings, upon whose assistance they had depended, that it was no wonder they were easily overrun by the emperor. Some of their allies, the cities of Ulm and Frankfort, and the duke of Wirtemberg, submitting themselves to the emperor's mercy, the rest were much disheartened : which is a constant forerunner of the ruin of a confederacy. Such was the state of religion abroad.

At home men's minds were much distracted. The people, especially in market-towns and places of trade, began generally to see into many of the corruptions of the doctrine and worship, and were weary of them ; some preached against some abuses : Glasier at Paul's Cross taught, that the observance of Lent was only a positive law ; others went further, and plainly condemned most of the former abuses ; but the clergy were as much engaged to defend them. They were for the most part such as had been bred in monasteries and religious houses. For there being pensions reserved for the monks, when their houses were surrendered and dissolved, till they should be otherwise provided ; the court of Augmentations took care to ease the king of that charge, by recommending them to such small benefices as were at the king's disposal ; and such as purchased those lands of the crown, with that charge of paying the pensions to the monks, were also careful to ease themselves by procuring benefices for them. The benefices were generally very small, so that in many places three or four benefices could hardly afford enough for the maintenance of one man. And this gave some colour for that abuse of one man's having many benefices that have a care of souls annexed to them ; and that not only where they are so contiguous that the duty can be discharged by one, and so poor that the maintenance of both will scarce serve for the encouragement of one person, but even where they are very remote, and of considerable value. This corruption that crept in in the dark ages of the church, was now practised in England out of necessity. By an act made in king Henry VIII.'s time, none might hold two benefices without a dispensation, but no dispensation could enable one to hold three ; yet that was not at this time much considered. The excuse made for this were, that in some places they could not find good men for the benefices, but in most places the livings were brought to nothing. For while the abbeyes stood, the abbots allowed those whom they appointed to serve the cure in the churches that belonged to them (which were in value above the half of England) a small stipend, or some little part of the vicarage tithes ; and they were to raise their subsistence out of the fees they had by the sacraments, and other sacramentals ; and chiefly by the singing masses for the poor that died ; for the abbeyes had the profit of it from the rich. And masses went generally for two-pence ; a groat was thought a great bounty. So they all concluded themselves undone if these things were withdrawn. This engaged them against any reformation, since every step that was made in it took their bread out of their mouths. But they being generally very ignorant, could oppose nothing with the force of reason or learning. So although they were resolved to comply with anything rather than forfeit their benefices, yet in their hearts they abhorred all reformation, and murmured against it where they thought they might do it safely ; some preached as much for the old abuses, as others did against them. Dr. Peru at St. Andrews Undershaft justified the worship of images on the 23d of April ; yet on the 19th of June he preached a recantation of that sermon. Besides these, there were great prelates, as Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonstall, whose long experience in affairs, they being oft employed in foreign

embassies, together with their high preferment, gave them great authority; and they were against all alterations in religion. But that was not so decent to profess, therefore they set upon this pretence, that till the king their supreme head were of age, so as to consider things himself, all should continue in the state in which king Henry had left them: and these depended on the lady Mary the king's eldest sister as their head, who now professed herself to be in all points for what her father had done; and was very earnest to have everything enacted by him, but chiefly the Six Articles, to continue in force.

On the other hand Cranmer, being now delivered from that too awful subjection that he had been held under by king Henry, resolved to go on more vigorously in purging out abuses. He had the protector firmly united to him in this design. Dr. Cox and Mr. Cheek, who were about the young king, were also very careful to infuse right principles of religion into him; and as he was very capable of understanding what was laid before him, so he had an early liking to all good and generous principles; and was of so excellent a temper of mind, that as he naturally loved truth, so the great probity of his manners made him very inclinable to love and cherish true religion. Cranmer had also several bishops of his side; Holgate of York, Holbeach of Lincoln, Goodrick of Ely, and, above all, Ridley, elect of Rochester, designed for that see by king Henry, but not consecrated till September this year. Old Latimer was now discharged of his imprisonment, but had no mind to return to a more public station, and did choose rather to live private, and employ himself in preaching. He was kept by Cranmer at Lambeth, where he spent the rest of his days, till he was imprisoned in queen Mary's time, and attained the glorious end of his innocent and pious life. But the apprehensions of his being restored again to his old bishopric put Heath, then bishop of Worcester, into great anxieties; sometimes he thought if he consented to the Reformation, then Latimer, who left his bishopric on the account of the Six Articles, must

be restored, and this made him join with the popish party: at other times, when he saw the House of Commons moved to have Latimer put in again, then he joined in the counsels for the Reformation, to secure friends to himself by that compliance. Others of the bishops were ignorant and weak men, who understood religion little, and valued it less; and so, although they liked the old superstition best, because it encouraged ignorance most, and that was the only sure support of their power and wealth, yet they resolved to swim with the stream. It was designed by Cranmer and his friends to carry on the Reformation but by slow and safe degrees, not hazarding too much at once. They trusted in the providence of God, that he would assist them in so good a work. They knew the corruptions they were to throw out to be such, that they should easily satisfy the people with what they did, and they had many learned men among them, who had now for divers years been examining these matters. There were also many that declared they had heard the late king express his great regret for leaving the state of religion in so unsettled a condition; and that he had resolved to have changed the mass into a communion, beside many other things. And in the act of parliament which he had procured, (see page 193, Part I.) for giving force and authority to his proclamations, a proviso was added, that his son's counsellors, while he should be under age, might set out proclamations of the same authority with those which were made by the king himself. This gave them a full power to proceed in that work; in which they resolved to follow the

method begun by the late king of sending visitors over England, with injunctions and articles. They ordered them six several circuits or precincts; the first was London, Westminster, Norwich, and Ely; the second Rochester, Canterbury, Chichester, and Winchester; the third, Sarum, Exeter, Bath, Bristol, and Gloucester; the fourth, York, Durham, Carlisle, and Chester; the fifth, Peterborough, Lincoln, Oxford, Coventry, and Litchfield; and the sixth, Wales, Worcester, and Hereford. For every circuit there were two gentlemen, a civilian, a divine, and a registrar;* they were designed to be sent out in the beginning of May, as appears by a letter to be found in the Collection, written the 4th of May to the archbishop of York. (There is also in the registers of London another of the same strain.) Yet the visitation

* This rule was not observed; in some circuits there were four visitors; in others six; in some no civilians; in some two divines; in some one gentleman; and in some three. See Cranmer's Mem. p. 146.—SIRYPS CORRECT.

being put off for some months, this inhibition was suspended on the 16th of May, till it should be again renewed. The letter sets forth, that the king being speedily to order a visitation over his whole kingdom, therefore neither the archbishop nor any other should exercise any jurisdiction while that visitation lasted. And since the minds of the people were held in great suspense by the controversies they heard so variously tossed in the pulpits, that for quieting these the king did require all bishops to preach nowhere but in their cathedrals, and that all other clergymen should not preach but in their collegiate or parochial churches, unless they obtained a special license from the king to that effect. The design of this was to make a distinction between such as preached for the reformation of abuses, and such as did it not. The one were to be encouraged by licenses to preach wherever they desired to do it, but the others were restrained to the places where they were incumbents. But that which of all other things did most damp those who designed the Reformation, was the misery to which they saw the clergy reduced, and the great want of able men to propagate it over England. For the rents of the church were either so swallowed up by the suppression of religious houses, to whom the tithes were generally appropriated, or so basely alienated by some lewd or superstitious incumbents, who, to preserve themselves, being otherwise obnoxious, or to purchase friends, had given away the best part of their revenues and benefices; that there was very little encouragement left for those that should labour in the work of the gospel. And though many projects were thought on for remedying this great abuse, yet those were all so powerfully opposed, that there was no hope left of getting it remedied, till the king should come to be of age, and be able by his authority to procure the churchmen a more proportioned maintenance.

Two things only remained to be done at present. The one was to draw up some *Some Homilies* for the instruction of the people, which might supply the defects of their *lies compiled*. incumbents, together with the providing them with such books as might lead them into the understanding of the Scripture. The other was to select the most eminent preachers they could find, and send them over England with the visitors, who should with more authority instruct the nation in the principles of religion. Therefore some were appointed to compile those homilies; and twelve were at first agreed on, being about those arguments which were in themselves of the greatest importance. The 1st was about the use of the Scriptures*. The 2d. Of the Misery of Mankind by Sin. 3d. Of their Salvation by Christ. 4th. Of True and Lively Faith. 5th. Of Good Works. 6th. Of Christian Love and Charity. 7th. Against Swearing, and chiefly Perjury. 8th. Against Apostacy, or declining from God. 9th. Against the Fear of Death. 10th. An exhortation to Obedience. 11th. Against Whoredom and Adultery, setting forth the state of Marriage how necessary and honourable it was. And the 12th, Against Contention, chiefly about matters of Religion. They intended to set out more afterwards, but these were all that were at this time finished. The chief design in them was to acquaint the people with the method of salvation according to the gospel; in which there were two dangerous extremes at that time that had divided the world. The greatest part of the ignorant commons seemed to consider their priests as a sort of a people who had such a secret trick of saving their souls, as mountebanks pretend in the curing of diseases; and that there was nothing to be done but to leave themselves in their hands, and the business could not miscarry. This was the chief basis and support of all that superstition which was so prevalent over the nation. The other extreme was of some corrupt gospellers, who thought if they magnified Christ much, and depended on his merits and intercession, they could not perish, which way soever they led their lives. In these homilies, therefore, special care was taken to rectify these errors; and the salvation of mankind was on the one hand wholly ascribed to the death and sufferings of Christ, to which sinners were taught to fly, and to trust to it only, and to no other devices for the pardon of sin. They were at the same time taught that there was no salvation through Christ but to such as truly repented, and lived according to the rules of the gospel. The whole matter was so ordered to teach them, that avoiding the hurtful errors on both hands, they might all know the true and certain way of attaining eternal happiness. For the understanding the New Testament, Erasmus's Paraphrase, which was translated into English,

* These titles are not as they are in the original book. They are only abridged.—STEVENS'S CORRECT.

was thought the most profitable and easiest book. Therefore it was resolved, that together with the Bible there should be one of these in every parish-church over England. They next considered the articles and injunctions that should be given to the visitors. The greatest part of them were only the renewing what had been ordered by king Henry during Cromwell's being vicegerent, which had been much neglected since his fall. For as there was no vicegerent, so there was few visitations appointed after his death by the king's authority; but the executing former injunctions was left to the several bishops, who were for the most part more careful about the Six Articles than about the injunctions.

So now all the orders about renouncing the pope's power, and asserting the king's supremacy, about preaching, teaching the elements of religion in the vulgar tongue, about the benefices of the clergy, and the taxes on them for the poor, for scholars, and their mansion-houses, with the other injunctions for the strictness of churchmen's lives, and against superstitions, pilgrimages, images, or other rites of that kind, and for register-books, were renewed. And to these many others were added, as, "That curates should take down such images as they knew were abused by pilgrimages or offerings to them, but that private persons should not do it. That in the confessions in Lent they should examine all people whether they could recite the elements of religion in the English tongue. That at high mass they should read the Epistle and Gospel in English, and every Sunday and holy-day they should read at matins one chapter out of the New Testament, and at even-song another out of the Old, in English. That the curates should often visit the sick, and have many places of the Scripture in English in readiness wherewith to comfort them. That there should be no more processions about churches, for avoiding contention for precedence in them. And that the Litany formerly said in the processions, should be said thereafter in the choir in English, as had been ordered by the late king. That the holy-day had been instituted at first that men should give themselves wholly to God; yet God was generally more dishonoured upon it than on the other days, by idleness, drunkenness, and quarrelling; the people thinking that they sufficiently honoured God by hearing mass and matins, though they understood nothing of it to their edifying; therefore, thereafter the holy-day should be spent according to God's holy will, in hearing and reading his holy word, in public and private prayers, in amending their lives, receiving the communion, visiting the sick, and reconciling themselves to their neighbours: yet the curates were to declare to their people, that in harvest-time they might upon the holy and festival days labour in their harvest. That curates were to admit none to the communion who were not reconciled to their neighbours. That all dignified clergymen should preach personally twice a year. That the people should be taught not to despise any of the ceremonies not yet abrogated, but to beware of the superstition of sprinkling their beds with holy water, or the ringing of bells, or using of blessed candles for driving away devils. That all monuments of idolatry should be removed out of the walls or windows of churches, and that there should be a pulpit in every church for preaching. That there should be a chest with a hole in it for the receiving the oblations of the people for the poor, and that the people should be exhorted to almsgiving, as much more profitable than what they formerly bestowed on superstitious pilgrimages, trentals, and decking of images. That all patrons who disposed of their livings by simoniacal pactions should forfeit their right for that vacancy to the king. That the Homilies should be read. That priests should be used charitably and reverently for their office-sake. That no other primer should be used but that set out by king Henry. That the prime and the hours should be omitted where there was a sermon or homily. That they should in bidding the prayers remember the king their supreme head, the queen-dowager, the king's two sisters, the lord protector, and the council, the lords, the clergy, and the commons of the realm; and to pray for souls departed this life, that at the last day, we with them may rest both body and soul. All which injunctions were to be observed, under the pains of excommunication, sequestration, or deprivation, as the ordinaries should answer it to the king, the justices of peace being required to assist them.

* The Injunctions only are abstracted, not the Articles.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

Besides these, there were other injunctions given to the bishops, “That they should see the former put in execution, and should preach four times a year in **their** dioceses: once at their cathedral, and three times in other churches, unless they had a reasonable excuse for their omission. That their chaplains should be able to preach God’s word, and should be made labour off in it: that they should give orders to none but such as would do the same; and if any did otherwise, that they should punish him, and recall their licence.” These are the chief heads of the injunctions, which being so often printed, I shall refer the reader that would consider them more carefully, to the collection of these and other such curious things made by the right reverend father in God Anthony Sparrow, now lord bishop of Norwich.*

These being published, gave occasion to those who censured all things of that nature to examine them.

These were much censured.

The removing images that had been abused, gave great occasion of quarrel; and the thing being to be done by the clergy only, it was not like that they who lived chiefly by such things, would be very zealous in the removing them. Yet, on the other hand, it was thought necessary to set some restraints to the heats of the people, who were otherwise apt to run too far where bounds were not set to them.

The article about the strict observance of the holy-day seemed a little doubtful, whether by the holy-day was to be understood only the Lord’s-day, or that and all other church festivals. The naming it singularly the holy-day, and in the end of that article adding festival-days to the holy-day, seemed to favour their opinion that thought this strict observance of the holy-day was particularly intended for the Lord’s-day, and not for the other festivals. And indeed the setting aside of large portions of time on that day for our spiritual edification, and for the service of God, both in public and private, is so necessary for the advancement of true piety, that great and good effects must needs follow on it. But some came afterwards, who not content to press great strictness on that day, would needs make a controversy about the morality of it, and about the fourth commandment, and framed many rules for it, which were stricter than themselves or any other could keep, and so could only load men’s consciences with many scruples. This drew an opposition from others who could not agree to these severities, and these contests were, by the subtlety of the enemies of the power and progress of religion so improved, that instead of all men’s observing that time devoutly as they ought, some took occasion, from the strictness of their own way, to censure all as irreligious who did not in everything agree to their notion concerning it: others by the heat of contradiction did too much slacken this great bond and instrument of religion; which is since brought under so much neglect, that it is for most part a day only of rest from men’s bodily labours, but perhaps worse employed than if they were at work: so hard a thing it is to keep the due mean between the extremes of superstition on the one hand, and of irreligion on the other.

The corruption of lay-patrons in their simoniacal bargains, was then so notorious, that it was necessary to give a check to it, as we find there was by these injunctions. But whether either this, or the oath afterwards appointed to be taken, has effectually delivered this church of that great abuse, I shall not determine. If those who bestow benefices, did consider that the charge of souls being annexed to them, they shall answer to God severely for putting so sacred a trust in mean or ill hands, upon any base or servile accounts, it would make them look a little more carefully to a thing of so high consequence; and neither expose so holy a thing to sale, nor gratify a friend or servant by granting them the next advowson, or be too easily overcome with the solicitations of impudent pretenders.

The form of bidding prayer was not begun by king Henry, as some have weakly imagined; but was used in the times of popery, as will appear by the form of bidding the beads in king Henry VII.’s time, which will be found in the Collection:—where the way was, first for the preacher to name and open his text, and then to call on the people to go to their prayers, and to tell them what they were to pray for; after which all the people said their beads in a general silence, and the minister kneeled

Collection, Number 8.

* These articles are not in bishop Sparrow’s collection, but were printed anno 1547.—STRYPE’S CORRECT.

down likewise and said his. All the change king Henry VIII. made in this was, that the pope and cardinals' names being left out, he was ordered to be mentioned with the addition of his title of supreme head, that the people hearing that oft repeated by their priests, might be better persuaded about it, but his other titles were not mentioned. And this order was now renewed. Only the prayer for departed souls was changed from what it had been. It was formerly in these words: "Ye shall pray for the souls that be departed, abiding the mercy of Almighty God, that it may please him the rather at the contemplation of our prayers, to grant them the fruition of his presence;" which did imply their being in a state where they did not enjoy the presence of God, which was avoided by the more general words now prescribed.

The injunctions given the bishops, directed them to that which, if followed carefully, would be the most effectual means of reforming, at least the next age, if not that wherein they lived. For if holy orders were given to none but to those who are well qualified, and seem to be internally called by a Divine vocation, the church must soon put on a new face: whereas, when orders are too easily given, upon the credit of emendicated recommendations, or titles, and after a slight trial of the knowledge of such candidates, without any exact scrutiny into their sense of things, or into the disposition of their minds; no wonder if by the means of clergymen so ordained, the church lose much in the esteem and love of the people, who being possessed with prejudices against the whole society for the faults which they see in particular persons, become an easy prey to such as divide from it.

Thus were the visitors instructed, and sent out to make their circuits, in August, about the time that the protector made his expedition into Scotland. For the occasion of it I shall refer the reader to what is already said in the former part of this work. Before they engaged deeper in the war, sir Francis Brian was sent over to France, to congratulate the new king, and to see if he would confirm those propositions that were agreed to during his father's life; and if he would pay the pension that was to be given yearly till Boulogne was restored; and chiefly to obtain of him to be neutral in the war of Scotland: complaining of that nation that had broken their

faith with England, in the matter of the marriage. To all which the French king answered, that for these articles they mentioned he thought it dishonourable for him to confirm them; and said his father's agent, Poligny, had no warrant to yield to them, for by them the English were at liberty to fortify what they had about Boulogne, which he would never consent to; that he was willing to pay what was agreed to by his father, but would have first the conditions of the delivery of Boulogne made more clear; as for the Scots, they were his perpetual allies, whom he could not forsake if they were in any distress. And

when it was pressed on him, and his ambassador at London, that Scotland was subject to the crown of England, they had no regard to it. When the council desired the French ambassador to look on the records which they should bring him for proving their title, he excused himself, and said his master would not interpose in a question of that nature, nor would he look back to what was pretended to have been done two or three hundred years ago; but was to take things as he found them; and that the Scots had records likewise to prove their being a free kingdom. So the council saw they could not engage in the war with Scotland, without drawing on a war with France; which made them try their interest with their friends this year to see if the marriage could be obtained. But the castle of St. Andrews was now lost, by the assistance that Leo Strozzi brought from France. And though they in England continued to send pensions to their party (for in May, 1300, was sent down by Henry Balnaves; and in June, 1257, was sent to the Earl of Glencairn, for an half year's payment of his pension), yet they could gain no ground there; for the Scots now thought themselves safer than formerly, the crown of England being in the hands of a child, and the court of France being much governed by their queen dowager's brothers. They gave way to the Borderers to make inroads, of whom about two thousand fell into the western marches, and made great depredations. The Scots in Ireland were also very ill neighbours to the English there. There were many other complaints of piracies at sea, and of a ship-royal that robbed many

English ships ; but how these came to be complained of I do not see, for they were in open war, and I do not find any truce had been made. The French agent at London pressed much that there might be a treaty on the borders before the breach were made wider. But now the protector had given orders for raising an army, so that he had no mind to lose that summer. Yet to let the French king see how careful they were of preserving his friendship, they appointed the bishop of Durham, and sir Robert Bowes, to give the Scotch commissioners a meeting on the borders the 4th of August ; but with these secret instructions, that if the Scots would confirm the marriage, all other things should be presently forgiven, and peace be immediately made up ; but if they were not empowered in that particular, and offered only to treat about restitutions, that then they should immediately break off the treaty. The bishop of Durham was also ordered to carry down with him the exemplifications of many records, to prove the subjection of the crown of Scotland to England ; some of these are said to have been under the hands and seals of their kings, their nobles, their bishops, abbots, and towns. He was also ordered to search for all the records that were lying at Durham, where many of them were kept, to be ready to be showed to the Scots upon any occasion that might require it. The meeting on the borders came to a quick issue, for the Scottish commissioners had no power to treat about the marriage. But Tonstall searching the registers of his see, found many writings of great consequence to clear that subjection, of which the reader will see an account, in a letter he writ to the council, in the collection of papers. The most remarkable of these, was the homage king William of Number 9. Scotland made to Henry II. by which he granted that all the nobles of his realm should be his subjects, and do homage to him ; and that all the bishops of Scotland should be under the archbishops of York ; and that the king of England should give all the abbeyes and honours in Scotland, at the least they should not be given without his consent, with many other things of the like nature. It was said that the monks in those days, who generally kept the records, were so accustomed to the forging of stories and writings, that little credit was to be given to such records as lay in their keeping. But having so faithfully acknowledged what was alleged against the freedom of Scotland, I may be allowed to set down a proof on the other side, for my native country, copied from the original writing, yet extant, under the hands and seals of many of the nobility and gentry of that kingdom. It is a letter to the pope ; and it was ordinary that of such public letters there were duplicates signed ; the one of which was sent, and the other laid up among the records, of which I have met with several instances. So that of this letter the copy which was Collection reserved, being now in noble hands, was communicated to me, and is in the Col- Number 10. lection. It was upon the pope's engaging with the king of England to assist him to subdue Scotland that they writ to him, and did assert most directly that their kingdom was at all times free and independent. But now these questions being waved, the other difference about the marriage was brought to a sharper decision.

On the 21st of August, the protector took out a commission to be general, and to make war on Scotland ; and did devolve his power during his absence on the privy- Aug. 21. council ; and appointed his brother to be lord-lieutenant for the south, and the earl of Warwick (whom he carried with him) lord-lieutenant for the north ; and left a commission of array to the marquess of Northampton for Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk ; to the earl of Arundel for Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, and Wiltshire ; and to sir Thomas Cheney for Kent. All this was in case of any invasion from France. Having thus settled affairs during his absence, he set out for Newcastle, having ordered his troops to march thither before ; and coming thither on the 27th of that month, he saw his army Aug. 27, 28. mustered on the 28th, and marched forward to Scotland. The lord Clinton commanded the ships that sailed on as the army marched ; which was done that provisions and ammunition might be brought by them from Newcastle or Berwick, if the enemy should at any time fall in behind their army. He entered into Scotch ground the 2nd Sept. 2, 5. of September, and advanced to the paths the 5th, where the passage being narrow and untoward, they looked for an enemy to have disputed it, but found none ; the Scots having only broken the ways, which in that dry season signified not much, but to stop them some hours in their march. When they had passed these, some little castles, Dunglas,

Thornton, and Innerwick, having but a few ill-provided men in them, rendered to them.

Sept. 9. On the 9th they came to Falside, where there was a long fight in several parties,

in which there were one thousand three hundred of the Scots slain. And now they were in sight of the Scotch army, which was for numbers of men one of the greatest that they had ever brought together, consisting of thirty thousand men; of which ten thousand were commanded by the governor, eight thousand by the earl of Angus, eight thousand by the earl of Huntley, and four thousand by the earl of Argyle, with a fair train of artillery, nine brass and twenty-one iron guns. On the other side, the English army consisted of about fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse, but all well appointed. The Scots were now heated with the old national quarrel to England. It was given out that the protector was come with his army, to carry away their queen, and to enslave the kingdom. And for the encouraging of the army it was also said, that twelve galleys and fifty ships were on the sea from France, and that they looked for them every day.

The protector finding an army brought together so soon, and so much greater than he expected, began to be in some apprehension, and therefore he writ to the Scots to this effect, that they should remember they were both Christians, and so should be tender of the effusion of so much blood; that this war was not made with any design but for a perpetual peace, by the marriage of their two princes which they had already agreed, and given their public faith upon it; and that the Scots were to be much more gainers by it than the English: the island seemed made for one empire; it was a pity it should be more distracted with such wars, when there was so fair and just a way offered for uniting it; and it was much better for them to marry their queen to a prince of the same language, and on the same continent, than to a foreigner; but if they would not agree to that, he offered that their queen should be bred up among them, and not at all contracted, neither to the French, nor to any other foreigner, till she came of age, that by the consent of the estates she might choose a husband for herself. If they would agree to this he would immediately return with his army out of Scotland, and make satisfaction for the damages the country had suffered by the invasion. This proposition seems to justify what the Scotch writers say, though none of the English mention it; that the protector, what for want of provisions, and what from the apprehensions he had of so numerous an army of the Scots, was in great straits, and intended to have returned back to England, without hazarding an engagement. But the Scots thought they were so much superior to the English, and that they had them now at such a disadvantage, that they resolved to fall upon them next day. And that the fair offers made by the protector might not raise division among them, the governor having communicated these to a few whom he trusted, was by their advice Rejected by persuaded to suppress them; but he sent a trumpeter to the English army with them.

an offer to suffer them to return without falling upon them; which the protector had reason to reject, knowing that so mean an action in the beginning of his administration would have quite ruined his reputation. But to this, another that came with the trumpeter added a message from the earl of Huntley, that the protector and he with ten or twenty of a side, or singly, should decide the quarrel by their personal valour. The protector said, this was no private quarrel, and the trust he was in obliged him not to expose himself in such a way; and therefore he was to fight no other way but at the head of his army. But the earl of Warwick offered to accept the challenge. The earl of Huntley sent no such challenge, as he afterwards purged himself when he heard of it. For as it was unreasonable for him to expect the protector should have answered it, so it had been an affronting the governor of Scotland to have taken it off of his hands, since he was the only person that might have challenged the protector on equal terms. The truth of the matter was, a gentleman that went along with the trumpeter made him do it without warrant, fancying the answer to it would have taken up some time, in which he might have viewed the enemy's camp.

Sept. 10. On the 10th of September the two armies drew out, and fought in the field of Pinky, near Musselburgh. The English had the advantage of the ground. And in the beginning of the action, a cannon ball from one of the English ships killed the lord Graham's eldest son, and twenty-five men more; which put the earl of Argyle's Highlanders into such a fright, that they could not be held in order.

The Battle of
Pinky, near
Musselburgh.

But after a charge given by the earl of Angus, in which the English lost some few men, the Scots gave ground; and the English observing that, and breaking in furiously upon them, the Scots threw down their arms and fled. The English pursued hard, and slew them

without mercy. There were reckoned to be killed about fourteen thousand, and fifteen hundred taken prisoners, among whom was the earl of Huntley, and five hundred gentlemen; and all the artillery was taken. This loss quite disheartened the Scots, so that they all retired to Stirling, and left the whole country to the protector's mercy; who the next day went and took Leith, and the soldiers in the ships, burnt some of the sea-towns of Fife, and retook some English ships that had been taken by the Scots, and burnt the rest. They also put a garrison in the isle of St. Columba in the Frith of about two hundred soldiers, and left two ships to wait on them. He also sent the earl of Warwick's brother, sir Ambrose Dudley, to take Broughty, a castle in the mouth of Tay; in which he put two hundred soldiers. He wasted Edinburgh, and uncovered the abbey of Holyrood-house, and carried away the lead and the bells belonging to it. But he neither took the castle of Edinburgh, nor did he go on to Stirling, where the queen with the stragglers of the army lay. And it was thought, that in the consternation wherein the late defeat had put them, every place would have yielded to him. But he had some private reasons that pressed his return, and made him let go the advantages that were now in his hands, and so gave the Scots time to bring succours out of France; whereas he might easily have made an end of the war now at once, if he had followed his success vigorously. The earl of Warwick, who had a great share in the honour of the victory, but knew that the errors in conduct would much diminish the protector's glory, which had been otherwise raised to an unmeasurable height, was not displeased at it. So on the 18th of September the

Sept. 18.

protector drew his army back into England, and having received a message from the queen and the governor of Scotland offering a treaty, he ordered them to send commissioners to Berwick to treat with those he should appoint. As he returned through the Merse, and Teviotdale, all the chief men in these counties came in to him, and took an oath to king Edward, the form whereof will be found in the Collection, Number 11. and delivered into his hands all the places of strength in their counties. He left a garrison of two hundred in Home castle, under the command of sir Edward Dudley; and fortified Roxburgh, where, for encouraging the rest, he wrought two hours with his own hands, and put three hundred soldiers and two hundred pioneers into it, giving sir Ralph Bulmer the command. At the same time the earl of Lennox and the lord Wharton made an inroad by the West Marches; but with little effect.

On the 29th of September the protector returned into England full of honour, having in all that expedition lost not above sixty men, as one that then writ the account of it says; the Scotch writers say he lost between two and three hundred. He had taken eighty pieces of cannon, and bridled the two chief rivers of the kingdom by the garrisons he left in them; and had left many garrisons in the strong places on the frontier. And now it may be easily imagined how much this raised his reputation in England; since men commonly make auguries of the fortune of their rulers from the successes of the first designs they undertake. So now they remembered what he had done formerly in Scotland; and how he had in France, with seven thousand men, raised the French army of twenty thousand that was set down before Boulogne, and had forced them to leave their ordnance, baggage, and tents, with the loss of one man only, in the year 1544; and that next year he had fallen into Picardy, and built Newhaven with two other forts there: so that they all expected great success under his government. And indeed if the breach between his brother and him, with some other errors, had not lost him the advantages he now had, this prosperous action had laid the foundation of great fortunes to him.

He left the earl of Warwick* to treat with those that should be sent from Scotland. But none came; for that proposition had been made only to gain time. The queen-mother there was not ill pleased to see the interest of the governor so much impaired by that

* Afterwards created duke of Northumberland, father of lord Guilford Dudley, the husband of Lady Jane Grey.—Ed.

misfortune, and persuaded the chief men of that kingdom to cast themselves wholly into the arms of France, and to offer their young queen to the dauphin, and to think of no treaty with the English. So the earl of Warwick returned to London, having no small share in the honour of this expedition. He was son to that Dudley who was attainted and executed the first year of king Henry VIII.'s reign. But whether it was that the king afterwards repented of his severity to the father, or that he was taken with the qualities of the son, he raised him by many degrees to be admiral and viscount Lisle. He had defended Boulogne, when it was in no good condition, against the dauphin, whose army was believed fifty thousand strong; and when the French had carried the Basse town, he recovered it, and killed eight hundred of their men: the year after that, being in command at sea, he offered the French fleet battle; which they declining, he made a descent upon Normandy with five thousand men, and having burnt and spoiled a great deal, he returned to his ships with the loss only of one man. And he showed he was as fit for a court as a camp; for being sent over to the French court upon the peace, he appeared there with much splendour, and came off with great honour. He was indeed a man of great parts, had not insatiable ambition with profound dissimulation stained his other noble qualities.

The protector at his return was advised presently to meet the parliament (for which the writs had been sent out before he went into Scotland), now that he was so covered with glory, to get himself established in his authority, and to do those other things which required

The Visitors execute the Injunctions. Acts and Monuments. a session. He found the visitors had performed their visitation, and all had given obedience. And those who expounded the secret providences of God with an eye to their own opinions, took great notice of this,—that on the same day in which the visitors removed and destroyed most of the images in London, their armies were so successful in Scotland in Pinkey field. It is too common to all

men to magnify such events much, when they make for them; but if they are against them, they turn it off by this, that God's ways are past finding out. So partially do men argue where they are once engaged. Bonner and Gardiner had showed some dislike of the injunctions. Bonner received them with a protestation that he would observe them if they were not contrary to God's law and the ordinances of the church. Upon which sir Anthony Cook and the other visitors complained to the council. So Bonner was sent for, where he

But they were not well received by Bonner. Collection, Number 12. Nor by Gardiner. offered a submission, but full of vain "quiddities" (so it is expressed in the council-book); but they not accepting of that, he made such a full one as they desired, which is in the Collection. Yet for giving terror to others, he was sent to lie for some time in the prison called the Fleet. Gardiner seeing the Homilies, was also resolved to protest against them. Sir John Godsafé, who was one of the visitors, wrote to him not to ruin himself, nor lose his bishopric by such an

action. To whom he wrote a letter, that has more of a Christian and of a bishop in it than anything I ever saw of his. He expresses in handsome terms a great contempt of the world, and a resolution to suffer anything rather than depart from his conscience. Besides that (as he said) the things being against law, he would not deliver up the liberties of his country, but would petition against them. This letter will be found in the Collection, for I am resolved to suppress nothing of consequence on what side soever it may be. On the 25th of September, it being informed to the council

Collection, Number 13. Sept. 15. that Gardiner had written to some of that board, and had spoken to others, many things in prejudice and contempt of the king's visitation, and that he intended to refuse to set forth the homilies and injunctions, he was sent for to the council; where being examined, he said he thought they were contrary to the word of God, and that his conscience would not suffer him to observe them. He excepted to one of the homilies that it did exclude charity from justifying men, as well as faith. This he said was contrary to the book set out in the late king's time, which was afterwards confirmed in parliament in the year 1542. He said further, that he could never see one place of Scripture nor any ancient doctor that favoured it. He also said Erasmus's paraphrase was bad enough in Latin, but much worse in English, for the translator had oft out of ignorance, and oft out of design, misrendered him palpably, and was one that neither understood Latin nor English well. He offered to go to Oxford to dispute about justification with any they should send him to, or to enter in con-

ference with any that would undertake his instruction in town. But this did not satisfy the council. So they pressed him to declare what he intended to do when the visitors should be with him. He said, he did not know; he should further study these points, for it would be three weeks before they could be with him; and he was sure he would say no worse than that he should obey them as far as could consist with God's law and the king's. The council urged him to promise that he would without any limitation set forth the homilies and the injunctions; which he refusing to do, was sent to the Fleet. Some days after that, Cranmer went to see the dean of St. Paul's, having the bishops of Lincoln and Rochester with Dr. Cox and some others with him. He sent for Gardiner thither, and entered into discourse with him about that passage in the homily, excluding charity out of our justification, and urged those places of St. Paul, "that we are justified by faith without the works of the law:" he said his design in that passage was only to draw men from trusting in anything they did, and to teach them to trust only to Christ. But Gardiner had a very different notion of justification. For, as he said, infants were justified by baptism, and penitents by the sacrament of penance; and that the conditions of the justifying of those of age were charity as well as faith, as the three estates make a law all joined together; for by this simile he set it out in the report he writ of that discourse to the lord protector, reckoning the king one of the three estates (a way of speech very strange, especially in a bishop and a lawyer). For Erasmus it was said, that though there were faults, in his paraphrase, as no book besides the Scriptures is without faults, yet it was the best for that use they could find: and they did choose rather to set out what so learned a man had written, than to make a new one which might give occasion to more objections; and he was the most indifferent writer they knew. Afterwards Cranmer, knowing what was likely to work most on him, let fall some words (as Gardiner writ to the protector) of bringing him into the privy council, if he would concur in what they were carrying on; but that not having its ordinary effect on him, he was carried back to the Fleet.

There were also many complaints brought by some clergymen, of such as had used them ill for their obeying the king's injunctions, and for removing images. Many were upon their submission sent away with a severe rebuke; others that offended more heinously were put in the Fleet for some time, and afterwards giving bond for their good behaviour were discharged. But upon the protector's return, the bishop of Winchester writ him a long letter in his own vindication. He complained of the visitors proceeding in his absence in so great a matter. He said the injunctions were contrary to themselves, for they appointed the Homilies to be read, and Erasmus's Paraphrase to be put in all churches: so he selected many passages out of these, that were contrary to one another. He also gathered many things out of Erasmus's Paraphrase that were contrary to the power of princes, and several other censurable things in that work, which Erasmus wrote when he was young, being of a far different strain from what he writ when he grew older, and better acquainted with the world. But he concluded his letter with a discourse of the extent of king and council's Collection, power, which is all I transcribed of it, being very long, and full of things of no Number 14. great consequence. He questions how far the king could command against common or statute law; of which himself had many occasions to be well informed. "Cardinal Wolsey had obtained his legatine power at the king's desire; but notwithstanding that, he was brought into a præmunire: and the lawyers upon that argument cited many precedents of judges that were fined when they transgressed the laws, though commanded by warrants from the king; and earl Typteft, who was chancellor, lost his head for acting upon the king's warrant against law. In the late king's time the judges would not set fines on the breakers of the king's proclamations, when they were contrary to law, till the act concerning them was passed, about which there were many hot words when it was debated. He mentions a discourse that passed between him and the lord Audley in the parliament concerning the king's supremacy. Audley bid him look at the act of supremacy, and he would see the king's doings were restrained to spiritual jurisdiction: and by another act no spiritual law could take place against the common law or an act of parliament: otherwise the bishops would strike in with the king, and by means of the supremacy would order the

law as they pleased : but we will provide, said he, that the præmunire shall never go off of your backs. In some late cases he heard the judges declare what the king might do against an act of parliament, and what danger they were in that meddled in such matters. These things being so fresh in his memory, he thought he might write what he did to the lords of council." But by this it appears, that no sort of men is so much for the king's prerogative, but when it becomes in any instance uneasy to them, they will shelter themselves under the law. He continued afterwards by many letters to the protector to complain of his ill usage : " that he had been then seven weeks in the Fleet without servants, a chaplain, or a physician : that though he had his writ of summons, he was not suffered to come to the parliament, which might be a ground afterwards of questioning their proceedings : he advised the protector not to make himself a party in these matters, and used all the insinuations of decent flattery that he could invent, with many sharp reflections on Cranmer, and stood much on the force of laws, that they could not be repealed by the king's will. Concerning which he mentions a passage that fell out between Cromwell and himself before the late king. Cromwell said, that the king might make or repeal laws as the Roman emperors did, and asked his opinion about it, whether the king's will was not a law? To which he answered facetiously, that he thought it was much better for the king to make the law his will, than to make his will a law." But notwithstanding all his letters, (which are printed in the second volume of Acts and Monum. edit. 1641,) yet he continued a prisoner till the parliament was over, and then by the act of pardon he was set at liberty. This was much censured as an invasion of liberty ; and it was said those at court durst not suffer him to come to the house, lest he had confounded them in all they did. And the explaining justification with so much nicety in homilies that were to be read to the people, was thought a needless subtlety. But the former abuses of trusting to the acts of charity that men did, by which they fancied they bought heaven, made Cranmer judge it necessary to express the matter so nicely ; though the expounding those places of St. Paul was, as many thought, rather according to the strain of the Germans, than to the meaning of those epistles. And upon the whole matter, they knew Gardiner's haughty temper, and that it was necessary to mortify him a little, though the pretence on which they did it seemed too slight for such severities. But it is ordinary, when a thing is once resolved on, to make use of the first occasion that offers for effecting it. The party that opposed the Reformation, finding these attempts so unsuccessful,

The Lady
Mary dissatis-
fied with the
Reformation.

engaged the lady Mary to appear for them. She therefore wrote to the protector, that she thought all changes of religion till the king came to be of age were very much contrary to the respect they owed the memory of her father, if they went about to shake what he had settled ; and against their duty

The Protector
writ to her.
Collection,
Number 15.

to their young master, to hazard the peace of his kingdom, and engage his authority in such points before he was capable of judging them. I gather this to have been the substance of her letter, from the answer which the protector wrote, which is in the Collection. In it he wrote, " That he believed her letter flowed not immediately from herself, but from the instigation of some malicious persons. He protests they had no other design, but the glory of God, and the honour and safety of the king ; and that what they had done was so well considered, that all good subjects ought rather to rejoice at it than find fault with it. And whereas she had said, that her father had brought religion to a godly order and quietness, to which both spirituality and temporality did without compulsion give their assent ; he remembers her what opposition the stiff-necked papists gave him, and what rebellions they raised against him ; which he wonders how she came so soon to forget : adding, that death had prevented him before he had finished those godly orders which he had designed ; and that no kind of religion was perfected at his death, but all was left so uncertain, that it must inevitably bring on great disorders, if God did not help them ; and that himself and many others could witness what regret their late master had, when he saw he must die before he had finished what he intended. He wondered that she, who had been well-bred, and was learned, should esteem true religion, and the knowledge of the Scriptures, newfangledness, or fantasy. He desired she would turn the leaf, and look on the other side, and would with an humble spirit, and by the assistance of the grace of God, consider the matter better."

Thus things went on till the parliament met, which was summoned to meet the 4th of November. The day before it met, the protector gave too public an instance how much his prosperous success had lifted him up. For by a patent under the great seal, he was warranted to sit in parliament on the right hand of the throne under the cloth of state *; and was to have all the honours and privileges that at any time any of the uncles of the kings of England, whether by the father's or mother's side, had enjoyed; with a *non-obstante* to the statute of precedence. The lord Rich had been made lord chancellor on the 24th of October†; but whether the protector, or he, opened the parliament by any speech, does not appear from the journal of the lords' house.‡

On the 10th of November, a bill was brought in for the repealing several statutes. It was read the second time on the 12th, and the third time on the 16th day. On the 19th some privisoers were added to it, and it was sent down to the commons, who sent it up the 24th of December, to which the royal assent was given. The commons had formed a new bill for repealing these statutes, which upon some conferences they were willing to let fall; only some privisoers were added to the old one; upon which the bishops of London, Durham, Ely, Hereford, and Chichester, dissented. The preamble of it sets forth, "That nothing made a government happier than when the prince governed with much clemency, and the subjects obeyed out of love. Yet the late king and some of his progenitors, being provoked by the unruliness of some of their people, had made severe laws; but they judging it necessary now to recommend the king's government to the affections of the people, repealed all laws that made anything to be treason but what was in the act of 25th Edw. III. as also two of the statutes about Lollardies, together with the act of the Six Articles, and the other acts that followed in explanation of that. All acts in king Henry VIII.'s time declaring anything to be felony that was not so declared before, were also repealed, together with the acts that made the king's proclamations of equal authority with acts of parliament." It was also enacted, "that all who denied the king's supremacy, or asserted the pope's, in words, should for the first offence forfeit their goods and chattels, and suffer imprisonment during pleasure; for the second offence, should incur the pain of præmunire; and for the third offence, be attainted of treason. But if any did in writing, printing, or by any overt act or deed, endeavour to deprive the king of his estate, or titles, particularly of his supremacy; or to confer them on any other, after the 1st of March next, he was to be adjudged guilty of high treason: and if any of the heirs of the crown should usurp upon another, or did endeavour to break the succession of the crown, it was declared high treason, in them, their aiders and abettors. And all were to enjoy the benefit of clergy, and the privilege of sanctuary, as they had it before king Henry VIII.'s reign; excepting only such as were guilty of murder, poisoning, burglary, robbing on the highway, the stealing of cattle, or stealing out of churches or chapels. Poisoners were to suffer as other murderers. None were to be accused of words, but within a month after they were spoken: and those who called the French king by the title of king of France, were not to be esteemed guilty of the pains of translating the king's authority, or titles, on any other."

This act was occasioned by a speech that archbishop Cranmer had made in convocation, in which he exhorted the clergy to give themselves much to the study of the Scripture, and to consider seriously what things were in the church that needed reformation, that so they might throw out all the popish trash that was not yet cast out. Upon this some intimated to him, that as long as the Six Articles stood in force, it was not safe for them to deliver their opinions. This he reported to the council, upon which they ordered this act of repeal. By it the subjects were delivered from many fears they were under, and had good hopes of a mild government, when instead of procuring new severe laws, the old ones were let fall. The council did also free the nation of the jealousies they might have of them by such an abridgment of their own power. But others

* Cloth of state not mentioned.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

† "Rich. Rich. Miles Dominus Rich. constitutus Cancellarius Angliæ 30 Nov. Pat. 1. Edw. 6. P. 3. M. 14." DUGDALE ORIG. JURID.

‡ The lord Rich made the speech mentioned, though not inserted in the Lords' Journal.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

judged it had been more for the interest of the government to have kept up these laws still in force, but to have restrained the execution of them. This repeal drew on another, which was sent from the commons on the 20th of December, and was agreed to by the lords on the 21st. It was of an act in the 28th year of the last king, by which all laws made while his son was under twenty-four years of age might be by his letters patent, after he attained that age, annulled as if they had never been : which they altered thus, that the king after that age, might by his letters patent void any act of parliament for the future ; but could not so void it from the beginning, as to annul all things done upon it between the making and annulling of it, which were still to be lawful deeds.

The next bill of a public nature was concerning the sacrament ; which was brought in, and read the first time on the 12th of November, the second time on the 15th, and was twice read on the 17th : and on the 24th a bill was brought in for the communion to be received in both kinds ; on the 3rd of December it was read the second time, and given to the protector ; on the 5th read again, and given to two judges ; on the 7th it was read again, and joined to the other bill about the sacrament. And on the 10th, the whole bill was agreed to by all the peers, except the bishops of London, Hereford, Norwich, Worcester, and Chichester, and sent down to the commons. On the 17th a proviso was sent after it, but was rejected by the commons, since the lords had not agreed to it. On the 20th, it was sent up, agreed to, and had afterwards the royal assent. By it, first, “ the value of the holy sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, and in the Scripture the supper and table of the Lord, was set forth, together with its first institution ; but it having been of late marvellously abused, some had been thereby brought to a contempt of it, which they had expressed in sermons, discourses, and songs (in words not fit to be repeated) ; therefore whosoever should so offend after the 1st of May next was to suffer fine and imprisonment at the king’s pleasure ; and the justices of the peace were to take information, and make presentments of persons so offending within three months after the offences so committed, allowing them witnesses for their own purgation. And it being more agreeable to Christ’s first institution, and the practice of the church for five hundred years after Christ, that the sacrament should be given in both the kinds of bread and wine, rather than in one kind only ;” therefore it was enacted, “ that it should be commonly given in both kinds, except necessity did otherwise require it. And it being also more agreeable to the first institution, and the primitive practice, that the people should receive with the priest, than that the priest should receive it alone ; therefore the day before every sacrament, an exhortation was to be made to the people to prepare themselves for it, in which the benefits and danger of worthy and unworthy receiving were to be expressed, and the priests were not without a lawful cause to deny it to any who humbly asked it.”

This was an act of great consequence, since it reformed two abuses that had crept into the church. The one was the denying the cup to the laity, the other was the priests communicating alone. In the first institution it is plain, that as Christ bade all drink of the cup, and his disciples all drank of it, so St. Paul directed every one to “ examine himself, that he might eat of that bread and drink of that cup.” From thence the church for many ages continued this practice : and the superstition of some who received only in one kind was severely censured, and such were appointed either to receive the whole sacrament or to abstain wholly. It continued thus till the belief of the corporal presence of Christ was set up ; and then the keeping and carrying about the cup in processions not being so easily done, some began to lay it aside. For a great while the bread was given dipped in the cup, to represent a bleeding Christ, as it is in the Greek church to this day. In other places the laity had the cup given them, but they were to suck it through pipes that nothing of it should fall to the ground. But since they believed that Christ was in every crumb of bread, it was thought needless to give the sacrament in both kinds : so in the council of Constance the cup was ordered to be denied the laity, though they acknowledged it to have been instituted and practised otherwise. To this the Bohemians would never submit ; though to compel them to it much blood was shed in this quarrel. And now in the Reformation this was everywhere one of the first things with which the people were possessed, the opposition of the Roman church herein to the institution of Christ being so manifest.

Act about
the Commu-
nion.

Communion
appointed in
both kinds.

At first this sacrament was also understood to be a communion of the body and blood of Christ, of which many were to be partakers: while the fervour of devotion lasted, it was thought a scandalous and censurable thing if any had come unto the Christian assemblies, and had not staid to receive these holy mysteries; and the denying to give any one the sacrament was accounted a very great punishment. So sensible were the Christians of their ill condition when they were hindered to participate of it. But afterwards the former devotion slackening, the good bishops in the fourth and fifth centuries complained oft of it, that so few came to receive: yet the custom being to make oblations before the sacrament, out of which the clergy had been maintained during the poverty of the church, the priests had a great mind to keep up the constant use of these oblations; and so persuaded the laity to continue them, and to come to the sacrament, though they did not receive it: and in process of time they were made to believe that the priest received in behalf of the whole people. And whereas this sacrament was the commemoration of Christ's sacrifice on the cross, and so by a phrase of speech was called a sacrifice, they came afterwards to fancy that the priest's consecrating and consuming the sacrament was an action of itself expiatory, and that both for the dead and the living. And there rose an infinite number of several sorts of masses: some were for commemorating the saints, and those were called the masses of such saints; others for a particular blessing, for rain, health, &c., and indeed for all the accidents of human life, where the addition or variation of a collect made the difference: so that all that trade of massing was now removed. An intimation was also made of exhortations to be read in it, which they intended next to set about. These abuses in the mass gave great advantages to those who intended to change it into a communion. But many, instead of managing them prudently, made unseemly jests about them, and were carried by a lightness of temper to make songs and plays of the mass: for now the press went quick and many books were printed this year about matters of religion; the greatest number of them being concerning the mass, which were not written in so decent and grave a style as the matter required. Against this act only five bishops protested. Many of that order were absent from the parliament, so the opposition made to it was not considerable.

The next bill brought into the house of lords, was concerning the admission of bishops to their sees by the king's letters patent; which being read, was committed to the archbishop of Canterbury's care on the 5th of November, and was read a second time on the 10th, and committed to some of the judges, and was read the third time on the 28th of November, and sent down to the commons on the 5th of December. There was also another bill brought in, concerning the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the bishops' courts, on the 17th of November, and passed, and sent down on the 13th of December. But both these bills were put in one, and sent up by the commons on the 20th of that month, and assented to by the king. By this act it was set forth, "that the way of choosing bishops by *congé d'élire* was tedious and expensive, that there was only a shadow of election in it, and that therefore bishops should thereafter be made by the king's letters patent, upon which they were to be consecrated: and whereas the bishops did exercise their authority, and carry on processes, in their own names, as they were wont to do in the time of popery; and since all jurisdiction, both spiritual and temporal, was derived from the king; that therefore their courts and all processes should be from henceforth carried on in the king's name, and be sealed by the king's seal, as it was in the other courts of common-law, after the 1st of July next; excepting only the archbishop of Canterbury's courts*, and all collations, presentations, or letters of orders, which were to pass under the bishops' proper seals as formerly." Upon this act great advantages were taken to disparage the Reformation, as subjecting the bishops wholly to the pleasure of the court.

At first, bishops were chosen and ordained by the other bishops in the countries where they lived. The apostles, by that spirit of discerning, which was one of the extraordinary gifts they were endued with, did ordain the first fruits of their labours, and never left the election of pastors to the discretion of the people.

The ancient
ways of elect-
ing Bishops.

* The archbishop might only use his own name and seal for faculties and dispensations, being in all other cases as much restrained as other bishops.—GRANGER'S CORRECT.

Indeed, when they were to ordain deacons, who were to be trusted with the distribution of the public alms, they appointed such as the people made choice of; but when St. Paul gave directions to Timothy and Titus about the choice of pastors, all that depended on the people by them was that they should be blameless and of good report. But afterwards, the poverty of the church being such, that churchmen lived only by the free bounty of the people, it was necessary to consider them much; so that in many places the choice began among the people; and in all places it was done by their approbation and good-liking. But great disorders followed upon this as soon as, by the emperors turning Christians, the wealth of church benefices made the pastoral charge more desirable; and the vast numbers of those who turned Christians with the tide, brought in great multitudes to have their votes in these elections. The inconvenience of this was felt early in Phrygia, where the council of Laodicea made a canon against these popular elections. Yet in other parts of Asia, and at Rome, there were great and often contests about it; in some of these many men were killed. In many places the inferior clergy chose their bishops; but in most places the bishops of the province made the choice, yet so as to obtain the consent of the clergy and people. The emperors by their laws made it necessary that it should be confirmed by the metropolitans; they reserved the elections of the great sees to themselves, or at least the confirmation of them. Thus it continued till Charles the Great's time; but then the nature of church employments came to be much altered; for though the church had predial lands with the other rights that belonged to them by the Roman law, yet he first gave bishops and abbots great territories, with some branches of royal jurisdiction in them, who held these lands of him, according to the feudal laws. This, as it carried churchmen off from the humility and abstraction from the world which became their function, so it subjected them much to the humours and interests of those princes on whom they had their dependence. The popes, who had made themselves heads of the hierarchy, could not but be glad to see churchmen grow rich and powerful in the world; but they were not so well pleased to see them made so much the more dependent on their princes; and no doubt by some of those princes that were thus become patrons of churches, the bishoprics were either given for money, or charged with reserved pensions. Upon this the popes filled the world with the complaints of simony, and of enslaving churchmen to court interests; and so would not suffer them to accept of investitures from their princes, but set up for free elections, as they called them, which they said were to be confirmed by the see apostolic. So the canons secular or regular in cathedral churches were to choose the bishops, and their election was to be confirmed at Rome; yet princes in most places got some hold of those elections, so that still they went as they had a mind they should; which was oft complained of as a great slavery on the church, and would have been more universally condemned if the world had not been convinced that the matter would not be much the better, if there should have been set up either the popular or synodical elections, in which faction was like to sway all. King Henry had continued the old way of the elections by the clergy, but so as that it seemed to be little more than a mockery; but now it was thought a more ingenuous way of proceeding, to have the thing done directly by the king, rather than under the thin covert of an involuntary election.

For the other branch about ecclesiastical courts, the causes before them concerning wills and marriages being matters of a mixed nature, and which only belong to these by the laws of the land, and being no parts of the sacred functions, it was thought no invasion of the sacred offices to have these tried in the king's name. But the collation of benefices, and giving of orders, which are the chief parts of the episcopal function, were to be performed still by the bishops in their own names. Only excommunication, by a fatal neglect, continued to be the punishment for contempts of these courts; which belonging only to the spiritual cognisance, ought to have been reserved for the bishop with the assistance of his clergy. But the canonists had so confounded all the ancient rules about the government of the church, that the reformers being called away by considerations that were more obvious and pressing, there was not that care taken in this that the thing required. And these errors or oversights in the first concoction have by a continuance grown since into so formed a strength, that it is easier to see what is amiss, than to know how to rectify it.

On the 29th of November the bill against vagabonds was brought in. By this it was enacted, "That all that should anywhere loiter without work, or without offering themselves to work, three days together—or that should run away from work, and resolve to live idly, should be seized on; and whosoever should present them to a justice of peace, was to have them adjudged to be his slaves for two years; and they were to be marked with the Letter V. imprinted with a hot iron on their breast." A great many provisos follow concerning clerks so convict, which show that this act was chiefly levelled at the idle monks and friars, who went about the country, and would betake themselves to no employment; but finding the people apt to have compassion on them, they continued in that course of life. Which was of very ill consequence to the state. For these vagrants did everywhere alienate the people's minds from the government, and persuaded them that things would never be well settled, till they were again restored to their houses. Some of these came often to London, on pretence of suing for their pensions; but really to practise up and down through the country: to prevent this, there was a proclamation set out on the 18th of September, requiring them to stay in the places where they lived, and to send up a certificate where they were, to the Court of Augmentations; who should thereupon give order for their constant payment. Some thought this law against vagabonds was too severe, and contrary to that common liberty, of which the English nation has been always very sensible, both in their own, and their neighbours' particulars. Yet it could not be denied but extreme diseases required extreme remedies: and perhaps there is no punishment too severe for persons that are in health, and yet prefer a loitering course of life to an honest employment. There followed in the act many excellent rules for providing for the truly poor and indigent in the several places where they were born, and had their abode. Of which this can only be said, that as no nation has laid down more effectual rules for the supplying the poor than England, so that indeed none can be in absolute want; so the neglect of these laws is a just and great reproach on those who are charged with the execution of them, when such numbers of poor vagabonds swarm everywhere without the due restraints that the laws have appointed.

On the 6th of December, the bill for giving the chantries to the king was brought into the house of lords. It was read the second time on the 12th, the third time on the 13th, and the fourth time on the 14th of that month. It was much opposed, both by Cranmer on the one hand, and the popish bishops on the other. The late king's executors saw they could not pay his debts, nor satisfy themselves in their own pretensions formerly mentioned, out of the king's revenue; and so intended to have these to be divided among them. Cranmer opposed it long. For the clergy being much impoverished by the sale of the impropriated tithes, that ought in all reason to have returned into the church, but upon the dissolution of the abbeyes were all sold among the laity, he saw no probable way remaining for their supply, but to save these endowments till the king were of age; being confident he was so piously disposed, that they should easily persuade him to convert them all to the bettering of the condition of the poor clergy, that were now brought into extreme misery. And therefore he was for reforming and preserving these foundations, till the king's full age. The popish bishops liked these endowments so well, that, upon far different motives, they were for continuing them in the state they were in. But those who were to gain by it were so many, that the act passed; the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Hereford, Worcester, and Chichester, dissenting. So it being sent down to the house of commons, was there much opposed by some burgesses; who represented that the boroughs for which they served could not maintain their churches, and other public works of the guilds and fraternities, if the rents belonging to them were given to the king, for these were likewise in the act. This was chiefly done by the burgesses of Lynn and Coventry; who were so active, that the whole house was much set against that part of the bill for the guild-lands. Therefore those who managed that house for the court, took these off by an assurance that their guild-lands should be restored to them. And so they desisted from their opposition, and the bill passed on the promise given to them, which was afterwards made good by the protector. In the preamble of the act, it set forth, "that the great superstition of Christians, rising out of their ignorance of the true way of salvation by the death of Christ,

instead of which they had set up the vain conceits of purgatory, and masses satisfactory, was much supported by trentals and chantries. And since the converting these to godly uses, such as the endowing of schools, provisions for the poor, and the augmenting of places in the universities, could not be done by parliament, they therefore committed it to the care of the king. And then reciting the act made in the thirty-seventh year of his father's reign, they give the king all such chantries, colleges, and chapels as were not possessed by the late king, and all that had been in being any time these five years last past : as also all revenues belonging to any church, for anniversaries, obits, and lights ; together with all guild-lands, which any fraternity of men enjoyed, for obits, or the like : and appoint these to be converted to the maintenance of grammar-schools, or preachers, and for the increase of vicarages." After this followed the act giving the king the customs known by the name of tonnage and poundage ; besides some other laws, of matters that are not needful to be remembered in this history. Last of all came the king's general pardon ; with the common exceptions, among which, one was of those who were then prisoners in the Tower of London, in which the duke of Norfolk was included. So all business being ended, the parliament was prorogued from the 24th of December to the 20th of April following.

But having given this account of these bills that were passed, I shall not esteem it an unfruitful piece of history to show what other bills were designed. There were put into the house of lords, two bills that were stifled. The one was, for the use of the Scriptures, which came not to a second reading. The other was a bill for erecting a new court of chancery for ecclesiastical and civil causes, which was committed to some bishops and temporal lords, but never more mentioned. The commons sent up also some bills, which the lords did not agree to. One was about benefices with cure, and residence. It was committed, but never reported. Another was for the reformation of divers laws, and of the courts of common law ; and a third was, that married men might be priests, and have benefices. To this the commons did so readily agree, that it being put in on the 19th of December, and read then for the first time, it was read twice the next day, and sent up to the lords on the 21st. But being read there once, it was like to have raised such debates, that it being resolved to end the session before Christmas, the lords laid it aside.

But while the parliament was sitting, they were not idle in the convocation, though the popish party was yet so prevalent in both houses, that Cranmer had no hopes of doing anything till they were freed of the trouble which some of the great bishops gave them. The most important thing they did was the carrying up four petitions to the bishops, which will be found in the Collection. The first, that according to the statute made in the reign of the late king, there might be persons empowered for reforming the ecclesiastical laws. The second, that according to the ancient custom of the nation, and the tenor of the bishops' writ to the parliament, the inferior clergy might be admitted again to sit in the house of commons, or that no acts concerning matters of religion might pass without the sight and assent of the clergy. The third, that since divers prelates, and other divines, had been in the late king's time appointed to alter the service of the church, and had made some progress in it, that this might be brought to its full perfection. The fourth, that some consideration might be had for the maintenance of the clergy, the first year they came into their livings, in which they were charged with the first-fruits, to which they added a desire to know whether they might safely speak their minds about religion, without the danger of any law. For the first of these four petitions, an account of it shall be given hereafter. As to the second, it was a thing of great consequence, and deserves to be farther considered in this place.

Anciently, all the freemen of England, or at least those that held of the crown in chief, came to parliament ; and then the inferior clergy had writs as well as the superior, and the first of the three estates of the kingdom were the bishops, the other prelates, and the inferior clergy. But when the parliament was divided into two houses, then the clergy made likewise a body of their own, and sate in convocation, which was the third estate ; but the bishops having a double capacity, the one of ecclesiastical prelature, the other of being the king's barons, they

had a right to sit with the lords as a part of their estate, as well as in the convocation. And though by parity of reason it might seem that the rest of the clergy, being freeholders as well as clerks, had an equal right to choose, or be chosen, into the house of commons; yet whether they were ever in possession of it, or whether, according to the clause *premonentes* in the bishops' writ, they were ever a part of the house of commons, is a just doubt. For besides this assertion in the petition that was mentioned, and a more large one in the second Number 17. petition, which they presented to the same purpose, which is likewise in the

Collection, I have never met with any good reason to satisfy me in it. There was a general tradition in queen Elizabeth's reign, that the inferior clergy departed from their right of being in the house of commons, when they were all brought in the *præmunire* upon Cardinal Wolsey's legatine power, and made their submission to the king. But that is not credible: for as there is no footstep of it, which in a time of so much writing and printing must have remained, if so great a change had been then made; so it cannot be thought, that those who made this address but seventeen years after that submission, (many being alive in this, who were of that convocation, Polidore Virgil in particular, a curious observer since he was maintained here to write the "History of England,") none of them should have remembered a thing that was so fresh, but have appealed to writs and ancient practices. But though this design of bringing the inferior clergy into the house of commons did not take at this time, yet it was again set on foot, in the end of queen Elizabeth's reign, and reasons were offered to persuade her to set it forward; which not being then successful, the same reasons were again offered to king James, to induce him to endeavour it. The paper that discovers this was communicated to me by Dr. Borlace, the worthy author of the "History of the Irish Rebellion." It is corrected in many places by the hand of bishop Ravis, then bishop of London, a man of great worth. This, for the affinity of the matter, and the curiosity of the

Number 18. thing, I have put into the Collection, with a large marginal note, as it was designed to be transcribed for king James. But whether this matter was ever much considered, or lightly laid aside, as a thing unfit and unpracticable, does not appear; certain it is that it came to nothing. Upon the whole matter, it is not certain what was the

Coke, 4, Inst.
3, 4.

power or right of these proctors of the clergy in former times: some are of opinion, that they were only assistants to the bishops, but had no voice in either house of parliament. This is much confirmed by an act passed in the parliament of Ireland, in the twenty-eighth year of the former reign, which sets forth in the preamble, "That though the proctors of the clergy were always summoned to parliament, yet they were no part of it; nor had they any right to vote in it, but were only assistants in case matters of controversy or learning came before them, as the convocation was in England, which had been determined by the judges of England after much inquiry made about it. But the proctors were then pretending to so high an authority, that nothing could pass without their consents; and it was presumed they were set on to it by the bishops, whose chaplains they were for the most part. Therefore they were by that act declared to have no right to vote."

From this some infer they were no other in England, and that they were only the bishops' assistants and council. But as the clause *premonentes* in the writ seems to make them a part of the parliament, so these petitions suppose that they sate in the house of commons anciently, where it cannot be imagined they could sit if they came only to be assistants to the bishops, for then they must have sate in the house of lords rather; as the judges, the masters of chancery, and the king's counsel do. Nor is it reasonable to think they had no voice: for then their sitting in parliament had been so insignificant a thing, that it is not likely they would have used such endeavours to be restored to it, since their coming to parliament upon such an account must have been only a charge to them.

There is against this opinion an objection of great force, from the acts passed in the 21st year of Richard II.'s reign. In the second act of that parliament it is said, "that it was first prayed by the commons, and that the lords spiritual and the proctors of the clergy did assent to it, upon which the king, by the assent of all the lords and commons, did enact it." The 12th act of that parliament was a repeal of the whole parliament that was held in the 11th year of that reign; and concerning it, it is expressed, "That the lords spiritual and temporal, the proctors of the clergy, and the commons, being severally examined, did all

agree to it." From hence it appears, that these proctors were then not only a part of the parliament, but were a distinct body of men, that did severally from all the rest deliver their opinions. It may seem strange, that if they were then considered as a part of either house of parliament, this should be the only time in which they should be mentioned as bearing their share in the legislative power. In a matter that is so perplexed and dark, I shall presume to offer a conjecture which will not appear perhaps improbable. In the 98th page of the former Part, I gave the reasons that made me think the lower house of convocation consisted at first only of the proctors of the clergy. So that by the proctors of the clergy, both in the statute of Ireland, and in those made by Richard II., is perhaps to be understood the lower house of convocation; and it is not unreasonable to think, that upon so great an occasion as the annulling a whole parliament, to make it pass the better, in an age in which the people paid so blind a submission to the clergy, the concurrence of the whole representative of the church might have been thought necessary. It is generally believed, that the whole parliament sate together in one house before Edward III.'s time, and then the inferior clergy were a part of that body without question. But when the lords and commons sate apart, the clergy likewise sate in two houses, and granted subsidies as well as the temporalty. It may pass for no unlikely conjecture that the clause *premonentes* was first put in the bishops' writ for the summoning of the lower house of convocation, consisting of these proctors; and afterwards, though there was a special writ for the convocation, yet this might at first have been continued in the bishops' writ by the neglect of a clerk, and from thence be still used. So that it seems to me most probable, that the proctors of the clergy were, both in England and Ireland, the lower house of convocation. Now, before the submission which the clergy made to king Henry, as the convocation gave the king great subsidies, so the whole business of religion lay within their sphere; but after the submission they were cut off from meddling with it, except as they were authorised by the king. So that having now so little power left them, it is no wonder they desired to be put in the state they had been in before the convocation was separated from the parliament; or at least that matters of religion should not be determined till they had been consulted, and had reported their opinions and reasons. The extreme of raising the ecclesiastical power too high in the times of popery, had now produced another of depressing it too much. For seldom is the counterpoise so justly balanced, that extremes are reduced to a well-tempered mediocrity.

For the third petition, it was resolved that many bishops and divines should be sent to Windsor, to labour in the matter of the church service. But that required so much consideration, that they could not enter on it during a session of parliament. And for the fourth, what answer was given to it doth not appear.

On the 29th of November, a declaration was sent down from the bishops concerning the sacraments being to be received in both kinds. To which Jo. Taylour, the prolocutor, and several others, set their hands; and being again brought before them, it was agreed to by all without a contradictory vote; sixty-four being present, among whom I find Polidore Virgil was one. And on the 17th of December the proposition concerning the marriage of the clergy was also sent to them, and subscribed, by thirty-five affirmatively, and by fourteen negatively; so it was ordered that a bill should be drawn concerning it. I shall not here digress to give an account of what was alleged for or against this, reserving that to its proper place, when the thing was finally settled.

And this is all the account I could recover of this convocation. I have chiefly gathered it from some notes, and other papers, of the then Dr. Parker (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury) which are carefully preserved with his other MSS. in Corpus Christi College Library, at Cambridge; to which library I had free access by the favour of the most learned master, Dr. Spencer, with the other worthy fellows of that house; and from thence I collected many remarkable things in this history.

The parliament being brought to so good a conclusion, the protector took out a new commission, in which all the addition that is made to that authority he formerly had, is, that in his absence he is empowered to substitute another, to whom he might delegate his power.

And thus this year ended in England; but as they were carrying on the Reformation here, it was declining apace in Germany. The duke of Saxe and the landgrave were this year to command their armies apart. The duke of Saxe kept within his own country, but having there unfortunately divided his forces, the emperor overtook him near the Alb at Mulberg; where the emperor's soldiers crossing the river, and pursuing him with great fury, after some resistance, in which he himself performed all that could be expected from so great a captain, was taken prisoner, and his country all possessed by Maurice, who was now to be invested with the electoral dignity. He bore his misfortunes with a greatness and equality of mind that is scarce to be paralleled in history. Neither could the insolence with which the emperor treated him, nor the fears of death to which he adjudged him, nor that tedious imprisonment which he suffered so long, ever shake or disorder a mind that was raised so far above the inconstancies of human affairs. And though he was forced to submit to the hardest conditions possible, of renouncing his dignity and dominions, some few places being only reserved for his family; yet no entreaties nor fears could ever bring him to yield anything in matters of religion. He made the Bible his chief companion and comfort in his sharp afflictions; which he bore so, as if he had been raised up to that end, to let the world see how much he was above it. It seemed unimitable; and therefore engaged Thuanus, with the other excellent writers of that age, to set it out with all the advantages that so unusual a temper of mind deserved. Yet had those writers lived in our age, and seen a great king, not overpowered by a superior prince, but by the meanest of his own people, and treated with equal degrees of malice and scorn, and at last put to death openly, with the pageantry of justice; and bearing all this with such invincible patience, heroical courage, and most christian submission to God, they had yet found a nobler subject for their eloquent pens; but he saved the world the labour of giving a just representation of his behaviour in his sufferings, having left his own portraiture drawn by himself in such lively and lasting colours.

The landgrave of Hesse saw he could not long withstand the emperor's army, now so lifted up with success; and therefore was willing to submit to him on the best terms that his sons-in-law, the elector of Brandenburg and Maurice of Saxe, could obtain for him. Which were very hard; only he was to enjoy his liberty, without any imprisonment, and to preserve his dominions. But the emperor's ministers dealt most unfaithfully with him in this: for in the German language there was but one letter's difference, and that only inverted, between perpetual imprisonment and any imprisonment, (*ewig* for *emig*,) so by this base artifice, he was, when he came and submitted to the emperor, detained a prisoner. He had not the duke of Saxe's temper, but was out of measure impatient, and did exclaim of his ill usage. but there was no remedy, for the emperor was now absolute. All the towns of Germany, Magdeburg and Bremen only excepted, submitted to him, and redeemed his favour by great sums of money, and many pieces of ordnance. And the Bohemians were also forced to implore his brother's mercy, who before he would receive them into his hands, got his revenue to be raised vastly. And now the empire was wholly at the emperor's mercy. Nothing could withstand him who had in one year turned out two electors. For Herman bishop of Cologne, as he was before condemned by the pope, so was also degraded from that dignity by the emperor; and Adolph, whom he had procured to be made his coadjutor, was declared elector. Many of his subjects and neighbour princes offered their service, if he would stand to his own defence; but he was very old, and of so meek a temper, that he would suffer no blood to be shed on his account; and therefore withdrew peaceably to a retirement in which he lived four years till his death. His brother that was bishop of Munster and dean of Bonn, who had gone along with him in his reformation, was also turned out; and Gropper was made dean, who was esteemed one of the learnedest and best of the clergy at this time. He is said to have expressed a generous contempt of the highest dignity the see of Rome could bestow on him, for he refused a cardinal's hat when it was offered him: yet in this matter he had not behaved himself as became so good a man, and so learned a divine. For he had consented to the changes had been made, and

The state of
Affairs in
Germany.

April 24.
Duke of
Saxe taken.

1546. Apr. 16.
Herman ex-
communicated
at Rome.

Nov. 4.
Herman re-
signed.

was in a correspondence with Martin Bucer, whom Herman brought to Cologne, (as will appear by an excellent letter of Bucer's to him, which will be found in the Number 19. Collection concerning that matter,) by which it is plain he went along with them from the beginning. But it seems he did it covertly and fearfully, and was afterwards drawn off, either by the love of the world, or the fears of the Cross; of which it appears Bucer had then some apprehensions, though he expressed them very modestly. Gropper's memory being in such high esteem, and this letter being found among Bucer's papers, I thought the publishing of it would not be unacceptable, though it be of a foreign matter.

Germany being thus under the power and dread of the emperor, a diet was summoned to Augsburg: where the chief church was taken from the protestants, and put into the cardinal of Augsburg's hands, to have the mass set up again in it, though the town was so much protestant that they could find none that would come to it, but some poor people who were hired. The emperor, among other propositions he put in to the diet, pressed this, that all differences in religion, which had so distracted Germany, might be removed. The ecclesiastical princes answered, that the only way to effect that, was to submit to the general council that was at Trent: those that were for the Augsburg Confession said, they could submit to no council where the pope presided, and where the bishops were sworn to obey him; but would submit to it, if that oath was dispensed with, and their divines admitted to defend their opinions, and all the decrees that had been made were again considered. In this difference of opinion, the emperor thought that if the whole matter should be left to his discretion, to which all should be bound to submit, he would then be able to determine it as he pleased. So he dealt privately with the electors palatine and Saxe; and as they published it afterwards, gave them secret assurances about the freedom of their religion, and that he only desired this to put him in a capacity of dealing on other terms with the pope. Upon which, they consented to a decree, referring the matter of religion wholly to his care. But the deputies from the cities, who looked on this as a giving up of their religion, could not be wrought to do it, without conditions, which they put into another writing, as explanatory of the submission: but the emperor took no notice of that, and only thanked them for their confidence in him, and so the decree was published. All this was in some sort necessary for the emperor, who was then on very ill terms with the

1547. Sept. pope about the business of Placentia. For the pope's natural son Petrus
10. Petrus Aloisius being killed by a conspiracy, the governor of Milan had seized on
Aloisius Placentia, which made the pope believe the emperor was accessory to it: for
killed, which the reader is referred to the Italian historians. The pope saw the
emperor in one summer delivered of a war, which he had hoped would have entangled him
his whole life; and though in decency he could not but seem to rejoice, and did so no doubt,
at the ruin of those whom he called heretics, yet he was not a little grieved to see the
emperor so much exalted.

At Trent the legates had been oft threatened and affronted by the emperor's ambassadors and bishops, who were much set on reforming abuses, and lessening the power of the see of Rome. So they had a mind to break up the council; but that would have been so scandalous a thing, and so resented by the emperor, that they resolved rather on a translation into some town of the pope's, to which it was not likely the imperialists would follow them, and so at least the council would be suspended, if not dissolved. For this remove, they laid hold on the first colour they could find. One dying of a malignant fever, it was given out and certified by physicians, that he died of the plague; so in all haste they translated the council to Bologna. The imperialists protested against it; but in vain, for thither they went. The emperor was hereby quite disappointed of his chief design, which was to force the Germans to submit to a council held in Germany: and therefore no plague appearing at Trent, he pressed the return of the council thither. But the pope said, it was the council's act, and not his; and that their honour was to be kept up: that therefore such as staid at Trent were to go first to Bologna, and acknowledge the council, and they should then consider what was to be done. So that now all the hope the Germans had, was, that this difference between the pope and emperor might give them some breathing; and time might

The proceed-
ings at Trent.

April 21.
The first
Session of
Bologna.

bring them out of these extremities into which they were then driven. Upon these disorders the foreign reformers, who generally made Germany their sanctuary, were now forced to seek it elsewhere. So Peter Martyr, in the end of November this year, was brought over to England, by the invitation which the archbishop of Canterbury sent him in the king's name. He was born in Florence, where he had been an Augustinian monk. He was learned in the Greek and the Hebrew, which drew on him the envy of the rest of his order, whose manners he inveighed oft against. So he left them, and went to Naples, where he gathered an assembly of those who loved to worship God more purely. This being made known, he was forced to leave that place, and went next to Lucca, where he lived in society with Tremellius and Zanchius. But being also in danger there, he went to Zurich with Bernardinus Ochinus, that had been one of the most celebrated preachers of Italy, and now forsook his former superstitions. From Zurich he went to Basle; and from thence by Martin Bucer's means he was brought to Strasburg; where Cranmer's letter found both him and Ochinus. The latter was made a canon of Canterbury, with a dispensation of residence; and by other letters patent forty marks were given yearly to him, and as much to Peter Martyr.

There had been this year some differences between the English and French, concerning the fortifications about Boulogne. The English were raising a great fort by the harbour there. This being signified to king Henry by Gaspar Coligny, afterwards the famous admiral of France, then governor of the neighbouring parts to Boulogne, it was complained of at the court of England. It was answered, that this was only to make the harbour more secure; and so the works were ordered to be vigorously carried on. But this could not satisfy the French, who plainly saw it was of another sort than to be intended only for the sea. The king of France came and viewed the country himself, and ordered Coligny to raise a fort on a high ground near it, which was called the Chastillon fort, and commanded both the English fort and the harbour. But the protector had no mind to give the French a colour for breaking with the English; so there was a truce and further cessation agreed on, in the end of September. These are all the considerable foreign transactions of this year, in which England was concerned; but there was a secret contrivance laid at home of a high nature, which, though it broke not out till the next year, yet the beginnings of it did now appear.

The protector's brother, Thomas Seymour, was brought to such a share in his fortunes, that he was made a baron, and lord-admiral. But this not satisfying his ambition, he endeavoured to have linked himself into a nearer relation with the crown, by marrying the king's sister, the lady Elizabeth. But finding he could not compass that, he made his addresses to the queen-dowager; who, enjoying now the honour and wealth the late king had left her, resolved to satisfy herself in her next choice; and entertained him a little too early, for they were married so soon after the king's death, that it was charged afterwards on the admiral, that if she had brought a child as soon as might have been after the marriage, it had given cause to doubt whether it had not been by the late king; which might have raised great disturbance afterwards. But being thus married to the queen, he concealed it for some time, till he procured a letter from the king, recommending him to her for a husband; upon which they declared their marriage, with which the protector was much offended. Being thus possessed of great wealth, and being husband to the queen-dowager, he studied to engage all that were about the king to be his friends: and he corrupted some of them by his presents, and forced one on Sir John Cheke. That which he designed was, that whereas in former times the infant kings of England had had governors of their persons distinct from the protectors of their realms; which trusts were divided between their uncles, it being judged too much to join both in one person, who was thereby too great, whereas a governor of the king's person might be a check on the protector; he would therefore himself be made governor of the king's person, alleging, that since he was the king's uncle as well as his brother, he ought to have a proportioned share with him in the government. About Easter this year he first set about this design, and corrupted some about the king who should bring him sometimes privately through the gallery to the queen's lodgings; and he desired they would let him know when

the king had occasion for money, and that they should not always trouble the treasury, for he would be ready to furnish him, and he thought a young knight might be taken with this. So it happened that the first time Latimer preached at court, the king sent to him to know what present he should make him: Seymour sent him 40*l.*, but said he thought 20*l.* enough to give Latimer, and the king might dispose of the rest as he pleased. Thus he gained ground with the king, whose sweet nature exposed him to be easily won by such artifices.

It is generally said, that all this difference between the brothers was begun by their wives, and that the protector's lady, being offended that the younger brother's wife had the precedence of her, which she thought belonged to herself, did thereupon raise and inflame the differences. But in all the letters that I have seen concerning this breach, I could never find any such thing once mentioned. Nor is it reasonable to imagine that the duchess of Somerset should be so foolish as to think that she ought to have the precedence of the queen-dowager.* Therefore I look upon this story as a mere fiction; though it is probable enough there might upon some other accounts have been some animosities between the two high-spirited ladies, which might have afterwards be thought to have occasioned their husbands' quarrel.

It is plain in the whole thread of this affair, that the protector was at first very easy to be reconciled to his brother, and was only assaulted by him; but bore the trouble he gave him with much patience for a great while, though in the end, seeing his factious temper was incurable, he laid off nature too much, when he consented to his execution. Yet all along till then, he had rather too much encouraged his brother to go on, by his readiness to be after every breach reconciled to him. When the protector was in Scotland, the admiral then began to act more avowedly, and was making a party for himself; of which Paget took notice, and charged him with it in plain terms. He asked him, why he would go about to reverse that, which himself and others had consented to under their hands? Their family was now so great, that nothing but their mutual quarrelling could do them any prejudice. But there would not be wanting officious men to inflame them, if they once divided among themselves; and the breaches among near friends commonly turn to the most irreconcilable quarrels. Yet all was ineffectual; for the admiral was resolved to go on, and either get himself advanced higher, or to perish in the attempt. It was the knowledge of this which forced the protector to return from Scotland so abruptly and disadvantageously, for the securing of his interest with the king, on whom his brother's artifices had made some impression. Whether there was any reconciliation made between them before the parliament met, is not certain. But during the session, the admiral got the king to write with his own hand a message to the house of commons, for the making of him the governor of his person; and he intended to have gone with it to the house, and had a party there, by whose means he was confident to have carried his business. He dealt also with many of the lords and councillors to assist him in it. When this was known, before he had gone with it to the house, some were sent to him in his brother's name, to see if they could prevail with him to proceed no further. He refused to hearken to them; and said, that if he were crossed in his attempt, he would make this the blackest parliament that ever was in England. Upon that, he was sent for by order from the council, but refused to come. Then they threatened him severely, and told him the king's writing was nothing in law, but that he who had procured it was punishable for doing an act of such a nature, to the disturbance of the government, and for engaging the young king in it. So they resolved to have sent him to the Tower, and to have turned him out of all his offices. But he submitted himself to the protector and council; and his brother and he seemed to be perfectly reconciled. Yet as the protector had reason to have a watchful eye over him, so it was too soon visible that he had not laid down, but only put off, his high projects till a fitter conjuncture. For he began the next Christmas to deal money again among the king's servants; and was on all occasions infusing into the king a dislike of everything that was done, and did often persuade him to

* She is acknowledged to have been an insolent woman, *infra* anno 1552, and to have had a great power over her husband; where it is assigned as the chief cause of

procuring an act of parliament for the disinheriting and excluding from his honours his children by his former wife.—*AXON. CORRECT.*

assume the government himself. But the sequel of this quarrel proved fatal to him, as shall be told in its proper place. And thus ended the year 1547.

On the 8th of January next year, Gardiner was brought before the council ; where it was told him, that his former offences being included in the king's general pardon, he was thereupon discharged : a grave admonition was given him to carry himself reverently and obediently, and he was desired to declare whether he would receive the injunctions and homilies, and the doctrine to be set forth from time to time by the king and clergy of the realm. He answered, he would conform himself as the other bishops did, and only excepted to the homily of justification, and desired four or five days to consider of it. What he did at the end of that time does not appear from the council-book, no farther mention being made of this matter ; for the clerks of council did not then enter everything with that exactness that is since used. He went home to his diocese, where there still appeared in his whole behaviour great malignity to Cranmer, and to all motions for reformation ; yet he gave such outward compliance, that it was not easy to find any advantage against him, especially now since the council's great power was so much abridged.

In the end of January the council made an order concerning the marquis of Northampton, which will oblige me to look back a little for the clear account of it. This lord, who was brother to the queen-dowager, had married Anne Bouchier, daughter to the earl of Essex, the last of that name. But she being convicted of adultery, he was divorced from her ; which according to the law of the ecclesiastical courts was only a separation from bed and board. Upon which divorce, it was proposed in king Henry's time to consider what might be done in favour of the innocent person, when the other was convicted of adultery. So in the beginning of king Edward's reign, on the 7th of May, a commission was granted to the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Durham and Rochester, (this was Holbeck, who was not then translated to Lincoln,) to Dr. Ridley, and six more, ten in all, of whom six were a quorum, to try whether the lady Anne was not by the word of God so lawfully divorced, that she was no more his wife, and whether thereupon he might not marry another wife. This being a new case, and of great importance, Cranmer resolved to examine it with his ordinary diligence, and searched into Ex MSS. D. the opinions of the fathers and doctors, so copiously, that his Collections about it stillingfleet. grew into a large book (the original whereof I have perused) ; the greatest part of it being either written, or marked, and interlined, with his own hand. This required a longer time than the marquis of Northampton could stay ; and therefore presuming on his great power, without waiting for judgment, he solemnly married Eliz. daughter to Brooke lord Cobham. On the 28th of January information was brought to the council of this, which gave great scandal, since his first marriage stood yet firm in law. So he being put to answer for himself, said, he thought that by the word of God he was discharged of his tie to his former wife ; and the making marriages indissoluble was but a part of the popish law, by which it was reckoned a sacrament ; and yet the popes, knowing that the world would not easily come under such a yoke, had by the help of the canonists invented such distinctions, that it was no uneasy thing to make a marriage void among them : and that the condition of this church was very hard, if upon adulteries, the innocent must either live with the guilty, or be exposed to temptations to the like sins, if a separation was only allowed, but the bond of the marriage continued undissolved. But since he had proceeded so far before the delegates had given sentence, it was ordered, that he and his new wife should be parted ; and that she should be put into his sister the queen-dowager's keeping, till the matter were tried, whether it was according to the word of God, or not ; and that then further order should be given in it. Upon this the delegates made haste, and gathered their arguments together, of which I shall give an abstract, both for the clearing of this matter (concerning which not many years ago there were great debates in parliament), and also to show the exactness of the proceedings in that time.

Christ condemned all marriages upon divorces, except in the case of adultery ; which seemed manifestly to allow them in that case. And though this is not mentioned by St. Mark and St. Luke, yet it is enough that St. Matthew has it. Christ also defined the state of marriage to be that in which "two are one flesh ;"

The Marquis
of Northampton
sues a
Divorce for
Adultery.

The Grounds
on which he
was suffered to
marry again.

so that when either of the two hath broken that union, by becoming one with another person, then the marriage is dissolved. And it is oft repeated in the gospel, that married persons have power over one another's bodies, and that they are to give due benevolence to each other; which is plainly contrary to this way of separation without dissolving the bond. St. Paul putting the case of an unbeliever departing from the partner in marriage, says, the believing party, whether brother or sister, is not under bondage in such a case; which seems a discharge of the bond in case of desertion: and certainly adultery is yet of a higher nature. But against this was alleged, on the other side, that our Saviour's allowing divorce in the case of adultery was only for the Jews, to whom it was spoken, to mitigate the cruelty of their law, by which the adulteress was to be put to death: and therefore he yielded divorce in that case, to mitigate the severity of the other law. But the apostle writing to the Gentile Christians at Rome and Corinth, said, the wife was tied by the law to the husband as long as he lived. And that other general rule, "Whom God has joined together let no man put asunder," seems against the dissolving the bond. To this it was answered, that it is against separating as well as dissolving: that the wife is tied to her husband; but if he ceaseth to be her husband, that tie is at an end: that our Saviour left the wife at liberty to divorce her husband for adultery, though the law of Moses had only provided, that the adulterous wife and he who defiled her were to die, but the husband who committed adultery was not so punishable; therefore our Saviour had by that provision declared the marriage to be clearly dissolved by adultery.

From hence they went to examine the authorities of the Fathers. Hermes was for putting away the adulteress, but so as to receive her again upon repentance. Origen thought the wife could not marry again after divorce. Tertullian allowed divorce, and thought it dissolved the marriage as much as death did. Epiphanius did also allow it. And Ambrose in one place allows the husband to marry after divorce for adultery, though he condemns it always in the wife. Basil allowed it on either side upon adultery. Jerome, who condemns the wife's marrying, though her husband were guilty of adultery; and who disliked the husband's marrying again, though he allowed him to divorce upon adultery, or the suspicion of it; yet when his friend Fabiola had married after a divorce, he excuses it, saying it was better for her to marry than to burn. Chromatius allowed of second marriages after divorce. And so did Chrysostome, though he condemned them in women so divorcing. St. Austin was sometimes for a divorce, but against marriage upon it; yet in his "Retractions," he writ doubtfully of his former opinion. In the civil law, the Christian emperors allowed the power of divorcing both to husband and wife, with the right of marrying afterwards. Nor did they restrain the grounds of divorce only to adultery, but permitted it in many other cases; as if the wife were guilty of treason, had treated for another husband, had procured an abortion, had been whole nights abroad, or had gone to see the public plays without leave from her husband; besides many other particulars. Against which, none of the Fathers had writ, nor endeavoured to get them repealed. All these laws were confirmed by Justinian, when he gathered the laws into a body, and added to it where they were defective. In the canon law, it is provided, that he whose wife is defiled must not be denied lawful marriage. Pope Gregory denied a second marriage to the guilty person, but allowed it to the innocent after divorce. Pope Zachary allowed the wife of an incestuous adulterer to be married, if she could not contain. In the canon law, the council of Tribury is cited, for allowing the like privilege to the husbands. By the council of Elvira, a man that finds that his wife intends to kill him may put her away and marry another; but she must never marry. The council of Arles recommended it to husbands whose wives were found in adultery, not to marry during their lives. And that at Elvira denied the sacrament to a wife who left an adulterous husband and married another; but she might have the communion when her first husband died: so the second marriage was accounted good, but only indecent. But the council of Milevi forbids both man and wife to marry after divorce. All these were collected by Cranmer, with several very important reflections on most of the quotations out of the Fathers. With these, there is another paper, given in by one who was against the dissolving the bond, in which there are many quotations brought both from the canon law and the Fathers for the contrary opinion. But most of the Fathers there cited are

of the latter ages; in which the state of celibate had been so exalted by the monks, that, in all doubtful cases, they were resolved still to prefer that opinion which denied liberty for further marriages. In conclusion, this whole question was divided into eight queries, which were put to some learned men, (who these were does not appear,) and they returned their answer in favour of the second marriage, which will be found in the Collection.

Number 20. In the end, sentence was given, allowing the second marriage in that case, and by consequence confirming the marquis of Northampton's marriage to his second wife, who upon that was suffered to cohabit with him. Yet four years after, he was advised to have a special act of parliament for confirming this sentence; of which mention shall be made in its due time and place.

The next thing that came under consideration, was the great contradiction that was in most of the sermons over England. Some were very earnest to justify and maintain all the rites that yet remained; and others were no less hot to have them laid aside. So that, in London especially, the people were wonderfully distracted by this variety among their teachers. The ceremonies of Candlemas, and their observance of Lent, with the rites used on Palm-Sunday, Good-Friday, and Easter, were now approaching. Those that were against them, condemned them as superstitious additions to the worship of God, invented in the dark ages, when an outward pageantry had been the chief thing that was looked after. But others set out the good use that might be made of these things, and taught that, till they were abolished by the king's authority, they ought to be still observed. In a visitation that had been made, (when I cannot learn, only it seems to have been about the end of king's Henry's reign,) it had been declared that fasting in Lent was only a positive law. Several directions were also given about the use of the ceremonies, and some hints as if they were not to be long continued: and all wakes and Plough-Mondays* were suppressed, since they drew great assemblies of people together, which ended in drinking and quarrelling. These I have also inserted in the Collection,

Number 21. having had a copy of the articles left at the visitation of the deanery of Doncaster communicated to me by the favour of a most learned physician and curious antiquary, Dr. Nathaniel Johnston, who sent me this with several other papers out of his generous zeal for contributing everything in his power to the perfecting of this work.

The country people generally loved all these shows, processions, and assemblies, as things of diversion; and judged it a dull business, only to come to church for divine worship, and the hearing of sermons: therefore they were much delighted with the gaiety and cheerfulness of those rites. But others, observing that they kept up all these things, just as the heathens did their plays and festivities for their gods, judged them contrary to the gravity and simplicity of the Christian religion, and therefore were earnest to have them removed. This was so effectually represented to the council by Cranmer, that an order was sent to him about it. He sent it to Bonner, who, being dean of the college of bishops in the province of Canterbury, was to transmit all such orders over the whole province. By it, the carrying of candles on Candlemas-day, of ashes on Ash-Wednesday, and palms on Palm-Sunday, were forbidden to be used any longer. And this was signified by Bonner to Thirleby bishop of Winchester, on the 28th of June, as appears by the register.

After this, on the 6th of February, a proclamation was issued out against such as should on the other hand rashly innovate, or persuade the people from the old accustomed rites, under the pains of imprisonment, and other punishments at the king's pleasure; excepting only the formerly mentioned rites; to which are added, the creeping to the cross on Good-Friday, taking holy bread and water, and any other that should be afterwards at any time certified by the archbishop of Canterbury to the other bishops in the king's name to be laid aside. And for preventing the mischiefs occasioned by rash preachers, none were to preach without licence from the

* Anciently light, called the *Plough-light*, was maintained by old and young persons who were husbandmen before images in some churches; and on Plough Monday (the first Monday after Twelfth Day) they had a feast, and went about with a plough and dancers to get money to

support the Plough-light. The Reformation put out these lights; but the practice of going about with the plough begging for money remains, and the "money for light" increases the income of the village ale-house.—HONE'S EVERY-DAY BOOK.

king or his visitors, the archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of the diocese where they lived; excepting only incumbents preaching in their own parishes. Those who preached otherwise were to be imprisoned till order were given for their punishment: and the inferior magistrates were required to see to the execution of these orders. This proclamation, which is in the Collection, was necessary for giving authority to the archbishop of Canterbury's letters, which were censured as a great presumption for him without any public order to appoint changes in sacred rites. Some observed, that the council went on making proclamations with arbitrary punishments, though the act was repealed that had formerly given so great authority to them. To this it was answered, that the king by his supremacy might still in matters of religion make new orders, and add punishments upon the transgressors; yet this was much questioned, though universally submitted to.

On the 11th of February there was a letter sent from the council to the archbishop for a more considerable change. There were everywhere great heats about the removing of images which had been abused to superstition; some affirming, and others denying, that their images had been so abused. There were in the churches some images of so strange a nature, that it could not be denied that they had been abused. Such was the image of the Blessed Trinity, which was to be censed, on the day of the Innocents, by him that was made the bishop of the children. This shows it was used on other days, in which it is like it was censed by the bishop where he was present. How this image was made, can only be gathered from the prints that were of it at that time; in which the Father is represented sitting on the one hand as an old man with a triple crown and rays about him, the Son on the other hand as a young man with a crown and rays, and the Blessed Virgin between them, and the emblem of the Holy Ghost a dove spread over her head. So it is represented in a fair book of the Hours according to the use of Sarum, printed anno 1526. The impiety of this did raise horror in most men's minds, when that unconceivable mystery was so grossly expressed. Besides, the taking the Virgin into it, was done in pursuance to what had been said by some blasphemous friars, of her being assumed into the Trinity. In another edition of these, it is represented by three faces formed in one head. These things had not been set up by any public warrant; but having been so long in practice, they stood upon the general plea that was for keeping the traditions of the church: for it was said that the promises made to the church were the same in all ages, and that therefore every age of the church had an equal right to them. But for the other images, it was urged against them, that they had been all consecrated with such rites and prayers, that it was certain they were every one of them superstitious; since it was prayed that they might be so blessed and consecrated, that whosoever worshipped them might, by the saints' prayers and aid whom they represented, obtain everything that he desired. So they resolved on an entire removal of all images; and the protector with the council wrote to Cranmer, that for putting an end to all these contests, and that the living images of Christ might not quarrel about the dead ones, it was concluded they should all of them be taken down: and he was to give order to see this executed in his own diocese, and to transmit it to the other bishops to be in like manner executed by them. There were also orders given, that all rich shrines, with all the plate belonging to them, should be brought in to the king's use, and that the cloths that covered them should be converted to the use of the poor. This gave Gardiner, and those of his party, a new affliction; for in his diocese he had been always on their side that were for keeping up the images: but they all submitted, and so the churches were emptied of all these pictures and statues which had been for divers ages the chief objects of the people's worship.

And now the greatest care of the reformers was to find the best men they could, who should be licensed by the king's authority to preach. To whom the council sent a letter in the beginning of May, intimating, that by the restraint put on preaching, they only intended to put an end to the rash contentions of indiscreet men, and not to extinguish the lively preaching of the pure word of God, made after such sort as the Holy Ghost should for the time put in the preacher's mind. They are therefore charged to preach sincerely, and with that caution and

The general
taking away
of all Images.
Number 23.

Processionale
in Festo Inno-
centium.

Some Re-
straints put
on Preachers.
May 4.

Number 24.

moderation that the time and place shall require; and particularly that they should not set on the people to make innovations, or to run before those whom they should obey; but should persuade them to amend their lives, and keep the commandments of God, and to forsake all their old superstitions. And for the things not yet changed, they ought to wait patiently, and to conclude that the prince did either allow or suffer them; and in delivering things to the people, they were ordered to have a special regard to what they could bear.

But this temper was not observed. Some plainly condemned it as a political patching, and said, Why should not all these superstitions be swept away at once? To this it was answered by others, that as Christ forbade the pulling up of the tares, lest with them they should pull up good wheat; so if they went too forwardly to the changing of things, they might in that haste change much for the worse: and great care was to be had not to provoke the people too much, lest in the infancy of the king, or in some ill conjuncture of affairs, they might be disposed to make commotions. And the compliances that both Christ and his apostles gave to the Jews, when they were to abrogate the Mosaic law, were often insisted on. It was said, if they who were clothed with a power of miracles for the more effectual conviction of the world condescended so far, it was much more reasonable for them who had not that authority over men's consciences, and had no immediate signs to show from Heaven, to persuade the people rather by degrees to forsake their old mistakes, and not to precipitate things by an over haste.

This winter there was a committee of selected bishops and divines appointed for examining all the offices of the church, and for reforming them. Some had been in king Henry's time employed in the same business, in which they had made a good progress, which was now to

Bishops and
Divines exam-
ine the
Offices of the
Church.

be brought to a full perfection. Therefore the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of London, Durham, Worcester, Norwich, St. Asaph, Salisbury, Coventry and Litchfield, Carlisle, Bristol, St. David's, Ely, Lincoln, Chichester, Hereford, Westminster, and Rochester, with doctors Cox, May, Tailor, Heins, Robertson, and Redmayn, were appointed to examine all the offices of the church, and to consider how far any of them needed amendment.

The thing they first examined was the sacrament of the Eucharist; which being the chief symbol of Christian communion, was thought to deserve their chief care. And here they managed their inquiries in the same manner that was used in the former reign; in which when anything was considered in order to a change, it was put into several queries, to which every one in commission was to give his answer in writing. It is no wonder if the confusions that followed in queen Mary's reign have deprived us of most of these papers; yet there is one set of them preserved, relating to some questions about the priest's single communicating: Whether one man's receiving it can be useful to another? What was the oblation or sacrifice that was made of Christ in the mass? Wherein the mass consisted? When the priest's receiving alone began? Whether it was convenient to retain that, and continue masses satisfactory for departed souls? Whether the gospel ought to be taught at the time of the mass? Whether it were convenient to have it all in a known tongue or not? And when the reserving or hanging up of the sacrament first began? To these the bishops made their several answers. Some answered them all: others answered only a few of them; it is like suspending their opinions about those which they answered not. The bishops of London, Worcester, Chichester, and Hereford gave in their answers once in one paper together*; but afterwards they joined with the bishops of Norwich and St. Asaph, and all those six gave a joint answer in one paper. Those are not all subscribed, as those which I inserted in the former Part were; or at least the papers I have are not the originals. But Cranmer's hand is over every one of them,† marking the name of the bishop to whom they belonged; and Dr. Cox hath set his hand and seal to his answer.‡ By these, which are in the Collection, the reader will perceive how generally the

Number 25.

* The bishops of London, Worcester, Chichester, and Hereford's answers related to another set of questions.—ANON. CORRECT.

† Cranmer's hand is not over Richard Cox, nor W. Menevens, nor John Taylor's, who have subscribed their own names.—ANON. CORRECT.

‡ Cox had sent in his paper folded, and closed with wax: the foldings yet remain; according to which foldings the paper had been sealed, which is now torn where it had been sealed, and some of the paper left upon the wax.—ANON. CORRECT.

bishops were addicted to the old superstition, and how few did agree in all things with Cranmer. It may be thought that these questions were given out before the act of parliament passed, in which the priest's single communicating is turned into a communion of more. Yet by that act it was only provided, that all who came to receive should be admitted; but priests were not forbid to consecrate if none were to communicate, which was the thing now inquired into.

It is certain there was no part of worship more corrupted than this sacrament was. The first institution was so plain and simple, that except in the words "This is my body," there is nothing which could give a colour to the corruptions that were afterwards brought in. The heathens had their mysteries, which the priests concealed with hard and dark words, and dressed up with much pomp; and thereby supported their own esteem with the people; since they looked on these to be of so high a nature, that all those who had the ordering of them were accounted sacred persons. The primitive Christians retained the first simplicity of divine institutions for some ages. But afterwards, as their number increased, they made use of some things not unlike those the heathens had practised, to draw the Gentiles more easily into their belief; since external shows make deep impressions on the vulgar. And those that were thus brought over might afterwards come to like these things for their own sakes, which were at first made use of only to gain the world. Others finding some advantage in such services that were easy, and yet appeared very pompous, that they might cover great faults by countenancing and complying with the follies that were in vogue, contributed liberally to the improvement of them. And after the Roman emperors turned Christian, much of that vast wealth of which they and their people were masters was brought into the church, and applied to these superstitions. Yet it became not so universally corrupted, till by the invasion of the Goths, Vandals, and other barbarous nations, the Roman empire was broken and divided into many kingdoms. These new conquerors were rude and ignorant, wholly given to sensible things, and learning being universally extinguished, gross superstition took place; for more refined superstitions would not serve the turn of darker ages: but as they grew in ignorance they continued in the belief and practice of more absurd things.

The high opinion they justly had of this sacrament being much raised by the belief of the corporal presence of Christ in it, which came in afterwards, then the dull wits of the priests and the wealth of the people were employed to magnify it with all the pomp possible. All the vessels and garments belonging to it were consecrated and anointed with much devotion; the whole office was in an unknown tongue. A great part of it was to be secretly whispered, to make it appear the more wonderful charm. But chiefly the words of consecration were by no means to be heard by the people; it being fabled, that when the words were spoken aloud, some shepherds had repeated them over their bread, which was thereupon presently turned into flesh. Besides that it was but suitable that a change, which was not to be seen, should be made by words not to be heard. The priest was not to approach it, but after so many bowings, crossings, and kissings of the altar; and all the while he went through with the office, the people were only now and then blessed by a short blessing, "The Lord be with you," and even that in Latin. Then after consecration, the bread was lifted up, and all the people worshipped it, as if Christ had appeared in the clouds. It was oft exposed on the altar, and carried about in processions, with the ceremonies of carrying flambeaux before it, which the greatest persons accounted it an honour to do; the priest that carried it all the while going pompously under a rich canopy.

This was also thought most effectual for all the accidents of life. And whereas it was first only intended to be a commemoration and communion of the death of Christ; that seemed almost forgotten, but it was applied to all other ends imaginable. That which brought in most custom was Trentals, which was a method of delivering souls out of purgatory, by saying thirty masses a year for them. And whereas it was observed, that men on the anniversaries of their birth-days, wedding, or other happy accidents of their lives, were commonly in better humour; so that favours were more easily obtained; they seemed to have had the same opinion of God and Christ. So they ordered it, that three of these should be said on Christmas-day, three on Epiphany, three on the Purification of the Blessed

Virgin, three on the Annunciation, three on the Resurrection, three on the Ascension, three on Whit-Sunday, three on Trinity-Sunday, three on the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and three on her birth-day: hoping that these days would be the *mollia tempora*, when God and Christ, or the Blessed Virgin, would be of easier access, and more ready to grant their desires. Yet the most unaccountable part of all, was the masses on the saints' days, praying that the intercession of the saint might make the sacrifice acceptable; that the saint, for whose honour these oblations were solemnly offered, would by his merits procure them to be accepted, and that the sacrifice might bring to them a greater indulgence, being offered up by the suffrages of the saint. If the sacrifice was of Jesus Christ, and was of its own nature expiatory, how this should be done in honour to a saint, and become of greater virtue by his intercession, was a thing very hard to be understood. There were many pieces of ridiculous pageantry also used in it, as the laying the host in the sepulchre they made for Christ on Good-Friday; and that not only the candles that were to burn at the Easter celebration, but the very fire that was to kindle them, was particularly consecrated on Easter-eve. Some masses were believed to have a peculiar virtue in them. For in the Mass-Book printed at London anno 1500, there is a mass for avoiding sudden death; which pope Clement made in the college with all his cardinals, and granted to all who heard it two hundred and seventy days of indulgence, charging them that they should hold in their hand a burning candle all the while it was saying, and for five days after should likewise hold a candle, kneeling during the whole mass: and to those that did so, sudden death should do no harm. And it is added, that this was certain, and approved, in Avignon, and all the neighbouring places. All this I have opened the more largely, to let the reader plainly understand what things were then in this sacrament that required reformation: and I have gathered these things out of the Mass-Book, then most used in England, and best known by the name of the "Missal after the use of Sarum."

The first step these deputed bishops and divines made, was to reform this. But they did not at once mend everything that required it, but left the office of the mass as it was, only adding to it that which made it a communion. It began first with an exhortation, to be used the day before, which differs not much from that now used. Only after the advice given concerning confession, it is added, that such as desired to make auricular confession should not censure those who were satisfied with a general confession to God, and that those who used only confession to God and to the church should not be offended with those who used auricular confession to a priest; but that all should keep the rule of charity, every man being satisfied to follow his own conscience, and not judging another man's in things not appointed by God. After the priest had received the sacrament, he was to turn to the people and read an exhortation to them; the same we now use, only a little varied in words. After that, followed a denunciation against sinners, requiring them who were such, and had not repented, to withdraw, lest the devil should enter into them as he did into Judas. Then after a little pause, to see if any would withdraw; there was to follow a short exhortation, with a confession of sins, and absolution, the very same which we do yet retain. Then those texts of Scripture were read which we yet read; followed with the prayer, "We do not presume," &c. After this, the sacrament was to be given in both kinds; first to the ministers then present, and then to all the people, with these words, "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body unto everlasting life;" and, "The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee, preserve thy soul unto everlasting life." When all was done, the congregation was to be dismissed with a blessing. The bread was to be such as had been formerly used, and every one of the breads so consecrated was to be broken in two or more pieces; and the people were to be taught that there was no difference in the quantity they received, whether it were small or great, but that in each of them they received the whole body of Christ. If the wine that was at first consecrated did not serve, the priest was to consecrate more; but all to be without any elevation. This office, being thus finished, was set forth with a proclamation, reciting, That whereas the parliament had enacted that the communion should be given in both kinds to all the king's subjects, it was now ordered to be given in the form here set forth, and all were required to receive it with due reverence and Christian behaviour,

A new Office
for the Com-
munion set
out.

and with such uniformity as might encourage the king to go on in the setting forth godly orders for reformation, which he intended most earnestly to bring to effect by the help of God: willing his subjects not to run before his direction, and so by their rashness to hinder such things; assuring them of the earnest zeal he had to set them forth, hoping they would quietly and reverently tarry for it.

This was published on the 8th of March, and on the 13th books were sent to all the bishops of England, requiring them to send them to every parish in their dioceses, that the curates might have time both to instruct themselves about it, and to acquaint their people with it; so that by the next Easter it might be universally received in all the churches of the nation. This was variously censured. Those that were for the old superstition, were much troubled to have confession thus left indifferent, and a general confession of sins to be used, with which they apprehended the people would for the most part content themselves. In the Scripture there was a power of binding and loosing sins given to the apostles. And St. James exhorted those to whom he wrote, to confess their faults to one another. Afterwards penitents came to be reconciled to the church, when they had given public scandal either by their apostacy or ill life, by an open confession of their sins; and after some time of separation from the other pure Christians in worship, and an abstinence from the sacrament, they were admitted again to their share of all the privileges that were given in common to Christians. But according to the nature of their sins, they were, besides the public confession, put under such rules as might be most proper for curing these ill inclinations in them: and according to the several ranks of sins the time and degrees of this penitence was proportioned. And the councils that met in the fourth and fifth centuries made the regulating these penitentiary canons the chief subject of their consultations. In many churches, there were penitentiary priests, who were more expert in the knowledge of these rules, and gave directions about them; which were taken away in Constantinople upon the indiscretion of which one of them had been guilty. For secret sins, there was no obligation to confess, since all the canons were about public scandals: yet for these, the devout people generally went to their priests for their counsel, but were not obliged to it; and so went to them for the distempers of their minds, as they did to physicians for the diseases of their bodies.

About the end of the fifth century, they began in some places to have secret penances; either within monasteries, or other places which the priests had appointed: and upon a secret confession, and performing the penance imposed, absolution was also given secretly: whereas in former times, confession and absolution had been performed openly in the church. In the seventh century it was everywhere practised, that there should be secret penance for secret sins: which Theodore archbishop of Canterbury did first bring into a method, and under rules. But about the end of the eighth century, the commutation of penance, and exchanging it for money, or other services to the church, came to be practised: and then began pilgrimages to holy places, and afterwards the going to the holy war: and all the severities of penance were dispensed with to such as undertook these. This brought on a great relaxation of all ecclesiastical discipline. Afterwards, crusades came in use, against such princes as were deposed by popes: and to these was likewise added, to encourage all to enter into them, that all rules of penitence were dispensed with to such as put on that cross. But penitence being now no more public, but only private, the priests managed it as they pleased, and so by confession entered into all men's secrets, and by absolution had their consciences so entirely in their power, that the people were generally governed by them. Yet because the secular priests were commonly very ignorant, and were not put under such an association as was needful to manage those designs, for which this was thought an excellent engine; therefore the friars were employed everywhere to hear confessions, and to give absolutions. And to bring in customers to them, two new things were invented. The one was, a reserving of certain cases, in which such as were guilty of them could not be absolved but by the popes, or those deputed by them: and the friars had faculties in the pope's name to absolve in these cases. The other was on some occasion the use of certain new secrets, by which men were to obtain great indulgences; either by saying such prayers, or performing such impositions: and these were all trusted to the friars, who were to trade with them, and bring all the

money they could gather by that means to Rome. They being bred up to a voluntary poverty, and expecting great rewards for their industry, sold those secrets with as much cunning as mountebanks use in selling their tricks: only here was the difference, that the ineffectualness of the mountebanks' medicines was soon discovered, so their trade must be but short in one place; whereas the other could not be so easily found out; the chief piece of the religion of those ages being to believe all that their priests taught them. Of this sort the reader will find in the Collection an essay of indulgences as they were printed in the Hours after the use of Sarum, which were set down in English, though the prayers be all Latin, that so all the people might know the value of such ware. Those had been all by degrees brought from Rome, and put into people's hands, and afterwards laid together in their offices. By them, indulgences of many years—hundreds, thousands, and millions of years, and of all sins whatsoever, were granted to such as devoutly said such collects: but it was always understood that they must confess and be absolved, which is the meaning of those expressions concerning their being in "a state of grace." And so the whole business was a cheat.

And now all this trade was laid aside, and confession of secret sins was left to all men's free choice; since it was certain that the confession to a priest was nowhere enjoined in the Scriptures. It was a reasonable objection, that as secret confession and private penance had worn out the primitive practice of the public censuring of scandalous persons, so it had been well if the reviving of that discipline had driven out these later abuses: but to let that lie unrestored, and yet to let confession wear out, was to discharge the world of all outward restraints, and to leave them to their full liberty, and so to throw up that power of binding and loosing, which ought to take place, chiefly, in admitting them to the sacrament. This was confessed to be a great defect, and effectual endeavours were used to retrieve it, though without success: and it was openly declared to be a thing which they would study to repair: but the total disuse of all public censure had made the nation so unacquainted with it, that without the effectual concurrence of the civil authority, they could not compass it. And though it was acknowledged to be a great disorder in the church, yet as they could not keep up the necessity of private confession, since it was not commanded in the gospel; so the generality of the clergy being superstitious men, whose chief influence on the people was by those secret practices in confession, they judged it necessary to leave that free to all people, and to represent it as a thing to which they were not obliged, and in the place of that ordered the general confession to be made in the church, with the absolution added to it. For the power of binding and loosing, it was by many thought to be only declarative; and so to be exercised, when the gospel was preached, and a general absolution granted, according to the ancient forms. In which forms, the absolution was a prayer that God would absolve; and so it had been still used in the absolution which was given on Maundy-Thursday; but the formal absolution given by the priest in his own name, "I absolve thee," was a late invention to raise their authority higher, and signified nothing distinct from those other forms that were anciently used in the church.

Others censured the words in distributing the two kinds in the Lord's Supper; the body being given for the preserving the body, and the blood of Christ for preserving the soul. This was thought done on design to possess the people with a high value of the chalice, as that which preserved their souls; whereas the bread was only for the preservation of their bodies. But Crammer being ready to change anything for which he saw good reason, did afterwards so alter it, that in both it was said, Preserve thy body and soul. And yet it stands so in the prayer, We do not presume, &c. On all this I have digressed so long, because of the importance of the matter, and for satisfying the scruples that many still have upon the laying aside of confession in our Reformation.

Commissions were next given to examine the state of the chantries and guildable lands. Collection, The instruction about them will be found in the Collection, of which I need give Number 27. no abstract here, for they were only about the methods of inquiring into their value, and how they were possessed, or what alienations had been made of them.

The protector and council were now in much trouble. The war with Scotland they found was like to grow chargeable, since they saw it was supported from France. There was a rebellion also broke out in Ireland, and the king was much indebted, nor could they

expect any subsidies from the parliament; in which it had been said that they gave the chantry lands, that they might be delivered from all subsidies. Therefore the parliament was prorogued till winter. Upon this the whole council did on the 17th of April unanimously resolve, that it was necessary to sell 5,000*l.* a-year of chantry lands, for raising such a sum as the king's occasions required, and sir Henry Mildmay was appointed to treat about the sale of them.

The new communion-book was received over England without any opposition. Only complaints were brought of Gardiner, that he did secretly detract from the king's proceedings; upon which the council took occasion to reflect on all his former behaviour. And here it was remembered, how at first upon his refusing to receive the king's injunctions, he had been put in the Fleet; where he had been as well used as if it had been his own house, (which is far contrary to his letters to the protector, of which mention has been already made,) and that he upon promise of conformity had been discharged. But when he was come home, being forgetful of his promises, he had raised much strife and contention, and had caused all his servants to be secretly armed and harnessed, and had put public affronts on those whom the council sent down to preach in his diocese: for in some places, to disgrace them, he went into the pulpit before them, and warned the people to beware of such teachers, and to receive no other doctrine but what he had taught them. Upon this he had been sent for a second time, but again upon his promise of conformity was discharged, and ordered to stay at his own house in London. That there he had continued still to meddle in public matters, of which being again admonished, he desired that he might be suffered to clear himself of all misrepresentations that had been made of him, in a sermon which he should preach before the king, in which he should openly declare how well he was satisfied with his proceedings; yet it is added, that in his sermon, where there was a wonderful audience, he did most arrogantly meddle with some matters that were contrary to an express command given him both by word of mouth and by letters; and in other matters used such words as had almost raised a great tumult in the very time, and had spoken very seditiously concerning the policy of the kingdom. So they saw that clemency wrought no good effect on him; and it seeming necessary to terrify others by their proceedings with him, he was sent to the Tower, and the door of his closet was sealed up. Thus it is entered in the council-book, signed "E. Somerset, T. Cantuarien., W. St. Johns, J. Russel, and T. Cheyney." Yet it seems this order was not signed when it was made, but some years after. For the lord Russel signed first "Bedford;" but remembering that at the time when this order was made he had not that title, therefore he dashed it out, (but so as it still appears,) and signed, "J. Russel."

The account that Gardiner himself gives of this business is, that being discharged upon Fox's Acts and the act of pardon, he was desired to promise that he would set forth the Monuments. Homilies; and a form was given him to which he should set his hand; but he, considering of it a fortnight, returned, and said he could not subscribe it; so he was confined to his house. Then Ridley and Mr. Cecil (afterwards the great Lord Burleigh, lord treasurer to queen Elizabeth, at that time secretary to the protector) were sent to him, and so prevailed, that he did set his hand to it. But upon some complaints that were made of him, he was sent for after Whit-Sunday, and accused that he had carried palms, had crept to the cross, and had a sepulchre on Good-Friday, which was contrary to the king's proclamations; all which he denied, and said he had and would still give obedience to what the king should command. That of affronting the king's preachers was objected to him; to which he answered telling matter of fact how it was done, but he does not in his writing set it down. Then it was complained, that in a sermon he had said, the apostles came away rejoicing from "the council, the council, the council," repeating it thus, to make it seem applicable to himself: this he denied. Then it was objected, that he preached the real presence in the sacrament, the word "real" not being in Scripture, and so it was not the setting forth the pure word of God. He said he had not used the word "real," only he had asserted the presence of Christ, in such words as he had heard the archbishop of Canterbury dispute for it against Lambert, that had been burnt. He was commanded to tarry in London; but he desired that, since he was not an offender, he might be at his liberty. He

complained much of the songs made of him, and of the books written against him, and particularly of one Philpot in Westminster, whom he accounted a madman.

Then he relates, that Cecil came to him, and proposed to him to preach before the king, and that he should write his sermon; and also brought him some notes which he wished him to put in his sermon. He said he was willing to preach, but would not write it, for that was to preach as an offender; nor would he make use of notes prepared by other men. Then he was privately brought to the protector, none but the lord St. John being present, who showed him a paper containing the opinion of some lawyers, of the king's power, and of a bishop's authority, and of the punishment of disobeying the king; but he desired to speak with those lawyers, and said, no subscription of theirs should oblige him to preach otherwise than as he was convinced. The protector said he should either do that, or do worse. Secretary Smith came to him to press him further in some points, but what they were is not mentioned. Yet by the other papers in that business, it appears they related to the king's authority when under age, and for justifying the king's proceedings in what had been done about the ceremonies, and that auricular confession was indifferent. So the contest between him and the protector ended; and there was no writing required of him; but he left the whole matter to him, so that he should treat plainly of those things mentioned to him by Cecil. He chose St. Peter's Day, because the Gospel agreed to his purpose. Cecil showed him some notes, written with the king's hand, of the sermons preached before him; especially what was said of the duty of a king; and warned him, that whenever he named the king, he should add, "and his council." To this he made no answer; for though he thought it wisely done of a king to use his council, yet being to speak of the king's power according to Scripture, he did not think it necessary to add anything of his council; and hearing by a confused report some secret matter, he resolved not to meddle with it. Two days before he preached, the protector sent him a message not to meddle with those questions about the sacrament that were yet in controversy among learned men; and that therefore he was resolved there should be no public determination made of them beforehand in the pulpit. He said he could not forbear to speak of the mass, for he looked on it as the chief foundation of Christian religion; but he doubted not that he should so speak of

Number 28. it as to give them all content. So the day following the protector writ to him, (as will be found in the Collection,) requiring him in the king's name not to meddle with these points, but to preach concerning the articles given him, and about obedience and good life, which would afford him matter enough for a long sermon; since the other points were to be reserved to a public consultation. The protector added, that he held it a great part of his duty under the king, not to suffer wilful persons to dissuade the people from receiving such truths as should be set forth by others. But Gardiner pretended that there was no controversy about the presence of Christ. And so the next day he took his Parker's MSS. text out of the gospel for the day, "Thou art Christ," &c. In his sermon (of Ex Ch. Col. which I have seen large notes) he expressed himself very fully concerning the Cant. pope's supremacy as justly abolished, and the suppression of monasteries and He preached before the king. chantries; he approved of the king's proceedings; he thought images might have been well used, but yet they might be well taken away. He approved of the sacrament in both kinds, and the taking away that great number of masses satisfactory, and liked well the new order for the communion. But he asserted largely the presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the sacrament: upon which many of the assembly, that were indiscreetly hot on both sides, cried out, some approving, and others disliking it. Of the king's authority under age, and of the power of the council in that case, he said not a word; and upon that he was imprisoned.

The occasion of this was, the popish clergy began generally to have it spread among them, that though they had acknowledged the king's supremacy, yet they had never owned the council's supremacy;—that the council could only see to the execution of the laws and orders that had been made, but could not make new ones; and that therefore the supremacy could not be exercised till the king, in whose person it was vested, came to be of age to consider of matters himself. Upon this, the lawyers were consulted; who did unanimously resolve, that the supremacy being annexed to the regal dignity, was the same in a king

under age, when it was executed by the council, that it was in a king at full age; and therefore, things ordered by the council now, had the same authority in law that they could have when the king did act himself. But this did not satisfy the greater part of the clergy. Some of whom, by the high flatteries that had been given to kings in king Henry's time, seemed to fancy that there were degrees of divine illumination derived unto princes, by the anointing them at the coronation; and these not exerting themselves till a king attained to a ripeness of understanding, they thought the supremacy was to lie dormant while he was so young. The protector and council endeavoured to have got Gardiner to declare against this, but he would not meddle in it. How far he might set forward the other opinion, I do not know. These proceedings against him were thought too severe, and without law; but he being generally hated, they were not so much censured, as they had been, if they had fallen on a more acceptable man.

And thus were the orders made by the council generally obeyed; many being terrified with the usage Gardiner met with, from which others inferred what they might look for, if they were refractory, when so great a bishop was so treated.

The next thing Cranmer set about, was the compiling of a Catechism * or large instruction of young persons in the grounds of the Christian religion. In it, he reckons the two first commandments but one; though, he says, many of the ancients divided them into two. But the division was of no great consequence, so no part of the Decalogue were suppressed by the church. He showed that the excuses the papists had for images, were no other than what the heathens brought for their idolatry; who also said, they did not worship the image, but that only which was represented by it. He particularly takes notice of the image of the Trinity. He shows how St. Peter would not suffer Cornelius, and the angel would not suffer St. John, to worship them. The believing that there is a virtue in one image more than in another, he accounts plain idolatry. Ezekias broke the brazen serpent, when abused, though it was a type or image of Christ, made by God's command, to which a miraculous virtue had been once given. So now there was good reason to break images, when they had been so abused to superstition and idolatry; and when they gave such scandal to Jews and Mahometans, who generally accounted the Christians idolaters on that account. He asserts, besides the two sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, the power of reconciling sinners to God, as a third; and fully owns the divine institution of bishops and priests, and wishes that the canons and rites of public penance were again restored; and exhorts much to confession, and the people's dealing with their pastors about their consciences, that so they might, upon knowledge, bind and loose according to the gospel. Having finished this easy but most useful work, he dedicated it to the king. And in his epistle to him, complains of the great neglect that had been in former times, of catechising; and that confirmation had not been rightly administered, since it ought to be given only to those of age, who understood the principles of the Christian doctrine, and did upon knowledge, and with sincere minds, renew their baptismal vow. From this it will appear, that from the beginning of this Reformation, the practice of the Roman church in the matter of images was held idolatrous. Cranmer's zeal for restoring the penitentiary canons is also clear: and it is plain, that he had now quite laid aside those singular opinions which he formerly held of the ecclesiastical functions; for now, in a work which was wholly his own, without the concurrence of any others, he fully sets forth their divine institution.

All these things made way for a greater work, which these selected bishops and divines, who had laboured in the setting forth of the office of the communion, were now preparing; which was the entire reformation of the whole service of the church. In order to this, they

A General
Reformation
of all the
Offices of the
Church is set
about.

brought together all the offices used in England. In the southern parts, those after the use of Sarum were universally received, which were believed to have been compiled by Osmund bishop of Sarum. In the north of England, they had other offices, after the use of York; in South Wales they had them after the use of Hereford; in North Wales after the use of Bangor; and in Lincoln, another sort of an office proper to that see.

* This Catechism was first made in Latin by another, but translated by Cranmer's order, and it was reviewed by him.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

In the primitive church, when the extraordinary gifts ceased, the bishops of the several churches put their offices and prayers into such a method as was nearest to what they had heard or remembered from the apostles. And these liturgies were called by the apostles' names from whose forms they had been composed; as that at Jerusalem carried the name of St. James, and that of Alexandria the name of St. Mark; though those books that we have now under these names are certainly so interpolated, that they are of no great authority: but in the fourth century we have these liturgies first mentioned. The council of Laodicea appointed the same office of prayers to be used in the mornings and evenings. The bishops continued to draw up new additions, and to put old forms into other methods. But this was left to every bishop's care, nor was it made the subject of any public consultation till St. Austin's time; when in their dealings with heretics, they found they took advantages from some of the prayers that were in some churches. Upon this he tells us, it was ordered, that there should be no prayers used in the church, but upon common advice: after that the liturgies came to be more carefully considered. Formerly the worship of God was a pure and simple thing, and so it continued till superstition had so infected the church that those forms were thought too naked unless they were put under more artificial rules, and dressed up with much ceremony. Gregory the Great was the first that took much care to make the church music very regular, and he did also put the liturgies in another method than had been formerly used. Yet he had no such fondness of his own composures; but left it to Austin the monk, whom he sent over into England, when he consulted him in it, either to use the Roman or French rituals, or any other, as he should find they were most likely to edify the people. After this, in most sees there were great variations; for as any prelate came to be canonized, or held in high esteem by the people, some private Collects or particular forms that he had used were practised in his, or perhaps, as his fame spread, in the neighbouring dioceses. In every age there were notable additions made: and all the writers almost, in the eighth and ninth centuries, employed their fancies to find out mystical significations for every rite that was then used; and so, as a new rite was added, it was no hard matter to add some mystery to it. This had made the offices swell out of measure; and there was a great variety of them,—Missals, Breviaries, Rituals, Pontificals, Portoisies, Pies, Graduals, Antiphonals, Psalteries, Hours, and a great many more. Every religious order had likewise their peculiar rites, with the saints' days that belonged to their order, and services for them; and the understanding how to officiate was become so hard a piece of the trade, that it was not easy to learn it exactly without a long practice in it. So now it was resolved to correct and examine these.

I do not find it was ever brought under consideration, whether they should compose a form for all the parts of divine worship, or leave it to the sudden and extemporary heats of those who were to officiate, which some have called, since that time, the worshipping by the Spirit: of this way of serving God, they did not then dream; much less that the appointing of forms of prayer was an encroachment on the kingly office of Christ, but thought, whatever praying in the Spirit might have been in the apostles' time, (where yet every man brought his psalms, which are a sort of prayers, as well as praises, and these look like some written composures, as St. Paul expresses it,) that now to pray with warm affection and sincere devotion was spiritual worship: and that where it was the same thing that was to be daily asked of God, the using the same expressions, was the sign of a steady devotion, that was fixed on the thing prayed for: whereas the heat that new words raised, looked rather like a warmth in the fancy. Nor could it agree with the principles of a Reformation that was to divest the churchmen of that unlimited authority which they had formerly exercised over men's consciences, to leave them at liberty to make the people pray after them, as they pleased; this being as great a resignation of the people, when their devotion depended on the sudden heats of their pastors, as the former superstition had made of their faith and conscience to them. So it being resolved to bring the whole worship of God under set forms, they set one general rule to themselves (which they afterwards declared) of changing nothing for novelty's sake, or merely because it had been formerly used. They resolved to retain such things as the primitive church had practised, cutting off such abuses as the later ages had

It was resolved there should be a new Liturgy.

grafted on them, and to continue the use of such other things, which, though they had been brought in not so early, yet were of good use to beget devotion; and were so much recommended to the people by the practice of them, that the laying these aside would perhaps have alienated them from the other changes they made. And therefore they resolved to make no change without very good and weighty reasons. In which they considered the practice of our Saviour; who did not only comply with the rites of Judaism himself, but even the prayer he gave to his disciples was framed according to their forms; and his two great institutions of baptism and the eucharist did consist of rites that had been used among the Jews. And since he who was delivering a new religion, and was authorised in the highest manner that ever any was, did yet so far comply with received practices, as from them to take those which he sanctified for the use of his church; it seemed much fitter for those who had no such extraordinary warrant to give them authority in what they did, when they were reforming abuses, to let the world see, they did it not from the wanton desire of change, or any affectation of novelty: and with those resolutions they entered on their work.

In the search of the former offices, they found an infinite deal of superstition, in the consecrations, of water, salt, bread, incense, candles, fire, bells, churches, images, altars, crosses, vessels, garments, palms, flowers; all looked like the rites of heathenism, and seemed to spring from the same fountain. When the water or salt were blessed, it was expressed to be to this end, that they might be health both to soul and body, and devils (who might well laugh at these tricks which they had taught them) were adjured not to come to any place where they were sprinkled: and the holy bread was blessed, to be a defence against all diseases, and snares of the devil; and the holy incense, that devils might not come near the smoke of it, but that all who smelled at it might perceive the virtue of the Holy Ghost: and the ashes were blessed so, that all who were covered with them might deserve to obtain the remission of their sins. All those things had drawn the people to such confidence in them, that they generally thought that, without those harder terms of true holiness, they might upon such superstitious observances be sure of heaven. So all these they resolved to cast out, as things which had no warrant in Scripture, and were vain devices to draw men away from a lively application to God through Christ, according to the method of the gospel. Then the many rites in sacramental actions were considered, all which had swelled up to an infinite heap. And as some of these, which had no foundation in Scripture, were thrown out; so the others were brought back to a greater simplicity. In no part of religion was the corruption of the former offices more remarkable, than in the priests granting absolution to the living and the dead. To such as confessed, the absolution was thus granted: "I absolve thee in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." To which this was added: "And I grant to thee that all the indulgences, given, or to be given thee, by any prelate, with the blessings of them, all the sprinklings of holy water, all the devout beatings of thy breast, the contritions of thy heart, this confession, and all thy other devout confessions, all thy fastings, abstinences, almsgivings, watchings, disciplines, prayers, and pilgrimages, and all the good thou hast done or shall do, and all the evils thou hast suffered or shalt suffer for God—the passions of our Lord Jesus Christ, the merits of the glorious and blessed Virgin Mary, and of all other saints, and the suffrages of all the holy Catholic Church, turn to thee for the remission of these, and all other thy sins, the increase of thy merits, and the attainment of everlasting rewards." When extreme unction was given to dying persons, they applied it to the ears, lips, nose, and other parts, with this prayer: "By this holy unction and his own most tender mercy, and by the intercession of the blessed Virgin and all the saints, may God pardon thee whatever thou hast sinned, by thy hearing, speaking, or smelling;" and so in the other parts. And when the dead body was laid in the grave, this absolution was said over it: "The Lord Jesus Christ, who gave to St. Peter and his other disciples power to bind and loose, absolve thee from all the guilt of thy sins; and in so far as is committed to my weakness, be thou absolved before the tribunal of our Lord, and may thou have eternal life, and live for evermore." This was thought the highest abuse possible; when in giving the hopes of heaven, and the pardon of sins, which were of all the other parts of religion the most important, there were such

mixtures : and that which the Scriptures had taught could be only attained by Jesus Christ, and that upon the sincere belief and obedience of his gospel, was now ascribed to so many other procuring causes. These things had possessed the world with that conceit that there was a trick for saving souls, besides that plain method which Christ had taught ; and that the priests had the secret of it in their hands ; so that those who would not come under the yoke of Christ, and be saved that way, needed only to apply themselves to priests, and purchase their favour, and the business would be done.

There were two other changes, which ran through the whole offices. The one was, the translating them into a vulgar tongue. The Jewish worship was either in Hebrew, or, after the captivity, in the Syriac, the vulgar tongues of Palestine. The apostles always officiated in the tongues that were best understood : so that St. Paul did copiously censure those who, in prayers or psalms, used any language that was not understood. And Origen, Basil, with all the fathers that had occasion to mention this, took notice that every one in their own tongue worshipped God. After the rending of the Roman empire by the Goths, and other barbarous nations, the Roman tongue did slowly mix with their tongues, till it was much changed, and altered from itself by degrees ; yet it was so long a-doing that, that it was not thought necessary to translate the Liturgy into their languages. But in the ninth century, when the Slavons were converted, it being desired that they might have divine offices in their own language ; while some opposed it, a voice was said to be heard—" Let every tongue praise God." Upon which, pope John VIII. writ to Methodius their bishop that it might be granted, and founded it on St. Paul's Epist. to the Cor. and on these words of David, " Let every tongue praise the Lord." And in the fourth council of Lateran it was decreed, that bishops who lived in places where they were mixed with Greeks should provide fit priests for performing divine offices, according to the rites and language of those to whom they ministered. But the Roman church, though so merciful to the Greeks and Slavons, was more cruel to the rest of Europe ; and since only Hebrew, Greek, and Latin had been written on the cross of Christ by Pilate, they argued that these languages were thereby consecrated : though it is not easy to apprehend what holiness could be derived into these tongues by Pilate, who ordered those inscriptions. It was also pretended, that it was a part of the communion of saints, that everywhere the worship should be in the same tongue. But the truth was, they had a mind to raise the value of the priestly function, by keeping all divine offices in a tongue not understood ; which in people otherwise well seasoned with superstition might have that effect ; but it did very much alienate the rest of the world from them. There was also a vast number of holidays formerly observed, with so many prayers and hymns belonging to them, and so many lessons that were to be read ; which were many of them such impudent forgeries, that the whole Breviary and Missal being full of these, a great deal was to be left out. There is in the whole Breviary scarce one saint, but the lessons concerning him contain some ridiculous legend, such as indeed could not be well read in a vulgar tongue without the scorn and laughter of the hearers ; and for most part the prayers and hymns do relate to these lying stories. Many of the prayers and hymns were also in such a style, that the pardon of sin, grace, and heaven were immediately desired from the saints, as if these things had come from their bounty or by their merits ; or were given by them only, of which the Number 29. reader shall have a little taste in the Collection, in some of the addresses made to them.

The reformers having thus considered the corruptions of the former offices, were thereby better prepared to frame new ones. But the priests had officiated in some garments which were appropriated to that use, as surplices, copes, and other vestments ; and it was long under consideration whether these should continue. It was objected, that these garments had been parts of the train of the mass, and had been superstitiously abused, only to set it off with the more pomp. On the other hand, it was argued, that as white was anciently the colour of the priests' garments in the Mosaical dispensation, so it was used in the African churches in the fourth century : and it was thought a natural expression of the purity and decency that became priests : besides, the clergy were then generally extreme poor, so that they could scarce afford themselves decent clothes ; the people also running

from the other extreme of submitting too much to the clergy, were now as much inclined to despise them, and to make light of the holy function ; so that if they should officiate in their own mean garments, it might make the divine offices grow also into contempt. And therefore, it was resolved to continue the use of them ; and it was said, that their being blessed and used superstitiously gave as strong an argument against the use of churches and bells ; but that St. Paul had said, that “ every creature of God was good,” and even the meat of the sacrifice offered to an idol, than which there could be no greater abuse, might lawfully be eaten ; therefore they saw no necessity because of a former abuse to throw away habits, that had so much decency in them, and had been formerly in use.

In the compiling the offices, they began with morning and evening prayer. These were put in the same form they are now ; only there was no confession or absolution ; the office beginning with the Lord's prayer. In the communion service, the Ten Commandments were not said, as they are now ; but in other things it was very near what it is now. All that had been in the order of the communion formerly mentioned was put into it. The offertory was to be made of bread and wine mixed with water. Then was said the prayer for the state of Christ's church, in which they gave thanks to God for his wonderful grace declared in his saints, in the blessed Virgin, the patriarchs, apostles, prophets, and martyrs, and they commended the saints departed to God's mercy and peace, that at the day of the resurrection we with them might be set on Christ's right hand. To this the consecratory prayer which we now use was joined as a part of it ; only with these words, that are since left out : “ *With thy Holy Spirit vouchsafe to ble+ss and sanc+tify* these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son,*” &c. To the consecration was also joined the prayer of thanksgiving now used. After the consecration all elevation was forbidden, which had been first used as a rite expressing how Christ was lifted up on the cross ; but was, after the belief of the corporal presence, made use of to show the sacrament, that the people might all fall down and worship it. And it was ordered, that the whole office of the communion, except the consecratory prayer, should be used on all holidays, when there was no communion, to put people in mind of it, and of the sufferings of Christ. The bread was to be unleavened, round, but no print on it, and somewhat thicker than it was formerly. And though it was anciently put in the people's hands, yet because some might carry it away, and apply it to superstitious uses, it was ordered to be put by the priest into their mouths. It is clear that Christ delivered it into the hands of the apostles, and it so continued for many ages, as appears by several remarkable stories of holy men carrying it with them in their journeys. In the Greek church, where the bread and wine were mingled together, some began to think it more decent to receive it in little spoons of gold, than in their hands ; but that was condemned by the council in Trullo : yet soon after they began in the Latin church to appoint men to receive it with their hands, but women to take it in a linen cloth, which was called their dominical. But when the belief of the corporal presence was received, then a new way of receiving was invented among other things to support it ; the people were now no more to touch that which was conceived to be the flesh of their Saviour, and therefore the priest's thumb and fingers were particularly anointed, as a necessary disposition for so holy a contact, and so it was by them put into the mouths of the people. A litany was also gathered, consisting of many short petitions, interrupted by suffrages between them ; and was the same that we still use, only they had one suffrage that we have not, to be delivered from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities.

In baptism there was, besides the forms which we still retain, a cross at first made on the child's forehead and breast, with an adjuration of the devil to go out of him, and come at him no more. Then the priest was to take the child by the right hand, and to place him within the font ; there he was to be dipped thrice, once on the right side, once on the left, and once on the breast, which was to be discreetly done ; but if the child were weak, it was sufficient to sprinkle water on his face. Then was the priest to put a white vestment or chrysom on him, for a token of innocence, and to anoint him on the head, with a prayer for the unction

* It appears that the sign of the cross was retained (see p. 347,) and directed to be used in this prayer.—ED.

of the Holy Ghost. In confirmation, those that came were to be catechised ; which having in it a formal engagement to make good the baptismal vow, was all that was asked. (The catechism then was the same that is now, only there is since added an explanation of the sacraments.) This being said, the bishop was to sign them with the cross, and to lay his hands on them, and say, “ I sign thee with the sign of the cross, and lay my hands on thee, in the name of the Father,” &c. The sick, who desired to be anointed, might have the unction on their forehead, or their breast only ; with a prayer, that as their body was outwardly anointed with oil, so they might receive the Holy Ghost, with health, and victory over sin and death. At funerals, they recommended the soul departed to God’s mercy, and prayed that his sins might be pardoned, that he might be delivered from hell and carried to heaven, and that his body might be raised at the last day.

They also took care that those who could not come, or be brought to church, should not therefore be deprived of the use of the sacraments. The church of Rome had raised the belief of the indispensable necessity of the sacraments so high, that they taught they did *ex opere operato*, by the very action itself without inward acts, justify and confer grace, unless there were a bar put to it by the receiver ; and the first rise of the questions about justification seems to have come from this : for that church teaching that men were justified by sacramental actions, the reformers opposed this, and thought men were justified by the internal acts of the mind. If they had held at this, the controversy might have been managed with much greater advantages ; which they lost in a great measure by descending to some minuter subtleties. In the church of Rome, pursuant to their belief concerning the necessity of the sacraments, women were allowed in extreme cases to baptize : and the midwives commonly did it ; which might be the beginning of their being licensed by bishops to exercise that calling. And they also believed that a simple attrition with the sacraments was sufficient for salvation in those who were grown up, and upon these grounds the sacraments were administered to the sick.

In the primitive church they sent portions of the sacrament to those who were sick, or in prison : and did it not only without pomp or processions, but sent it often by the hands of boys and other laics, as appears from the famed story of Serapion : which as it shows they did not then believe it was the very flesh and blood of Christ ; so when that doctrine was received, it was a natural effect of that belief, to have the sacrament carried by the priest himself with some pomp and adoration. The ancients thought it more decent and suitable to the communion of saints to consecrate the elements only in the church, and to send portions to the sick, thereby expressing their communion with the rest. The reformers considering these things, steered a middle course : they judged the sacraments necessary, where they could be had ; as appointments instituted by Christ : and though they thought it more expedient to have all baptisms done in the church at the fountains, than in private houses ; thereby signifying that the baptized were admitted to the fellowship of that church ; yet since our Saviour had said, “ that where two or three are gathered together he will be in the midst of them,” they thought it savoured too much of a superstition to the walls or fountains of churches, to tie this action so to these, that where children, either through infirmity or the sharpness of weather, could not be, without danger, carried to church, they should be denied baptism. But still they thought public baptism more expressive of the communion of the saints, so that they recommended it much, and only permitted the other in cases of necessity. This has since grown to a great abuse ; many thinking it a piece of state to have their children baptized in their houses ; and so bringing their pride with them even into the most sacred performances. There may be also a fault in the ministers, who are too easily brought to do it. But it is now become so universal, that all the endeavours of some of our bishops have not been able to bring it back to the first design of not baptizing in private houses, excepting only where there was some visible danger in carrying the children to church.

As for the other sacrament, it was thought by our reformers, that according to the mind of the primitive church, none should be denied it in their extremities ; it never being more necessary than at that time to use all means that might strengthen the faith and quicken the devotion of dying persons : it being also most expedient that they should then profess their

dying in the faith, and with a good conscience, and in charity with all men ; therefore they ordered the communion to be given to the sick, and that before it was so given the priest should examine their consciences ; and upon the sincere profession of their faith, and the confession of such sins as oppressed their consciences, with the doing of all that was then in their power for the completing of their repentance, as the forgiving injuries and dealing justly with all people, he should give them the peace of the church in a formal absolution and the holy eucharist. But that they might avoid the pomp of vain processions on the one hand, and the indecencies of sending the sacrament by common hands on the other, they thought it better to gather a congregation about the sick person, and there to consecrate and give the sacrament to that small assembly : where, as Christ's promise, " of being in the midst of two or three that were gathered together in his name," should have put an end to the weak exceptions some have made to these private communions ; so on the other hand it is to be feared, that the greater part retain still too much of the superstition of popery ; as if the priest's absolution with the sacrament, and some slight sorrow for sin, would be a sure passport for their admittance to heaven : which it is certain can only be had upon so true a faith as carries a sincere repentance with a change of heart and life along with it : for to such only the mercies of God through the merits of Jesus Christ are applied in all ordinary cases.

To all this they prefixed a preface concerning ceremonies, the same that is still before the Common Prayer-Book. In which preface they make a difference between those ceremonies that were brought in with a good intent and were afterwards abused, and others that had been brought in out of a vanity and superstition at first and grew to be more abused : the one they had quite rejected, the other they had reformed, and retained, for decency and edification. Some were so set on their old forms, that they thought it a great matter to depart from any of them ; others were desirous to innovate in everything ; between both which they had kept a mean. The burthen of ceremonies in St. Austin's days was such that he complained of them then as intolerable, by which the state of Christians was worse than that of the Jews ; but these were swelled to a far greater number since his days, which did indeed darken religion and had brought Christians under a heavy yoke. Therefore they had only reserved such as were decent, and apt to stir up men's minds with some good signification. Many ceremonies had been so abused by superstition and avarice, that it was necessary to take them quite away : but since it was fit to retain some, for decency and order, it seemed better to keep those which were old, than to seek new ones. But those that were kept, were not thought equal with God's law, and so were upon just causes to be altered : they were also plain, and easy to be understood, and not very subject to be abused. Nor did they in retaining those condemn other nations, or prescribe to any but their own people. And thus was this book made ready against the next meeting of parliament.

In it, the use of the cross was retained, since it had been used by the ancient Christians as a public declaration that they were not ashamed of the cross of Christ. Though they acknowledged this had been strangely abused in the later ages, in which the bare use of the cross was thought to have some magical virtue in it : and this had gone so far, that in the Roman pontifical it was declared, that the crossier staff was to be worshipped with that supreme degree of adoration called *Latria*. But it was thought fit to retain it in some parts of worship ; and the rather, because it was made use of among the people to defame the reformers, that they had no veneration for the cross of Christ. And therefore as an outward expression of that, in the sacrament of baptism, and in the office of confirmation, and in the consecration of the sacramental elements, it was ordered to be retained, but with this difference, that the sign of the cross was not made with the opinion of any virtue or efficacy in it to drive away evil spirits, or to preserve one out of dangers, which were thought virtues that followed the use of it in the Roman church ; for in baptism, as they used the sign of the cross, they added an adjuration to the " evil spirit not to violate it," and in the making it said, " Receive the sign of the cross both in thy forehead and in thy heart, and take the faith of the heavenly precepts." Thus a sacramental virtue was pretended to be affixed to it ; which the reformers thought could not be done

The Preface
to the Book
of Common
Prayer.

Reflections
made on the
new Liturgy.

without a warrant from a divine institution, of which it is plain there was none in Scripture. But they thought the use of it only as an expression of the belief of the church, and as a badge of Christianity, with such words added to it as could import no more, was liable to no exception. This seems more necessary to be well explained, by reason of the scruples that many have since raised against significant ceremonies, as if it were too great a presumption in any church to appoint such; since these seem to be of the nature of sacraments. Ceremonies that signify the conveyance of a divine grace and virtue are indeed sacraments, and ought not to be used without an express institution in Scripture; but ceremonies that only signify the sense we have, which is sometimes expressed as significantly in dumb shows as in words, are of another kind; and it is as much within the power of the church to appoint such to be used, as it is to order collects or prayers, words and signs being but different ways of expressing our thoughts. The belief of Christ's corporal presence was yet under consideration. And they observing wisely how the Germans had broken, by their running too soon into contests about that, resolved to keep up still the old general expressions, of the sacraments being the whole and true body of Christ, without coming to a more particular explanation of it. The use of oil on so many occasions was taken from the ancient Christians, who, as Theophilus says, began early to be anointed, and understood those words of St. Paul, of "God's anointing" and "sealing," literally. It was also anciently applied to the receiving of penitents. But it was not used about the sick, from the apostles' times till about the tenth century. And then, from what St. James writ to those in the dispersion, of sending for the elders to come to such as were sick, who should anoint them with oil, and their sins should be forgiven them, and they should recover; they came to give it to those that were dying; but not while there was any hope of life left in them. Though it is clear, that what St. James writ related to that extraordinary gift of healing, by imposition of hands and anointing with oil, which yet continued in the church when he writ that epistle. And it is plain, that this passage in St. James was not so understood by the ancients as it is now in the Roman church; since the ancients, though they used oil on many other occasions, yet applied it not at all to the sick till after so many ages; that gross superstition had so disposed the world to new rites, that there could be no discovery or invention more acceptable than the addition of a new ceremony, though they were then much oppressed with the old ones.

The changes that were made, and those that were designed to be made, occasioned great heats everywhere. And the pulpits generally contending with one another; to restrain that clashing, the power of granting licences to preach was taken from the bishops of each diocese, so that none might give them but the king and the archbishop of Canterbury. Yet that not proving an effectual restraint, on the 23d of September a proclamation is said to have come out, setting forth, that whereas according to former proclamations none was to preach but such as had obtained licence from the king or the archbishop; yet some of those that were so licensed had abused that permission, and had carried themselves irreverently, contrary to the instructions that were sent them; therefore the king intending to have shortly an uniform order over all the kingdom, and to put an end to all controversies in religion, about which some bishops and other learned men were then assembled; and though many of the preachers so licensed had carried themselves wisely, to the honour of God and the king's great contentation; yet till the order now preparing should be set forth, he did inhibit all manner of persons to preach in any public audience; to the intent that the clergy might apply themselves to prayer, for a blessing on what the king was then about to do: not doubting but the people would be employed likewise in prayer, and hearing the homilies read in their churches, and be ready to receive that uniform order that was to be set forth: and the inferior magistrates were required to see to the execution of this. I never met with any footstep of this proclamation, neither in records nor in letters, nor in any book written at that time. But Mr. Fuller has printed it, and Dr. Heylin has given an abstract of it from him. If Fuller had told how he came by it, it might have been further examined. But we know not whether he saw the printed proclamation, or only a copy of it. And if he saw but a copy, we have reason to doubt of it; for that might have been only the essay of some projecting man's pen. But because

I found it in those authors, I thought best to set it down as it is, and leave the reader to judge of it.

Having thus given an account of the progress of the Reformation this summer, I shall now turn to transactions of state, and shall first look towards Scotland. The Scots gaining time the last winter, and being in daily expectation of succours from France, were resolved to carry on the war. The governor began the year with the siege of Broughty Castle, a little below Dundee. But the English that were in it defended themselves so well, that after they had been besieged three months, the siege was raised, and only so many were left about it as might cover the country from their excursions. The English on the other side had taken and fortified Haddington, and were at work also at Lauder to make it strong. The former of these, lying in a plain, and in one of the most fruitful counties of Scotland, within twelve miles of Edinburgh, was a very fit place to be kept as a curb upon the country. About the end of May 6000 men were sent from France under the command of Dessie: 3000 of these were Germans, commanded by the rhinegrave; 2000 of them were French, and 1000 were of other nations. They landed at Leith; and the governor having gathered 8000 Scots to join with them, they sat down before Haddington; and here the Scottish nobility entered into a long consultation about their affairs.

The protector had sent a proposition to them, that there might be a truce for ten years (but whether he offered to remove the garrisons, does not appear). This he was forced to upon many accounts. He saw the war was like to last long, and to draw on great expense, and would certainly end in another war with France; he durst not any more go from court, and march himself at the head of the army, and leave the king to the practices of his brother: there were also great discontents in England, many were offended with the changes made in religion; the commons complained generally of oppression, and of the enclosing of grounds, of which the sad effects broke out next year: he began to labour under the envy of the nobility; the clergy were almost all displeased with him; and the state of affairs in Germany made it necessary to join with the king of France against the emperor. All this made him very desirous of such a peace with Scotland as might at least preserve the queen from being disposed of for ten years. In that time, by treaty and pensions, they might hope to gain their ends; more certainly than by a war, which only inflamed the Scots against them; according to the witty saying of one of the Scots, who being asked what he thought of the match with England, said, he knew not how he should like the marriage, but he was sure he did not like the way of wooing. On the other hand, the French pressed the Scots to send their young queen into France, in the ships that had brought over their forces; who should be married to the dauphin, and then they might depend on the protection of France. Many were for accepting the proposition from England (particularly all those who secretly favoured the Reformation); they thought it would give them present quiet, and free them from all the distractions which they either felt or might apprehend from a lasting war with so powerful an enemy: whereas the sending away of their queen would put them out of a capacity of obtaining a peace, if the war this year proved as unsuccessful as it was the last; and the defence they had from France was almost as bad as the invasions of the English, for the French were very insolent and committed great disorders. But all the clergy were so apprehensive of their ruin by the marriage with England, that they never judged themselves safe till the thing was out of their power, by the sending their queen into France. And it was said, that when once the English saw the hopes of the marriage irrecoverably lost, they would soon grow weary of the war: for then the king of France would engage in the defence of Scotland with his whole force, so that nothing would keep up the war so much as having their queen still among them. To this many of the nobility yielded, being corrupted by money from France; and the governor consented to it, for which he was to be made duke of Chastelherault in France, and to have an estate of 12,000

livres a year. And so it was agreed to send their queen away. This being gained, the French ships set sail to sea, as if they had been to return to France; but sailed round Scotland by the isles of Orkney, and came into Dunbriton Frith, near to which the queen was kept in Dunbriton Castle; and receiving her from

thence, with an honourable convoy that was sent to attend on her, they carried her over to Brétagne in France; and so by easy journeys she was brought to court, where her uncles received her with great joy, hoping by her means to raise and establish their fortunes in France.

In the mean time the siege of Haddington was carried on with great valour on both sides. The French were astonished at the courage, the nimbleness, and labours, of the Scotch Highlanders*; who were half naked, but capable of great hardships, and used to run on with marvellous swiftness. In one sally which the besieged made, one of those got an Englishman on his shoulders, and carried him away with that quickness that nothing could stop him: and though the Englishman bit him so in the neck, that as soon as he had brought him into the camp, he himself fell down as dead, yet he carried him off; for which he was nobly rewarded by Dessie. The English defended themselves no less courageously; and though a recruit of about one thousand foot and three hundred horse, that was sent from Berwick, led by sir Robert Bowes and sir Tho. Palmer, was so fatally intercepted that they were almost all to a man killed, yet they lost no heart. Another party, of about three hundred, escaped the ambush laid for them, and got into the town, with a great deal of ammunition and provisions, of which the besieged were come to be in want. But at the same time both Home Castle and Fast Castle were lost. The former was taken by treachery: for some coming in as deserters, seeming to be very zealous for the English quarrel, and being too much trusted by the governor, and going often out to bring intelligence, gave the lord Home notice, that on that side where the rock was, the English kept no good watches, trusting to the steepness of the place; so they agreed that some should come and climb the rock, to whom they should give assistance; which was accordingly done, and so it was surprised in the night. The governor of Fast Castle had summoned the country people to bring him in provisions; upon which (by a common stratagem) soldiers, coming as countrymen, threw down their carriages at the gates, and fell on the sentinels: and so the signal being given, some, that lay concealed near at hand, came in time to assist them, and took the castle.

The protector, till the army was gathered together, sent a fleet of ships to disturb the Scots, by the descents they should make in divers places: and his brother being A Fleet sent against Scot- land. admiral, he commanded him to go to his charge. He landed first in Fife, at St. Minin's; but there the queen's natural brother, James, afterwards earl of Murray, and regent of Scotland, gathered the country people together, and made head against them. The English were twelve hundred, and had brought their cannon to land; but the Scots charged them so home, that they forced them to their ships: many were drowned, and many killed; the Scots reckoned the number of the slain to be six hundred, and a hundred prisoners taken. The next descent they made was no more prosperous to them. For landing in the night at Montrose, Erskine of Dun gathered the country together, and divided them in three bodies, ordering one to appear soon after the former had engaged: the enemy, seeing a second and a third body come against them, apprehending greater numbers, ran back to their ships; but with so much loss, that of eight hundred who had landed, the third man got not safe to the ships again. So the admiral returned, having got nothing but loss and disgrace by the expedition. But was not successful.

But now the English army came into Scotland, commanded by the earl of Shrewsbury; though both the Scotch writers and Thuanus say, the earl of Lennox had the chief command; but he only came with the earl of Shrewsbury, as knowing the country and people best, and so being the fitter both to get intelligence, and to negotiate, if there was room for it. The Scots were by this time gone home for the most part; and the nobility with Dessie agreed that it was not fit to put all to hazard, and therefore raised the siege of Haddington and marched back to Edinburgh. The lord Gray with a great part of the English army followed him in the rear, but did not engage him into any great action: by which a good opportunity was lost, for the French were in great disorder. The English army came into Haddington. They consisted of about seventeen thousand men: of which number seven thousand were horse; and three

August 20.
The Siege of
Haddington
raised.

* Thuanus.



EDWARD H. BROWN

JAMES STUART, EARL OF MURRAY

REGENT OF SCOTLAND

OB. 1570.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION AT

HOLYROOD PALACE, EDINBURGH.

Engraved by Edward H. Brown, from the original in the collection at Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh.

thousand of the foot were German lansquenets, whom the protector had entertained in his service. These Germans were some of the broken troops of the Protestant army, who, seeing the state of their own country desperate, offered their service to the protector. He too easily entertained them; reckoning, that being protestants, they would be sure to him, and would depend wholly on himself. But this proved a fatal counsel to him; the English having been always jealous of a standing, but much more of a foreign force about their prince, so there was great occasion given by this to those who traded in sowing jealousies among the people. The English, having victualled Haddington and repaired the fortifications, returned back into their own country. But had they gone on to Edinburgh, they had found things there in great confusion. For Dessie, when he got thither, having lost five hundred of his men in the retreat, went to quarter his soldiers in the town; but the provost (so is the chief magistrate there called) opposed it. The French broke in with force, and killed him and his son, with all they found in the streets, men, women, and children: and as a spy whom the English had at Edinburgh gave them notice, the Scots were now more alienated from the French than from the English. The French had carried it very gently till the queen was sent away; but reckoned Scotland now a conquered country, and a province to France. So the Scots began, though too late, to repent the sending away of the queen. But it seems the English had orders not to venture too far; for the hopes of the marriage were now gone, and the protector had no mind to engage in a war with France. These things happened in the beginning of October. Dessie, apprehending that at Haddington they were now secure, the siege being so lately raised, resolved to try if he could carry the place by surprise. The English from thence had made excursions as far as Edinburgh; in one of which the French fell on them, pursued them, and killed about two hundred, and took sixscore prisoners, almost within their works. Soon after, Dessie marched in the night, and surprised one of their outworks, and was come to the gates; where the place had been certainly lost, if it had not been for a French deserter, who knew, if he were taken, what he was to expect. He therefore fired one of the great cannons, which being discharged amongst the thickest of the French, killed so many, and put the rest in such disorder, that Dessie was forced to quit the attempt. From thence he went and fortified Leith, which was then but a mean village; but the situation of the place being recommended by the security it now had, it soon came to be one of the best-peopled towns in Scotland. From thence he intended to have gone on, to take Broughty Castle, and to recover Dundee, which were then in the hands of the English; but he was ordered by the queen regent to make an inroad into England. There, after some slight engagements, in which the English had the worst, the Scotch and French came in as far as Newcastle, and returned loaded with spoil: which the French divided among themselves, allowing the Scots no share of it. An English priest was taken, who bore that disgrace of his country so heavily, that he threw himself on the ground, and would not eat, nor so much as open his eyes, but lay thus prostrate till he died. This the French, who seldom let their misfortunes afflict them, looked on with much astonishment. But at that time, the English had fortified Inchkeith, an island in the Frith, and put eight hundred men in it. Seventeen days after that, Dessie brought his forces from Leith, and recovered it; having killed four hundred English, and forced the rest to surrender.

Thus ended this year, and with it Dessie's power in Scotland. For the queen-mother and the governor had made great complaints of him at the court of France, that he put the nation to vast charge to little purpose; so that he was more uneasy to his friends than his enemies: and his last disorder at Edinburgh had on the one hand so raised the insolence of the French soldiers, and on the other hand so alienated and inflamed the people, that unless another were sent to command, who should govern more mildly, there might be great danger of a defection of a whole kingdom. For now, the seeds of their distaste of the French government were so sown, that men came generally to condemn their sending the queen away, and to hate the governor for consenting to it, but chiefly to abhor the clergy, who had wrought it for their own ends.

Monsieur de Thormes was sent over to command; and Monluc bishop of Valence came

Discontents
in Scotland.

with him to govern the councils and be chancellor of the kingdom. He had lately returned from his embassy at Constantinople. He was one of the wisest men of that time, and was always for moderate counsels in matters of religion : which made him be some time suspected of heresy. And indeed the whole sequel of his life declared him to be one of the greatest men of that age : only his being so long and so firmly united to queen Catherine Medici's interest, takes off a great deal of the high character which the rest of his life has given of him. But he was at this time unknown, and ill represented, in Scotland ; where they that looked for advantages from their alliance with France, took it ill to see a Frenchman sent over to enjoy the best office in the kingdom. But was not The queen-mother herself was afraid of him : so to avoid new grounds of dis- well received. content, he left the kingdom, and returned into France.

Thus ended the war between Scotland and England this year, in almost an equal mixture of good and bad success. The English had preserved Haddington, which was the chief matter of this year's action. But they had been at great charge in the war, in which they were only on the defensive : they had lost other places, and been unsuccessful at sea : and which was worst of all, they had now lost all hopes of the marriage, and were almost engaged in a war with France, which was like to fall on the king, when his affairs were in an ill condition, his people being divided and discontented at home, and his treasure much exhausted by this war.

The state of Germany was at this time most deplorable : the pope and emperor continued their quarrelling about the translation of the council. Mendoza at Rome, and Velasco at Bologna, declared in the emperor's name, that a council being called by his great and long endeavours for the quieting of Germany, and he being engaged in a war to get it to be received, and having procured a submission of the empire to the council, it was, upon frivolous and feigned causes, removed out of Germany to one of the pope's towns : by which the Germans thought themselves disengaged of their promise, which was to submit to a council in Germany ; and therefore that he protested against it, as an unlawful meeting, to whose decrees he would not submit ; and that if they did not return to Trent, he would take care of settling religion some other way. But the pope, being encouraged by the French king, was not ill pleased to see the emperor anew embroil himself with the Germans, and therefore intended the council should be continued at Bologna. Upon this the emperor ordered three divines, Julius Flugius bishop of Naumburg, Michael Sidonius, and Islebius Agricola, to draw a form of religion. The two former had been always papists, and the latter was formerly a protestant, but was believed to be now corrupted by the emperor, that the name of one of the Augsburg Confession might make what they were to set out pass the more easily. They drew up all the points of religion in a book which was best known by the name of the Interim, because it was to last during that interval, till a general council should meet in Germany. In it, all the points of the Romish doctrine were set forth in the smoothest terms possible : only married men might officiate as priests, and the communion was to be given in both kinds. The book being thus prepared, a diet was summoned to Augsburg in February, where the first thing done was the solemn investiture of Maurice in the electorate of Saxony. He had been declared elector last year by the emperor before Wittenberg ; but now it was performed with great ceremony on the 24th of February, which was the emperor's birth-day ; John Frederick looking on with his usual constancy of mind. All he said was, " Now they triumph in that dignity of which they have against justice and equity spoiled me, God grant they may enjoy it peaceably and happily, and may never need any assistance from me or my posterity."

The Affairs of Germany.

The Emperor being displeased with the Translation of the Council, orders the Interim to be drawn.

February. Diet at Augsburg.

February 24. Maurice made Elector of Saxony.

And without expressing any further concern about it, he went to his studies, which were almost wholly employed in the Scriptures.

The book of the Interim being prepared, the elector of Brandenburg sent for Martin Bucer, who was both a learned and moderate divine ; and showed it him. Bucer having read it, plainly told him, that it was nothing but downright popery, only a little disguised :

at which the elector was much offended, for he was pleased with it ; and Bucer not without great danger returned back to Strasburg. On the 15th of March, the book was proposed to the diet : and the elector of Mentz, without any order, did in all the princes' names give the emperor thanks for it : which he interpreted as the assent of the whole diet ; and after that would not hear any that came to him to stop it, but published it as agreed to by the diet.

At Rome and Bologna, it was much condemned, as a high attempt in the emperor to meddle with points of religion ; such as dispensing with the marriage of priests, and the communion in both kinds. Wherefore some of that church writ against it. And matters went so high, that wise men of that side began to fear the breach between the emperor and them might, before they were aware, be past reconciling : for they had not forgot that the last pope's stiffness had lost England, and they were not a little afraid they might now lose the emperor. But if the pope were offended for the concessions in these two particulars, the protestants thought they had much greater cause to dislike it ; since in all other controverted points it was against them. So that several of that side writ likewise against it. But the emperor was now so much exalted with his success, that he resolved to go through with it, little regarding the opposition of either hand. The new elector of Saxony went home, and offered it to his subjects. But they refused to receive it, and said, (as sir Philip Hobbey, then ambassador from England at the emperor's court, writ over,) that they had it under the emperor's hand and seal, that he should not meddle with matters of religion, but only with reforming the Commonwealth : and that if their prince would not protect them in this matter, they should find another, who would defend them from such oppression. An exhortation for the receiving of it was read at Augsburg ; but they also refused it. Many towns sent their addresses to the emperor, desiring him not to oppress their consciences. But none was of such a nature as that from Linda, a little town near Constance, which had declared for the emperor in the former war. They returned answer, that they could not agree to the Interim, without incurring eternal damnation : but to show their submission to him in all other things they should not shut their gates, nor make resistance against any he should send, though it were to spoil and destroy their town. This let the emperor and his council see how difficult a work it would be to subdue the consciences of the Germans. But his chancellor Granvell pressed him to extreme councils, and to make an example of that town, who had so peremptorily refused to obey his commands. Yet he had little reason to hope he should prevail on those who were at liberty, when he could work so little on his prisoner the duke of Saxe. For he had endeavoured by great offers to persuade him to agree to it ; but all was in vain, for he always told them that kept him, that his person was in their power, but his conscience was in his own, and that he would not on any terms depart from the Augsburg confession. Upon this he was severely used, his chaplain was put from him, with most of his servants ; but he continued still unmoved, and as cheerful as in his greatest prosperity. The Lutheran divines entered into great disputes how far they might comply. Melancthon thought that the ceremonies of popery might be used, since they were of their own nature indifferent. Others, as Amstorfius, Illiricus, with the greatest part of the Lutherans, thought the receiving the ceremonies would make way for all the errors of popery ; and though they were of their own nature indifferent, yet they ceased to be so, when they were enjoined as things necessary to salvation. But the emperor going on resolutely, many divines were driven away ; some concealed themselves in Germany, others fled into Switzerland, and some came over into England.

When the news of the changes that were made here in England were carried beyond sea, and after Peter Martyr's being with Cranmer, were more copiously written by him to his friends, Calvin and Martin Bucer, who began to think the Reformation almost oppressed in Germany, now turned their eyes more upon England. Calvin writ to the protector on the 29th of October, encouraging him to go on notwithstanding the wars : as Hezekias had done in his Reformation. He lamented the heats of some that professed the gospel, but complained that he heard there were few lively sermons preached in England ; and that the preachers recited their discourses coldly. He much

The Papists
offended at it
as well as the
Protestants.

Cotton Li-
brary, Titus
B. 2.

Calvin writ
to the Pro-
tector.

approves a set form of prayers, whereby the consent of all the churches did more manifestly appear. But he advises a more complete Reformation: he taxed the prayers for the dead, the use of chrism and extreme unction, since they were nowhere recommended in Scripture. He had heard that the reason why they went no further was, because the times could not bear it; but this was to do the work of God by political maxims; which though they ought to take place in other things, yet should not be followed in matters in which the salvation of souls was concerned. But above all things he complained of the great impieties and vices that were so common in England; as swearing, drinking, and uncleanness; and prayed him earnestly that these things might be looked after.

Martin Bucer writ also a discourse, congratulating the changes then made in England, which was translated into English by sir Philip Hobbey's brother. In it he answered the book that Gardiner had written against him; which he had formerly delayed to do, because king Henry had desired he would let it alone, till the English and Germans had conferred about religion. That book did chiefly relate to the marriage of the clergy: Bucer showed from many Fathers, that they thought every man had not the gift of chastity, which Gardiner thought every one might have that pleased. He taxed the open lewdness of the Romish clergy, who being much set against marriage, which was God's ordinance, did gently pass over the impurities which the forbidding it had occasioned among themselves. He particularly taxed Gardiner himself, that he had his rents paid him out of stews. He taxed him also for his state and pompous way of living, and showed how indecent it was for a churchman to be sent in embassies: and that St. Ambrose, though sent to make peace, was ashamed of it, and thought it unbecoming the priesthood. Both Fagius and he, being forced to leave Germany, upon the business of the Interim, Cranmer invited them over to England, and sent them to Cambridge, as he had done Peter Martyr to Oxford. But Fagius, not agreeing with this air, died soon after*, a man greatly learned in the oriental tongues, and a good expounder of the Scripture.

This being the state of affairs both abroad and at home, a session of parliament was held in England on the 24th of November, to which day it had been prorogued from the 15th of October, by reason of the plague then in London. The first bill that was finished, was that about the marriage of the priests. It was brought into the house of commons the 3d of December, read the second time on the 5th, and the third time the 6th. But this bill being only that married men might be made priests, a new bill was framed, that, besides the former provision, priests might marry. This was read the first time the 7th, the second time the 10th, and was fully argued on the 11th, and agreed to on the 12th, and sent up to the lords on the 13th of December. In that house it stuck as long, as it had been soon despatched by the commons. It lay on the table till the 9th of February. Then it was read the first time, and the 11th the second time; on the 16th it was committed to the bishops of Ely and Westminster, the lord chief justice, and the attorney-general: and on the 19th of February it was agreed to; the bishops of London, Durham, Norwich, Carlisle, Hereford, Worcester, Bristol, Chichester, and Llandaff, and the lords Morley, Dacres, Windsor, and Wharton, dissenting. It had the royal assent, and so became a law. The preamble sets forth, "That it were better for priests and other ministers of the church to live chaste and without marriage; whereby they might better attend to the ministry of the gospel, and be less distracted with secular cares, so that it were much to be wished, that they would of themselves abstain. But great filthiness of living, with other inconveniences, had followed on the laws that compelled chastity, and prohibited marriage, so that it was better they should be suffered to marry, than be so restrained. Therefore all laws and canons that had been made against it, being only made by human authority, are repealed. So that all spiritual persons of what degree soever might lawfully marry, providing they married according to the order of the church. But a proviso was added, that because many divorces of priests had been made after the Six Articles were enacted, and that the women might have thereupon married again, all these divorces, with everything that had followed on them, should be confirmed."

* Bucer and Fagius left Germany in April 1549, and Fagius died in the November following.—ANON. CORRECT.

There was no law that passed in this reign with more contradiction and censure than this, and therefore the reader may expect the larger account of this matter.

The unmarried state of the clergy had so much to be said for it, as being a course of life which was more disengaged from secular cares and pleasures, that it was cast on the reformers everywhere as a foul reproach, that they could not restrain their appetites, but engaged in a life that drew after it domestic cares, with many other distractions. This was an objection so easy to be apprehended, that the people had been more prejudiced against the marriage of the clergy, if they had not felt greater inconveniences by the debaucheries of priests; who, being restrained from marriage, had defiled the beds, and deflowered the daughters, of their neighbours, into whose houses they had free and unsuspected access, and whom under the cloak of receiving confessions they could more easily entice. This made them that they were not so much wrought on by the noise of chastity (when they saw so much and so plainly to the contrary), as otherwise they would have been, by a thing that sounded so well. But on the other hand, there was no argument which the reformers had more considered. There were two things upon which the question turned: the one was, the obligation that priesthood brought with it to live unmarried; the other was, the tie they might be under by any vow they had made. For the former, they considered, that God having ordained a race of men to be priests under Moses' law, who should offer up expiatory sacrifices for the sins of the Jews, did not only not forbid marriage, but made it necessary, for that office was to descend by inheritance: so that priesthood was not inconsistent with that state. In the New Testament some of the qualifications of a bishop and deacon are their being the husband of one wife, and their having well ordered their house, and brought up their children. St. Peter and other apostles were married; it was thought St. Paul was so likewise; Aquila was certainly married to Priscilla, and carried her about with him. Our Saviour, speaking of the help that an unmarried state was to the kingdom of God, recommended it equally to all ranks of men as they could bear it. St. Paul said, "Let every man have his own wife; it is better to marry than to burn;" and, "Marriage is honourable in all;" and the forbidding to marry is reckoned by him a mark of the apostasy of the latter times, so that the matter seemed clear from the Scriptures.

In the first ages Saturninus, Basilides, Montanus, Novatus, and the Eucratites, condemned marriage as a state of liberty more than was fit for Christians. Against those And from the Fathers. was asserted by the primitive fathers the lawfulness of marriage to all Christians without discrimination: and they who entering into holy orders forsook their wives, were severely condemned by the apostolical canons, and by the council of Gangra in the beginning of the fourth, and the council of Trullo in the latter end of the seventh, or rather in the beginning of the eighth age. Many great bishops in these times lived still with their wives, and had children by them, as namely both Nazianzen's and Basil's fathers: and Hilary of Poitiers when banished to Phrygia and very old, writing to his own daughter Abra, bid her ask her mother the meaning of those things which she by reason of her age understood not; by which it appears that his daughter was then very young, and by consequence born to him after he was a bishop. In the council of Nice, it being proposed that clergymen should depart from their wives, Paphnutius, though himself unmarried, opposed it as an unreasonable yoke. And Heliodorus bishop of Trica, the author of the first of those love-fables, now known by the name of Romances, being suspected of too much lasciviousness, and concerned to clear himself of that charge, did first move that clergymen should be obliged to live single, which the historian says they were not tied to before, but bishops as they pleased lived still with their wives. The Fathers in those times extolled a single life very high, and yet they all thought a man once married might be a bishop though his wife were yet living; they did not allow it indeed to him that had married twice; but for this they had a distinction, that if a man had been once married before his baptism, and again after his baptism, he was to be understood to be in the state of a single marriage. So that Jerome, who writ warmly enough against second marriages, yet says, *Ad Oceanum*, that the bishops in his age who were but once married in that sense were not to be numbered, and that more of these could be reckoned than were at the council of

Ariminum, who are said to have been eight hundred bishops. It is true that in that age they began to make canons against the marriage of those who were in orders, especially in the Roman and African churches ; but those were only positive laws of the church, and the frequent repeating of those canons shows that, even there, they were not generally obeyed. Of Synesius we read, that when he was ordained priest, he declared that he would not live secretly with his wife, as some did, but that he would dwell publicly with her, and wished that he might have many children by her. In the Eastern church all their clergy below the order of bishops are usually married before they be ordained, and afterward live with their wives, and have children by them, without any kind of prohibition. In the Western church the married clergy are taken notice of in many of the Spanish and Gallican synods, and the bishops' and priests' wives are called *episcopæ* and *presbyteræ*. In most of the cathedrals of England the clergy were married in the Saxon times, but, as was shown, page 17 of the first part, because they would not quit their wives they were put out, not of sacred orders, but only out of the seats they were then in, and those were given to the monks. When pope Nicolas had pressed the cœlibate of the clergy in the 9th century, there was great opposition made to it, chiefly by Haldericus bishop of Augsburg, who was held a saint notwithstanding this opposition. Restitutus bishop of London lived openly with his wife : nor was the cœlibate of the clergy generally imposed till pope Gregory VII.'s time in the eleventh century, who projecting to have the clergy depend wholly on himself, and so to separate them from the interests of those princes in whose dominions they lived, considered that by having wives and children they gave pledges to the state where they lived, and reckoned that if they were free from this incumbrance, then their persons being sacred, there would be nothing to hinder, but that they might do as they pleased in obedience to the popes, and opposition to their own princes' orders. The writers near Gregory VII.'s time called this a new thing, against the mind of the holy Fathers, and full of rashness in him, thus to turn out married priests. Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury did not impose cœlibate on the clergy in the villages, but only on those that lived in towns, and on prebendaries. But Anselm carried it further, and simply imposed it on all the clergy : yet himself laments that Sodomy was become then very common, and even public, which was also the complaint of Petrus Damiani in pope Gregory's time. Bernard said that that sin was frequent among the bishops in his time, and that this with many other abominations was the natural effect of prohibiting marriage. This made abbot Panormitan wish that it were left to men's liberty to marry if they pleased. And Pius II. said there might have been good reasons for imposing cœlibate on the clergy, but he believed there were far better reasons for taking away these laws that imposed it. Yet even since those laws have been made, Petrarch had a license to marry, and keep his preferences still. Boniface archbishop of Canterbury, Richard bishop of Chichester, and Geoffrey bishop of Ely, are said to have had wives ; and though there were not so many instances of priests marrying after orders, yet if there were anything in the nature of priesthood inconsistent by the law of God with marriage, then it was as unlawful for them to continue in their former marriages as to contract a new one. Some few instances were also gathered out of church history of bishops and priests marrying after orders : but as these are few, so there was just reason to controvert them.

Upon the whole matter it was clear that the cœlibate of the clergy flowed from no law of God, nor from any general law of the church ; but the contrary, of clergymen's living with their wives, was universally received for many ages. As for vows, it was much questioned how far they did bind in such cases. It seemed a great sin to impose such on any, when they were yet young, and did not well know their own dispositions. Nor was it in a man's power to keep them. For, continence being none of those graces that are promised by God to all that ask it, as it was not in a man's power without extreme severities on himself to govern his own constitution of body, so he had no reason to expect God should interpose when he had provided another remedy for such cases. Besides the promise made by clergymen, according to the rites of the Roman Pontifical, did not oblige them to cœlibate. The words were, "Wilt thou follow chastity and sobriety?" to which the subdeacon answered, "I will." By chastity was not to be

The vows and other reasons against it examined.

understood a total abstinence from all, but only from unlawful embraces; since a man might live chaste in a state of marriage, as well as out of it. But whatever might be in this, the English clergy were not concerned in it: for there was no such question nor answer made in the forms of their ordination. So they were not by any vow precluded from marriage. And for the expediency of it, nothing was more evident, than that these laws had brought in much uncleanness into the church, and those who pressed them most had been signally noted for these vices. No prince in the English history lewder than Edgar that had so promoted it. The Legate that in king Henry II.'s time got that severe decree made, that put all the married clergy from their livings, was found the very night after (for the credit of *cœlibate*) in bed with a whore. On this subject many indecent stories were gathered, especially by Bale, who was a learned man, but did not write with that temper and discretion that became a divine. He gathered all the lewd stories that could be raked together to this purpose; and the many abominable things found in the monasteries were then fresh in all men's memories. It was also observed, that the unmarried clergy had been, as much as the married could be, intent upon the raising families, and the enriching of their nephews and kindred, (and sometimes of their bastards, witness the present pope Paul III., and not long before him Alexander VI.,) so that the married clergy could not be tempted to more covetousness than had appeared in the unmarried. And for the distraction of domestic affairs, the clergy had formerly given themselves up to such a secular course of life, that it was thought nothing could increase it; but if the married clergy should set themselves to raise more than a decent maintenance for their children, such as might fit them for letters or callings, and should neglect hospitality, become covetous, and accumulate livings and preferments, to make estates for their children, this might be justly curbed by new laws, or rather the renewing of the ancient canons, by which clergymen were declared to be only entrusted with the goods of the church for public ends, and were not to apply them to their own private uses, nor to leave them to their children and friends.

Thus had this matter been argued in many books that were written on this subject, by Poinet, and Parker*, the one afterwards bishop of Winchester, and the other archbishop of Canterbury; also by Bale bishop of Ossory, with many more. Dr. Ridley, Dr. Taylor (afterwards bishop of Lincoln), Dr. Benson, and Dr. Redmayn, appeared more confidently in it, than many others; being men that were resolved never to marry themselves; who yet thought it necessary, and therefore pleaded, (according to the pattern that Paplnutius had set them,) that all should be left to their liberty in this matter.

The debate about it was brought into the convocation, where Dr. Redmayn's authority went a great way. He was a man of great learning and probity, and of so much greater weight, because he did not in all points agree with the reformers: but being at this time sick, his opinion was brought under his hand, which will be found in the Collection, copied from the original. It was to this purpose, "That though the Scriptures exhorted priests to live chaste, and out of the cares of the world; yet the laws forbidding them marriage, were only canons and constitutions of the church, not founded on the word of God; and therefore he thought that a man once married might be a priest: and he did not find the priests in the church of England had made any vow against marriage; and therefore he thought that the king and the higher powers of the church might take away the clog of perpetual continence from the priests, and grant that such as could not or would not contain, might marry once, and not be put from their holy ministration." It was opposed by many in both houses, but carried at last by the major vote. All this I gather from what is printed concerning it: for I have seen no remains of this, or of any of the other convocations that came afterwards in this reign; the registers of them being destroyed in the fire of London. This act seemed rather a connivance, and permission of the clergy to marry, than any direct allowance of it. So the enemies of that state of life continued to reproach the married clergy still: and this was much heightened

* Parker's book was not written till the reign of queen Mary, *ad leniendum suum in illa Mariana persecutione mororem*, as said in his life, nor published till the reign

of queen Elizabeth, and could have no relation to this reign.—ANON. CORRECT.

by many undecent marriages, and other light behaviour of some priests. But these things made way for a more full act concerning this matter about three years after.

The next act that passed in this parliament was about the public service, which was put into the house of commons on the 9th of December, and the next day was also put into the house of lords: it lay long before them, and was not agreed to till the 15th of January. The earl of Derby, the bishops of London, Durham, Norwich, Carlisle, Hereford, Worcester, Westminster, and Chichester, and the lords Dacres and Windsor, protesting. The preamble of the act sets forth, "that there had been several forms of service, and that of late there had been great difference in the administration of the sacraments, and other parts of divine worship; and that the most effectual endeavours could not stop the inclinations of many to depart from the former customs, which the king had not punished, believing they flowed from a good zeal. But that there might be a uniform way over all the kingdom, the king, by the advice of the lord protector and his council, had appointed the archbishop of Canterbury, with other learned and discreet bishops and divines, to draw an order of divine worship, having respect to the pure religion of Christ taught in the Scripture, and to the practice of the primitive church, which they, by the aid of the Holy Ghost, had with one uniform agreement concluded on; wherefore the parliament having considered the book, and the things that were altered or retained in it, they gave their most humble thanks to the king for his care about it; and did pray that all who had formerly offended in these matters, except such as were in the Tower of London, or the prison of the Fleet, should be pardoned; and did enact, that from the feast of Whit-Sunday next all divine offices should be performed according to it, and that such of the clergy as should refuse to do it, or continue to officiate in any other manner, should upon the first conviction be imprisoned six months, and forfeit a year's profit of their benefice: for the second offence forfeit all their church preferments, and suffer a year's imprisonment: and for the third offence should be imprisoned during life. And all that should write, or put out things in print, against it, or threaten any clergymen for using it, were to be fined in 10*l*. for the first offence, 20*l*. for the second, and to forfeit all their goods, and be imprisoned for life, upon a third offence. Only at the universities they might use it in Latin and Greek, excepting the office of the communion. It was also lawful to use other psalms or prayers taken out of the Bible, so those in the book were not omitted." This act was variously censured by those who disliked it. Some thought it too much, that it was said the book was drawn by the aid of the Holy Ghost. But others said this was not to be so understood as if they had been inspired by extraordinary assistance; for then there had been no room for any correction of what was now done; and therefore it was only to be understood in that sense, as all good motions and consultations are directed or assisted by the secret influences of God's holy spirit, which do oft help good men, even in their imperfect actions, where the good that is done is justly ascribed to the grace of God. Others censured it, because it was said to be done by uniform agreement, though three of the bishops that were employed in the drawing of it protested against it. These were the bishops of Hereford, Chichester, and Westminster; but these had agreed in the main parts of the work, though in some few particulars they were not satisfied, which made them dissent from the whole.

The proviso for the psalms and prayers taken out of the Bible, was for the singing psalms, which were translated into verse, and much sung by all who loved the Reformation, and were in many places used in churches. In the ancient church the Christians were much exercised in repeating the psalms of David; many had them all by heart, and used to be reciting them when they went about their work; and those who retired into a monastical course of life, spent many of their hours in repeating the psalter. Apollinaris put them in verse, as being easier for the memory. Other devout hymns came to be also in use. Nazianzen among the Greeks, and Prudentius among the Latins, laboured on that argument with the greatest success. There were other hymns that were not put in verse, the chief of which were, that most ancient hymn which we use now after the sacrament, and the celebrated Ambrosian hymn that begins *Te Deum Laudamus*. But as when the worship of the departed saints came to be dressed up with much pomp,

hymns were also made for their honour; and the Latin tongue, as well as prosody, being then much decayed, these came to be cast into rhymes, and were written generally in a fantastical affected style; so now at the Reformation, some poets, such as the times afforded, translated David's psalms into verse; and it was a sign by which men's affections to that work were everywhere measured, whether they used to sing these or not. But as the poetry then was low, and not raised to that justness to which it is since brought, so this work, which then might pass for a tolerable composure, has not been since that time so reviewed or changed as perhaps the thing required; hence it is that this piece of divine worship, by the meanness of the verse, has not maintained its due esteem. Another thing, that some thought deserved to be considered in such a work, was, that many of the psalms, being such as related more specially to David's victories, and contained passages in them not easily understood, it seemed better to leave out these, which it was not so easy to sing with devotion, because the meaning of them either lay hid, or did not at all concern Christians.

The parliament was adjourned from the 22d of December to the 2d of January. On the 1549. 7th of January the commons sent an address to the protector to restore Latimer to the bishopric of Worcester; but this took no effect, for that good old man did choose rather to go about and preach, than to engage in a matter of government, being now Jour. Proc. very ancient. A bill was put in by the lords for appointing of parks, and agreed to, the earl of Arundel only dissenting; but being sent down to the commons, it was upon the second reading thrown out, yet not so unanimously but that the house was divided about it.

On the 4th of February a bill was put in against eating flesh in Lent, and on fasting days; it was committed to the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Ely, Worcester, and Chichester; and sent to the commons on the 16th, who sent it up on the 7th of March, with a proviso, to which the lords agreed. In the preamble it is said, "that though it is clear by the word of God, that there is no day, nor kind of meat, purer than another, but that all are in themselves alike; yet many out of sensuality had contemned such abstinence as had been formerly used; and since due abstinence was a mean to virtue, and to subdue men's bodies to their soul and spirit, and was also necessary to encourage the trade of fishing, and for saving of flesh; therefore all former laws about fasting and abstinence were to be after the 1st of May repealed; and it was enacted, that from the 1st of May none should eat flesh on Fridays, Saturdays, Ember-days, in Lent, or any other days that should be declared fish-days, under several penalties. A proviso was added for excepting such as should obtain the king's licence, or were sick, or weak, and that none should be indicted but within three months after the offence."

Christ had told his disciples, that when he should be taken from them, then they should fast. Accordingly the primitive Christians used to fast oft, more particularly before the anniversary of the Passion of Christ, which ended in a high festivity at Easter. Yet this was differently observed, as to the number of days. Some abstained forty days, in imitation of Christ's fast, others only that week, and others had only an entire fast from the time of Christ's death till his resurrection. On these fasts they ate nothing till the evening, and then they ate most commonly herbs and roots. Afterwards the Fridays were kept as fasts, because on that day Christ suffered. Saturdays were also added in the Roman church, but not without contradiction. Ember-weeks came in afterwards, being some days before those Sundays, in which orders were given. And a general rule being laid down, that every Christian festival should be preceded by a fast*, thereupon the vigils of holy-days came, though not so soon into the number. But this, with the other good institutions of the primitive times, became degenerate; even in St. Austin's time, religion came to be placed in these observances, and anxious rules were made about them. Afterwards in the church of Rome they were turned into a mockery; for as on fast-days they dined, which the ancients did not, so the use of the most delicious fish, drest in the most exquisite manner, with the richest wines that could be had, was allowed, which made it ridiculous. So now they resolved to take off the severities of the former laws, and yet to keep up such laws

* The festivals between Easter and the Ascension-day was with them; as also Michaelmas.—GRANGER'S CORRECT.

about fasting and abstinence as might be agreeable to its true end : which is, to subdue the flesh to the spirit, and not to gratify it by a change of one sort of diet into another, which may be both more delicate and more inflaming. So fond a thing is superstition, that it will help men to deceive themselves by the slightest pretences that can be imagined.

It was much lamented then, and there is as much cause for it still, that carnal men have taken advantages from the abuses that were formerly practised, to throw off good and profitable institutions : since the frequent use of fasting, with prayer and true devotion joined to it, is perhaps one of the greatest helps that can be devised, to advance one to a spiritual temper of mind, and to promote a holy course of life : and the mockery that is discernible in the way of some men's fasting, is a very slight excuse for any to lay aside the use of that which the Scriptures have so much recommended.

There were other bills put in into both houses, but did not pass. One was, for declaring it treason to marry the king's sisters without consent of the king and his council ; Some Bills were rejected. but it was thought that king Henry's will, disabling them from the succession in that case, would be a stronger restraint ; and so it was laid aside. Another bill was put in for ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Great complaints were made of the abounding of vices and immoralities, which the clergy could neither restrain nor punish, and so they had nothing left but to preach against them, which was done by many with great freedom. In some of these sermons the preachers expressed their apprehensions of signal and speedy judgments from heaven, if the people did not repent ; but their sermons had no great effect, for the nation grew very corrupt ; and this brought on them severe punishments. The temporal lords were so jealous of putting power in churchmen's hands, especially to correct those vices of which themselves perhaps were most guilty, that the bill was laid aside. The pretence of opposing it was, that the greatest part of the bishops and clergy were still papists in their hearts ; so that if power were put into such men's hands, it was reasonable to expect they would employ it chiefly against those who favoured the Reformation, and would vex them on that score, though with pretences fetched from other things.

There was also put into the house of commons a bill for reforming of processes at common law, which was sent up by the commons to the lords, but it fell in that house. A design for digesting the Common Law into a Body. I have seen a large discourse written then upon that argument ; in which it is set forth, that the law of England was a barbarous kind of study, and did not lead men into a finer sort of learning, which made the common lawyers to be generally so ignorant of foreign matters, and so unable to negotiate in them ; therefore it was proposed, that the common and statute laws should be in imitation of the Roman law, digested into a body under titles and heads, and put in good Latin. But this was too great a design to be set on or finished under an infant king. If it was then necessary, it will be readily acknowledged to be much more so now, the volume of our statutes being so much swelled since that time ; besides the vast number of reports and cases, and the pleadings growing much longer than formerly : yet whether this is a thing to be much expected or desired, I refer it to the learned and wise men of that robe.

The only act that remains of this session of parliament, about which I shall inform the reader, is the attainder of the admiral. The queen dowager that had married him died in September last, not without suspicion of poison. She was a good and virtuous lady, and in her whole life had done nothing unseemly, but the marrying him so indecently, and so soon after the king's death. There was found among her papers a discourse written by her concerning herself ; intituled, " The Lamentation of a Sinner," which was published by Cecil, who writ a preface to it. In it, she, with great sincerity, acknowledges the sinful course of her life for many years, in which she, relying on external performances, such as fasts, and pilgrimages, was all that while a stranger to the internal and true power of religion : which she came afterwards to feel by the study of the Scripture, and the calling upon God for his holy spirit. She explains clearly the notion she had of justification by faith, so that holiness necessarily followed upon it : but lamented the great scandal given by many gospellers : so were all these called who were given to the reading of the Scriptures.

She being thus dead, the admiral renewed his addresses to the lady Elizabeth, but in vain; for as he could not expect that his brother and the council would consent to it, so if he had married her without that, the possibility of succeeding to the crown was cut off by king Henry's will. And this attempt of his occasioned that act to be put in, which was formerly mentioned, for declaring the marrying the king's sisters, without consent of council, to be treason. Seeing he could not compass that design, he resolved to carry away the king to his house of Holt in the country; and so to displace his brother, and to take the government into his own hands. For this end, he had laid in magazines of arms, and listed about ten thousand men in several places: and openly complained, that his brother intended to enslave the nation, and make himself master of all, and had therefore brought over those German soldiers. He had also entered into treaty with several of the nobility, that envied his brother's greatness, and were not ill pleased to see a breach between them, and that grown to be irreconcilable. To these he promised that they should be of the council, and that he would dispose of the king in marriage to one of their daughters: the person is not named. The protector had often told him of these things, and warned him of the danger into which he would throw himself by such ways; but he persisted still in his designs; though he denied and excused them as long as was possible. Now his restless ambition seeming incurable, he was on the 19th of January sent to the Tower. The original warrant, signed by all the privy council, is in the council-book formerly mentioned; where the earl of Southampton signs with the rest, who was now in outward appearance reconciled to the protector. On the day following the admiral's seal of his office was sent for, and put into secretary Smith's hands. And now many things broke out against him; and particularly a conspiracy of his with sir W. Sharington, vice-treasurer of the mint at Bristol, who was to have furnished him with 10,000*l.* and had already coined about 10,000*l.* false money, and had clipt a great deal more, to the value of 40,000*l.* in all; for which he was attainted by a process at common law, and that was confirmed in parliament. Fowler also, that waited in the privy chamber, with some few others, were sent to the Tower: many complaints being usually brought against a sinking man, the lord Russel, the earl of Southampton, and secretary Petre, were ordered to receive their examinations. And thus the business was let alone till the 23th of February, in which time his brother did again try if it were possible to bring him to a better temper: and as he had, since their first breach, granted him 800*l.* a year in land, to gain his friendship; so means were now used to persuade him to submit himself, and to withdraw from court, and from all employment. But it appeared that nothing could be done to him that could cure his ambition, or the hatred he carried to his brother. And therefore on the 22nd of February, a full report was made to the council of all the things that were informed against him; consisting not only of the particulars formerly mentioned, but of many foul misdemeanours in the discharge of the admiralty: several pirates being entertained by him, who gave him a share of their robberies, and whom he had protected, notwithstanding the complaints made by other princes, by which the king was in danger of a war from the princes so complaining. The whole charge consists of Thirty-three Articles, which will be found in the Collection. The particulars, as it is entered in the council-book, were so manifestly proved, not only by witnesses, but by letters under his own hand, that it did not seem possible to deny them. Yet he had been sent to, and examined by some of the council, but refused to make a direct answer to them, or to sign those answers that he had made. So it was ordered, that the next day all the privy council, except the archbishop of Canterbury, and sir John Baker, speaker to the house of commons, who was engaged to attend in the house, should go to the Tower and examine him. On the 23d the lord Chancellor, with the other councillors, went to him and read the articles of his charge, and earnestly desired him to make plain answers to them, excusing himself where he could, and submitting himself in other things: and that he would show no obstinacy of mind. He answered them, that he expected an open trial, and his accusers to be brought face to face. All the councillors endeavoured to persuade him to be more tractable, but to no purpose. At last the lord chancellor required him on his allegiance to make his answer.

The Queen Dowager dying, he courted the Lady Elizabeth.

January 19. The Admiral sent to the Tower.

Collection. Number 31.

He desired they would leave the articles with him, and he would consider of them, otherwise he would make no answer to them. But the councillors resolved not to leave them with him on those terms. On the 24th of February it was resolved in council, that the whole board should after dinner acquaint the king with the state of that affair, and desire to know of him whether he would have the law to take place; and since the thing had been before the parliament, whether he would leave it to their determination: so tender they were of their young king in a case that concerned his uncle's life. But the king had begun to discern his seditious temper, and was now much alienated from him.

When the councillors waited on him, the lord chancellor opened the matter to the king, and delivered his opinion for leaving it to the parliament. Then every councillor by himself spake his mind, all to the same purpose. Last of all the protector spake; he protested this was a most sorrowful business to him, that he had used all the means in his power to keep it from coming to this extremity; but, were it son or brother, he must prefer his majesty's safety to them, for he weighed his allegiance more than his blood: and that therefore he was not against the request that the other lords had made; and said, if he himself were guilty of such offences, he should not think he were worthy of life; and the rather because he was of all men the most bound to his majesty, and therefore he could not refuse justice. The king answered them in these words; "We perceive that there are great things objected and laid to my lord admiral my uncle, and they tend to treason, and we perceive that you require but justice to be done. We think it reasonable, and we will, that you proceed according to your request." Which words (as it is marked in the council-book) "coming so suddenly from his grace's mouth, of his own motion, as the lords might well perceive, they were marvellously rejoiced, and gave the king most hearty praise and thanks: yet resolved that some of both houses should be sent to the admiral, before the bill should be put in against him, to see what he could or would say." All this was done to try if he could be brought to a submission. So the lord chancellor, the earls of Shrewsbury, Warwick, and Southampton, and sir John Baker, sir Tho. Cheyney, and sir Anth. Denny, were sent to him. He was long obstinate, but after much persuasion was brought to give an answer to the first three articles, which will be found in the Collection at the end of the articles: and then on a sudden he stopt, and bade them be content, for he would go no further: and no entreaties would work on him, either to answer the rest, or to set his hand to the answers he had made.

On the 25th of February the bill was put in for attainting him, and the peers had been so accustomed to agree to such bills in king Henry's time, that they did easily pass it. All the judges and the king's council delivered their opinions, that the articles were treason. Then the evidence was brought, many lords gave it so fully, that all the rest with one voice consented to the bill; only the protector, "for natural pity's sake," as is in the council-book, desired leave to withdraw. On the 27th the bill was sent down to the commons with a message, that if they desired to proceed as the lords had done, those lords that had given their evidence in their own house, should come down and declare it to the commons: but there was more opposition made in the house of commons. Many argued against attainders in absence, and thought it an odd way that some peers should rise up in their places in their own house, and relate somewhat to the slander of another, and that he should be thereupon attainted; therefore it was pressed, that it might be done by a trial, and that the admiral should be brought to the bar, and be heard plead for himself. But on the 4th of March a message was sent from the king, that he thought it was not necessary to send for the admiral; and that the lords should come down and renew before them the evidence they had given in their own house. This was done; and so the bill was agreed to by the commons in a full house, judged about four hundred, and there were not above ten or twelve that voted in the negative. The royal assent was given on the 5th of March. On the 10th of March the council resolved to press the king that justice might be done on the admiral; and since the case was "so heavy and lamentable to the protector," (so it is in the council-book) "though it was also sorrowful to them all, they resolved to proceed in it, so that neither the king nor he should be further troubled with it."

The Council desired the King to refer the Matter to the Parliament.

Who consented to it.

The Bill passed in both Houses.



THOMAS, LORD SEYMOUR, OF SUDELEY.

OB 1549

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF ROBERT DE WOODCOTT

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF BATH

After dinner they went to the king, the protector being with them. The king said he had well observed their proceedings, and thanked them for their great care of his safety, and commanded them to proceed in it without further molesting him or the protector; and ended, "I pray you, my lords, do so." Upon this they ordered the bishop of Ely to go to the admiral, and to instruct him in the things that related to another life; and to prepare him to take patiently his deserved execution. And on the 17th of March he having made

Collection,
Number 32.
March 20.
The Admiral
beheaded.

report to them of his attendance on the admiral, the council signed a warrant for his execution, which will be found in the Collection, to which both the lord protector and the archbishop of Canterbury set their hands. And on the 20th his head was cut off. What his behaviour was on the scaffold I do not find*.

Thus fell Tho. lord Seymour, lord high admiral of England, a man of high thoughts, of great violence of temper, and ambitious out of measure. The protector was much censured for giving way to his execution, by those who looked only at that relation between them, which they thought should have made him still preserve him. But others who knew the whole series of the affair, saw it was scarce possible for him to do more for the gaining his brother than he had done. Yet the other being a popular notion, that it was against nature for one brother to destroy another, was more easily entertained by the multitude, who could not penetrate into the mysteries of state. But the way of proceeding was much condemned; since to attain a man without bringing him to make his own defence, or to object what he could say to the witnesses that were brought against him, was so illegal and unjust, that it could not be defended. Only this was to be said for it, that it was a little more regular than parliamentary attainders had been formerly; for here the evidence upon which it was founded was given before both houses.

One particular seemed a little odd, that Cranmer signed the warrant for his execution; which, being in a cause of blood, was contrary to the canon law. In the primitive times churchmen had only the cure of souls lying on them, together with the reconciling of such differences as might otherwise end in suits of law before the civil courts, which were made up of infidels. When the empire became Christian, these judgments, which they gave originally on so charitable an account, were by the imperial laws made to have great authority; but further than these, or the care of widows and orphans, they were forbid, both by the council of Chalcedon, and other lesser councils, to meddle in secular matters. Among the endowments made to some churches, there were lands given, where the slaves, according to the Roman law, came within the patrimony of these churches, and by that law masters had power of life and death over their slaves.

In some churches this power had been severely exercised, even to maiming and death, which seemed very indecent in a churchman. Besides, there was an apprehension that some severe churchmen, who were but masters for life, might be more profuse of the lives of such slaves, than those that were to transmit them to their families. Therefore, to prevent the waste that should be made in the church's patrimony, it was agreed on that churchmen should not proceed capitally against any of their vassals or slaves. And in the confusions that were in Spain, the princes that prevailed had appointed priests to be judges, to give the greater reputation to their courts. This being found much to the prejudice of the church, it was decreed in the fourth council of Toledo, that priests who were chosen by Christ to the ministry of salvation should not judge in capital matters, unless the prince should swear to them, that he would remit the punishment; and such as did otherwise were held guilty of bloodshedding, and were to lose their degree in the church. This was soon received over all the western church; and arguments were found out afterwards by the canonists to prove the

Laws against
Churchmen's
meddling in
matters of
blood.

* There is a pretty remarkable account of his death and behaviour in bishop Latimer's Fourth Sermon, *Edit.* i. p. 56, (left out of the following editions) where, amongst other things, he says, "He," (the admiral) "dyed very

dangerously, yrksomelye, horriblye." And surely so he did, if the letters referred to by him on the scaffold were genuine, which Latimer says he saw. — ANON. CORRECT.

necessity of continuing it; from David not being suffered to build the temple, since he was a man of blood; and from the qualification required by St. Paul in a bishop, that he should be no striker—since he seemed to strike, that did it either in person, or by one whom he deputed to do it. But when afterwards Charles the Great, and all the Christian princes in the west, gave their bishops great lands and dominions; they obliged them to be in all their councils, and to do them such services as they required of them by virtue of their tenures. The popes, designing to set up a spiritual empire, and to bring all church-lands within it, required the bishops to separate themselves from a dependance on their princes, as much as it was possible: and these laws formerly made about cases of blood were judged a colour good enough why they should not meddle in such trials; so they procured these cases to be excepted. But it seems Cranmer thought his conscience was under no tie from those canons, and so judged it not contrary to his function to sign that order.

The parliament was on the 14th of March prorogued to the 4th of November, the clergy having granted the king a subsidy of six shillings in the pound to be paid in three years. In the preamble of the bill of subsidy they acknowledged the great quietness they enjoyed under him, having no let nor impediment in the service of God. But the laity set out their subsidy with a much fuller preamble of the great happiness they had by the true religion of Christ; declaring that they were ready to forsake all things rather than Christ; as also to assist the king in the conquest of Scotland, which they call a part of his dominion; therefore they give twelvepence in the pound of all men's personal estates to be paid in three years.

But now to look into matters of religion, there was, immediately after the act of uniformity passed, a new visitation, which, it is probable, went in the same method that was observed in the former. There were two things much complained of; the one was, that the priests read the prayers generally with the same tone of voice that they had used formerly in the Latin service; so that it was said, the people did not understand it much better than they had done the Latin formerly. This I have seen represented in many letters; and it was very seriously laid before Cranmer by Martin Bucer. The course taken in it was, that in all parish churches the service should be read in a plain, audible voice; but that the former way should remain in cathedrals, where there were great quires, who were well acquainted with that tone, and where it agreed better with the music that was used in the anthems. Yet even there many thought it no proper way in the litany, where the greatest gravity was more agreeable to such humble addresses, than such a modulation of the voice, which to those unacquainted with it seemed light, and for others that were more accustomed to it, it seemed to be rather use that had reconciled them to it, than the natural decency of the thing, or any fitness in it to advance the devotion of their prayers. But this was a thing judged of less importance: it was said that those who had been accustomed to read in that voice could not easily alter it; but as

those dropt off and died others would be put in their places who would officiate in a plainer voice. Other abuses were more important. Some used in the communion-service many of the old rites, such as kissing the altar, crossing themselves, lifting the book from one place to another, breathing on the bread, showing it openly before the distribution, with some other of the old ceremonies.

The people did also continue the use of their praying by beads, which was called an innovation of Peter the Hermit in the twelfth century. By it ten aves went for one pater noster, and the reciting these so oft in Latin, had come to be almost all the devotion of the vulgar; and therefore the people were ordered to leave that unreasonable way of praying, it seeming a most unaccountable thing that the reciting the angel's salutation to the blessed Virgin should be such a high piece of divine worship. And that this should be done ten times for one prayer to God, looked so like preferring the creature to the Creator, that it was not easy to defend it from an appearance of idolatry. The priests were also ordered to exhort the people to give to the poor. The curates were required to preach and declare the catechism, at least every sixth week. And some priests continuing secretly the use of soul masses, in which, for avoiding the censure of the law, they had one to communicate with them, but had many of these in one day; it was ordered that there should be no selling of

Subsidies
granted by
the Clergy
and Laity.

A new Visi-
tation.

Some of the
old Abuses
continued in
the new Ser-
vice.

the communion in trentals, and that there should be but one communion in one church, except on Easter-day and Christmas; in which the people coming to the sacrament in greater numbers, there should be one sacrament in the morning, and another near noon. And there being great abuses in churches and churchyards, in which, in the times of popery, markets had been held, and bargains made, that was forbid, chiefly in the time of divine service or sermon.

These instructions, which the reader will find in the Collection, were given in charge to the visitors. Cranmer had also a visitation about the same time, in which the articles he gave out are all drawn according to the king's injunctions. By some questions in them, they seem to have been sent out before the parliament met, because the book of service is not mentioned; but the last question save one, being of such as contemned married priests, and refused to receive the sacrament at their hands, I conceive that these were compiled after the act concerning their marriage was passed, but before the feast of Whit-Sunday following, for till then the Common Prayer-book was not to be received. There were also orders sent by the council to the bishop of London, to see that there should be no special masses in St. Paul's church, which being the mother-church in the chief city of the kingdom, would be an example to all the rest; and that therefore there should be only one communion at the great altar, and that at the time when the high mass was wont to be celebrated, unless some desired a sacrament in the morning, and then it was to be celebrated at the high altar. Bonner, who resolved to comply in everything, sent the council's letter to the dean and residentiaries of St. Paul's, to see it obeyed; and indeed, all England over, the book was so universally received, that the visitors did return no complaint from any corner of the whole kingdom. Only the lady Mary continued to have mass said in her house, of which the council being advertised, writ to her to conform herself to the laws, and not to cast a reproach on the king's government; for the nearer she was to him in blood, she was to give the better example to others; and her disobedience might encourage others to follow her in that contempt of the king's authority. So they desired her to send to them her comptroller, and Dr. Hopton her chaplain, by whom she should be more fully advertised of the king and council's pleasure. Upon this she sent one to the emperor to interpose for her, that she might not be forced to anything against her conscience.

At this time there was a complaint made at the emperor's court of the English ambassador sir Philip Hobbly, for using the new Common Prayer-book there: to which he answered, he was to be obedient to the laws of his own prince and country; and as the emperor's ambassador had mass at his chapel at London without disturbance, though it was contrary to the law of England, so he had the same reason to expect the like liberty. But the emperor espousing the interest of the lady Mary, both Paget (who was sent over ambassador extraordinary to him upon his coming into Flanders) and Hobbly promised in the king's name that he should dispense with her for some time, as they afterwards declared upon their honours, when the thing was further questioned; though the emperor and his ministers pretended, that without any qualification it was promised that she should enjoy the free exercise of her religion. The emperor was now grown so high with his success in Germany, and that at a time when a war was coming on with France, that it was not thought advisable to give him any offence. There was likewise a proposition sent over by him to the protector and council, for the lady Mary to be married to Alphonso, brother to the king of Portugal. The council entertained it; and though the late king had left his daughters but 10,000*l.* a-piece, yet they offered to give with her 100,000 crowns in money, and 20,000 crowns' worth of jewels. The infant of Portugal was about her own age, and offered 20,000 crowns' jointure. But this proposition fell, on what hand I do not know. The lady Mary writ on the 22d of June to the council, that she could not obey their late laws; and that she did not esteem them laws, as made when the king was not of age, and contrary to those made by her father, which they were all bound by oath to maintain. She excused the not sending her comptroller (Mr. Arundel) and her priest; the one did all her business, so

Collection,
Number 33.

All received
the new Ser-
vice except
the Lady
Mary.

The Amba-
sador at the
Emperor's
Court not suf-
fered to use it.

A Treaty of
Marriage for
the Lady
Mary.

Cotton Lib.
Galba B. 12.

She writ to
the Council
concerning
the new Ser-
vice.

that she could not well be without him ; the other was then so ill that he could not travel. Upon this the council sent a peremptory command to these, requiring them to come up, and receive their orders. The lady Mary wrote a second letter to them on the 27th of June, in which she expostulated the matter with the council. She said she was subject to none of them, and would obey none of the laws they made ; but protested great obedience and subjection to the king. When her officers came to court, they were commanded to declare to the lady Mary, that though the king was young in person, yet his authority was now as great as ever ; that those who have his authority and act in his name are to be obeyed ; and though they as single persons were her humble servants, yet when they met in council, they acted in the king's name, and so were to be considered by all the king's subjects as if they were the king himself ; they had indeed sworn to obey the late king's laws, but that could bind them no longer than they were in force ; and being now repealed they were no more laws ; other laws being made in their room : there was no exception in the laws, all the king's subjects were included in them ; and for a reformation of religion made when a king was under age, one of the most perfect that was recorded in Scripture was so carried on, when Josiah was much younger than their king was ; therefore they gave them in charge to persuade her grace (for that was her title) to be a good example of obedience, and not to encourage peevish and obstinate persons by her stiffness. But this business was for some time laid aside.

And now the Reformation was to be carried on to the establishing of a form of doctrine, which should contain the chief points of religion. In order to which, there was this year great inquiry made into many particular opinions, and chiefly concerning the presence of Christ in the sacrament. There was no opinion for which the priests contended more ignorantly and eagerly, and that the people generally believed more blindly and firmly, as if a strong belief were nothing else but winking very hard. The priests, because they accounted it the chief support now left of their falling dominion, which, being kept up, might in time retrieve all the rest. For while it was believed that their character qualified them for so strange and mighty a performance, they must needs be held in great reverence. The people, because they thought they received the very flesh of Christ, and so (notwithstanding our Saviour's express declaration to the contrary, that the flesh profiteth nothing) looked on those who went about to persuade them otherwise, as men that intended to rob them of the greatest privilege they had. And therefore it was thought necessary to open this fully, before there should be any change made in the doctrine of the church.

The Lutherans seemed to agree with that which had been the doctrine of the Greek church, that in the sacrament there was both the substance of bread and wine, and Christ's body likewise. Only many of them defended it by an opinion that was thought akin to the Eutychian heresy, that his human nature, by virtue of the union of the Godhead, was everywhere ; though even in this way it did not appear that there was any special presence in the sacrament, more than in other things. Those of Switzerland had, on the other hand, taught that the sacrament was only an institution to commemorate the sufferings of Christ. This, because it was intelligible, was thought by many too low and mean a thing, and not equal to the high expressions that are in the Scripture, of its being the communion of the body and blood of Christ. The princes of Germany saw what mischief was like to follow on the diversity of opinions in explaining the sacrament : and as Luther, being impatient in his temper, and too much given to dictate, took it very ill to see his doctrine so rejected ; so by the indecent way of writing in matters of controversy, to which the Germans are too much inclined, this difference turned to a direct breach among them. The landgrave of Hesse had laboured much to have these diversities of opinion laid asleep, since nothing gave their common enemies such advantage as their quarrelling among themselves. Martin Bucer was of a moderate temper, and had found a middle opinion in this matter, though not so easy to be understood. He thought there was more than a remembrance, to wit, a communication of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, that in general a real presence ought to be asserted, and that the way of explaining it ought not to be anxiously inquired into : and with him Calvin agreed, that it was truly the body and blood of Christ, not

The manner
of Christ's
Presence in
the Sacrament
examined.

figuratively, but really present. The advantage of these general expressions was, that thereby they hoped to have silenced the debates between the German and Helvetian divines, whose doctrine came likewise to be received by many of the cities of the empire, and by the elector Palatine. And among Martin Bucer's papers, I met with an original paper of Luther's (which will be found in the Collection) in which he was willing to have that difference thus settled: "Those of the Augsburg confession should declare, that in the sacrament there was truly bread and wine, and those of the Helvetian confession should declare, that Christ's body was truly present, and so without any further curiosities in the way of explaining it, in which divines might use their liberty, the difference should end." But how this came to take no effect, I do not understand. It was also thought that this way of expressing the doctrine would give least offence; for the people were scarce able to bear the opinion of the sacraments being only a figure: but wherein this real presence consisted, was not so easy to be made out. Some explained it more intelligibly in a sense of law that in the sacrament there was a real application of the merit of Christ's death, to those who received it worthily: so that Christ as crucified was really present; and these had this to say for themselves, that the words of the institution do not call the elements simply Christ's body and blood, but his body broken, and his blood shed, and that therefore Christ was really present, as he was crucified, so that the importance of really was effectually. Others thought all ways of explaining the manner of the presence were needless curiosities, and apt to beget differences; that therefore the doctrine was to be established in general words, and to save the labour both of explaining and understanding it, it was to be esteemed a mystery. This seems to have been Bucer's opinion, but Peter Martyr inclined more to the Helvetians.

There were public disputations held this year both at Oxford and Cambridge upon this matter. At Oxford the popish party did so encourage themselves by the indulgence of the government, and the gentleness of Cranmer's temper, that they became upon this head insolent out of measure. Peter Martyr had read in the chair concerning the presence of Christ in the sacrament, which he explained according to the doctrine of the Helvetian churches: Dr. Smith did upon this resolve to contradict him openly in the schools, and challenge him to dispute on these points: and had brought many thither, who should by their clamours and applauses run him down; yet this was not so secretly laid, but a friend of Peter Martyr's brought him word of it before he had come from his house, and persuaded him not to go to the schools that day, and so disappoint Smith. But he looked on that as so mean a thing, that he would by no means comply with it. So he went to the divinity schools; on his way one brought him a challenge from Smith to dispute with him concerning the Eucharist. He went on and took his place in the chair, where he behaved himself with an equal measure of courage and discretion: he gravely checked Smith's presumption, and said, he did not decline a dispute; but was resolved to have his reading that day, nor would he engage in a public dispute without leave from the king's council: upon this a tumult was like to rise; so the vice chancellor sent for them before him: Peter Martyr said he was ready to defend everything that he had read in the chair, in a dispute: but he would manage it only in Scripture terms, and not in the terms of the schools.

This was the beating the popish doctors out of that which was their chief strength; for they had little other learning, but a sleight of tossing some arguments from hand to hand, with a gibberish kind of language, that sounded like somewhat that was sublime; but had really nothing under it. By constant practice they were very nimble at this sort of legerdemain, of which both Erasmus and sir Thomas More, with the other learned men of that age, had made such sport, that it was become sufficiently ridiculous; and the protestants laid hold on that advantage which such great authorities gave them to disparage it. They set up another way of disputing, from the original text of the Scripture in Greek and Hebrew, which seemed a more proper thing in matters of divinity than the metaphysical language of the schoolmen.

This whole matter being referred to the privy council, they appointed some delegates to hear and preside in the disputation; but Dr. Smith being brought in some trouble, either

for this tumult or upon some other account, was forced to put in sureties for his good behaviour: he desiring that he might be discharged of any further prosecution, made the most humble submission to Cranmer that was possible; and being thereupon set at liberty, he fled out of the kingdom; it is said he went first to Scotland, and from thence to Flanders. But not long after this Peter Martyr had a disputation before the commissioners sent by the king, who were the bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Cox, then chancellor of the university, and some others; in which Tresham, Chadsey, and Morgan disputed against these three propositions; "1. In the sacrament of thanksgiving there is no transubstantiation of bread and wine in the body and blood of Christ. 2. The body or blood of Christ is not carnally or corporally in the bread and wine, nor, as others use to say, under the bread and wine. 3. The body and blood of Christ are united to the bread and wine sacramentally." Ridley was sent also to Cambridge, with some others of the king's commissioners, where on the 20th, 24th, and 27th of June, there were public disputations on these two positions.

"Transubstantiation cannot be proved by the plain and manifest words of Scripture; nor can it be necessarily collected from it; nor yet confirmed by the consent of the ancient fathers.

"In the Lord's supper there is none other oblation and sacrifice, than of a remembrance of Christ's death, and of thanksgiving."

Dr. Madew defended these, and Glyn, Landale, Sedgwick, and Young, disputed against them the first day; and the second day Glyn defended the contrary propositions, and Peru, Grindal, Gest, and Pilkington, disputed against them. On the third day the dispute went on, and was summed up in a learned determination by Ridley against the corporal presence. There had been also a long disputation in the parliament on the same subject; but of this we have nothing remaining, but what king Edward writ in his Journal. Ridley had, by reading Bertram's Book of the body and blood of Christ, been first set on to examine well the old opinion concerning the presence of Christ's very flesh and blood in the sacrament; and wondering to find that in the ninth century that opinion was so much controverted, and so learnedly writ against by one of the most esteemed men of that age, began to conclude, that it was none of the ancient doctrines of the church, but lately brought in, and not fully received till after Bertram's age. He communicated the matter with Cranmer, and they set themselves to examine it with more than ordinary care. Cranmer afterwards gathered all the arguments about it into the book which he writ on that subject, to which Gardiner set out an answer under the disguised name of Marcus Constantius; and Cranmer replied to it. I shall offer the reader in short the substance of what was in these books, and of the arguments used in the disputations, and in many other books which were at that time written on this subject.

Christ in the institution took bread, and gave it. So that his words, "This is my body," could only be meant of the bread. Now the bread could not be his body literally. He himself also calls the cup, "The fruit of the vine." St. Paul calls it, "The bread that we break, and the cup that we bless;" and speaking of it after it was blessed, calls it, "That bread and that cup." For the reason of that expression, "This is my body," it was considered that the disciples, to whom Christ spoke thus, were Jews; and that they being accustomed to the Mosaical rites, must needs have understood his words in the same sense they did Moses's words, concerning the Pascal Lamb, which is called the Lord's Passover. It was not that literally, for the Lord's Passover was the angels passing by the Israelites when he smote the first-born of the Egyptians; so the Lamb was only the Lord's Passover, as it was the memorial of it; and thus Christ substituting the Eucharist to the Pascal Lamb, used such an expression, calling it his body, in the same manner of speaking as the Lamb was called the Lord's Passover. This was plain enough, for his disciples could not well understand him in any other sense than that to which they had been formerly accustomed. In the Scripture many such figurative expressions occur frequently. In baptism, the other sacrament instituted by Christ, he is said to baptise with the Holy Ghost and with fire; and such as are baptised are said to put on Christ; which were figurative expressions. As also in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the cup is called "the New Testament in Christ's blood," which is an expression

full of figure. Farther it was observed, that that sacrament was instituted for a remembrance of Christ, and of his death ; which implied that he was to be absent at the time when he was to be remembered. Nor was it simply said, that the elements were his body and blood ; but that they were his body broken, and his blood shed, that is, they were these as suffering on the cross ; which as they could not be understood literally, for Christ did institute this sacrament before he had suffered on the cross ; so now Christ must be present in the sacrament, not as glorified in heaven, but as suffering on his cross. From those places where it is said that Christ is in Heaven, and that he is to continue there, they argued that he was not to be any more upon earth. And these words in the 6th of St. John, of " eating Christ's flesh, and drinking his blood," they said were to be understood not of the sacrament ; since many receive the sacrament unworthily, and of them it cannot be said that they have eternal life in them ; but Christ there said of them that received him in the sense that was meant in that chapter, that all that did so eat his flesh had eternal life in them ; therefore these words can only be understood figuratively of receiving him by faith, as himself there explains it : and so in the end of that discourse, finding some were startled at that way of expressing himself, he gave a key to the whole, when he said " his words were spirit and life, and that the flesh profited nothing, it was the spirit that quickened." It was ordinary for him to teach in parables ; and the receiving of any doctrine, being oft expressed by the prophets by the figure of eating and drinking, he upon the occasion of the people's coming to him after he had fed them with a few loaves, did discourse of their believing, in these dark expressions ; which did not seem to relate to the sacrament, since it was not then instituted. They also argued from Christ's appealing to the senses of his hearers, in his miracles, and especially in his discourses upon his resurrection, that the testimony of sense was to be received, where the object was duly applied, and the sense not vitiated. They also alleged natural reasons against a body's being in more places than one, or being in a place in the manner of a spirit, so that the substance of a complete body could be in a crumb of bread or drop of wine : and argued, that since the elements, after consecration, would nourish, might putrify, or could be poisoned, these things clearly evinced, that the substance of bread and wine remained in the sacrament.

From this they went to examine the ancient fathers. Some of them called it bread and wine ; others said it nourished the body, as Justin Martyr ; others, that it was digested in the stomach, and went into the draught, as Origen. Some called it a figure of Christ's body, so Tertullian, and St. Austin ; others called the elements types and signs, so almost all the ancient Liturgies, and the Greek fathers generally. In the creeds of the church it was professed, that Christ still sat on the right hand of God ; the fathers argued from thence, that he was in heaven, and not on earth. And the Marcionites, and other heretics, denying that Christ had a true body, or did really suffer ; the fathers appealed in that to the testimony of sense, as infallible. And St. Austin giving rules concerning figurative speeches in Scripture ; one is this, that they must be taken figuratively, where in the literal sense the thing were a crime ; which he applies to these words of eating Christ's flesh, and drinking his blood. But that on which they put the stress of the whole cause, as to the doctrine of the fathers, was the reasoning that they used against the Eutychians, who said that Christ's body and human nature was swallowed up by his divinity. The Eutychians, arguing from the eucharist's being called Christ's body and blood, in which they said Christ's presence did convert the substance of the bread and wine into his own flesh and blood ; so in like manner, said they, his godhead had converted the manhood into itself ; against this, Gelasius bishop of Rome, and Theodoret, one of the learnedest fathers of his age, argue in plain words, that the substance of the bread and wine remained as it was formerly, in its own nature and form ; and from their opinion of the presence of Christ's body in it without converting the elements, they turned the argument to show how the divine and human nature can be together in Christ, without the one's being changed by the other. Peter Martyr had brought over with him the copy of a letter of St. Chrysostome's, which he found in a manuscript at Florence, written to the same purpose, and on the same argument : which was the more remarkable, because that Chrysostome had said higher things in his sermons and commentaries concerning Christ's

being present in the sacrament, than any of all the fathers ; but it appeared by this letter, that those high expressions were no other than rhetorical figures of speech to beget a great reverence to this institution : and from hence it was reasonable to judge that such were the like expressions in other fathers, and that they were nevertheless of Chrysostome's mind touching the presence of Christ in this sacrament. That Epistle of his does lie still unpublished, though a very learned man, now in France, has procured a copy of it : but those of that church know the consequence that the printing of it would have, and, so it seems, are resolved to suppress it if they can. From all these things it was plain that though the fathers believed there was an extraordinary virtue in the sacrament, and an unaccountable presence of Christ in it, yet they thought not of transubstantiation nor anything like it. But when darkness and ignorance crept into the church, the people were apt to believe anything that was incredible ; and were willing enough to support such opinions as turned religion into external pagantry. The priests also knowing little of the Scriptures, and being only or chiefly conversant in those writings of the ancients that had highly extolled the sacrament ; came generally to take up the opinion of the corporal presence, and being soon apprehensive of the great esteem it would bring to them, cherished it much. In the ninth century Bertram, Rabanus Maurus, Amalarius, Alcuinus, and Joannes Scotus, all writ against it : nor were any of them censured or condemned for these opinions. It was plainly and strongly contradicted by some homilies that were in the Saxon tongue, in which not a few of Bertram's words occur : particularly in that which was to be read in the churches on Easter-day. But in the eleventh or twelfth century it came to be universally received ; as indeed anything would have been that much advanced the dignity of priesthood. And it was farther advanced by pope Innocent III., and so established in the fourth council of Lateran ; that same council, in which the rooting out of heretics, and the pope's power of deposing heretical princes, and giving their dominions to others, were also decreed.

But there was another curious remark made of the progress of this opinion. When the doctrine of the corporal presence was first received in the Western church, they believed that the whole loaf was turned into one entire body of Jesus Christ ; so that in the distribution one had an eye, a nose, or an ear, another a tooth, a finger, or a toe, a third a collop, or a piece of tripe ; and this was supported by pretended miracles suited to that opinion, for sometimes the host was said to bleed, parts of it were also said to be turned to pieces of flesh. This continued to be the doctrine of the church of Rome for near three hundred years. It appears clearly in the renunciation which they made Berengarius swear. But when the schoolmen began to form the tenets of that church by more artificial and subtle rules, as they thought it an ungentle way of treating Christ to be thus mangling his body, and eating it up in gobbets, so the maxims they set up about the extension of matter, and of the manner of spirits filling a space, made them think of a more decent way of explaining this prodigious mystery. They taught that Christ was so in the host and chalice, that there was one entire body in every crumb and drop ; so that the body was no more broken, but upon every breaking of the host, a new whole body flew off from the other parts, which yet remained an entire body, notwithstanding their diminution. And then the former miracles, being contrary to this conceit, were laid aside, and new ones invented, fitted for this explanation, by which Christ's body was believed present after the manner of a spirit. It was given out, that he sometimes appeared as a child all in rays upon the host, sometimes with angels about him, or sometimes in his mother's arms. And that the senses might give as little contradiction as was possible, instead of a loaf they blessed then only wafers, which are such a shadow of bread as might more easily agree with their doctrine of the accidents of bread being only present : and lest a larger measure of wine might have encouraged the people to have thought it was wine still, by the sensible effects of it, that came also to be denied them.

This was the substance of the arguments that were in those writings. But an opinion that had been so generally received, was not of a sudden to be altered. Therefore they went on slowly in discussing it, and thereby did the better dispose the people to receive what they intended afterwards to establish concerning it.—And this was the state of religion for this year.

At this time there were many anabaptists in several parts of England. They were generally Germans, whom the revolutions there had forced to change their seats. Upon Luther's first preaching in Germany, there arose many, who building on some of his principles, carried things much further than he did. The chief foundation he laid down was, that the Scripture was to be the only rule of Christians. Upon this many argued, that the mysteries of the Trinity, and Christ's incarnation and sufferings, of the fall of man, and the aids of grace, were indeed philosophical subtleties, and only pretended to be deduced from Scripture, as almost all opinions of religion were; and therefore they rejected them. Among these, the baptism of infants was one. They held that to be no baptism, and so were rebaptized: but from this, which was most taken notice

Of whom there were two sorts. Of, as being a visible thing, they carried all the general name of anabaptists. Of these there were two sorts most remarkable. The one was of those who only thought that baptism ought not to be given but to those who were of an age capable of instruction, and who did earnestly desire it. This opinion they grounded on the silence of the New Testament about the baptism of children; they observed, that our Saviour commanding the apostles to baptize, did join teaching with it; and they said, the great decay of Christianity flowed from this way of making children Christians before they understood what they did. These were called the gentle or moderate anabaptists. But others who carried that name, denied almost all the principles of the Christian doctrine, and were men of fierce and barbarous tempers. They had broke out into a general revolt over Germany, and raised the war called the Rustic War; and possessing themselves of Munster, made one of their teachers, John of Leyden, their king, under the title of the King of the New Jerusalem. Some of them set up a fantastical unintelligible way of talking of religion, which they turned all into allegories: these being joined in the common name of anabaptists with the other, brought them also under an ill character.

On the 12th of April there was a complaint brought to the council, that with the strangers that were come into England, some of that persuasion had come over, and were disseminating their errors, and making proselytes: so a commission was ordered for the arch-bishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Ely, Worcester, Westminster, Chichester, Lincoln, and Rochester, sir William Petre, sir Tho. Smith, Dr. Cox, Dr. May, and some others, three of them being a quorum, to examine and search after all anabaptists, heretics, or contemnners of the Common Prayer. They were to endeavour to reclaim them, to enjoin them penance, and give them absolution: or if they were obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and to deliver them over to the secular power to be farther proceeded against. Some tradesmen in London were brought before these commissioners in May, and were persuaded to abjure their former opinions; which were, "that a man regenerate could not sin; that though the outward man sinned, the inward man sinned not; that there was no trinity of persons; that Christ was only a holy prophet, and not at all God; that all we had by Christ, was that he taught us the way to heaven; that he took no flesh of the Virgin; and that the baptism of infants was not profitable." One of those who thus abjured was commanded to carry a faggot next Sunday at St. Paul's, where there should be a sermon setting forth his heresy. But there was another of these extreme obstinate, Joan Bocher, commonly called Joan of Kent. "She denied that Christ was truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose flesh being sinful, he could take none of it; but the word by the consent of the inward man in the Virgin, took flesh of her;" these were her words. They took much pains about her, and had many conferences with her; but she was so extravagantly conceited of her own notions, that she rejected all they said with scorn; whereupon she was adjudged an obstinate heretic, and so left to the secular power;

the sentence against her will be found in the Collection. This being returned to the council, the good king was moved to sign a warrant for burning her, but could not be prevailed on to do it; he thought it a piece of cruelty too like that which they had condemned in papists, to burn any for their consciences. And in a long discourse he had with sir John Cheke he seemed much confirmed in that opinion. Cranmer was employed to persuade him to sign the warrant. He argued from the law of Moses, by which blasphemers were to be stoned; he told the king he made a great difference between

errors in other points of divinity, and those which were directly against the Apostles' Creed ; that these were impieties against God, which a prince, as being God's deputy, ought to punish ; as the king's deputies were obliged to punish offences against the king's person. These reasons did rather silence than satisfy the young king, who still thought it a hard thing (as in truth it was) to proceed so severely in such cases ; so he set his hand to the warrant, with tears in his eyes, saying to Cranmer, that if he did wrong, since it was in submission to his authority, he should answer for it to God. This struck the archbishop with much horror, so that he was very unwilling to have the sentence executed. And both he and Ridley took the woman then in custody to their houses, to see if they could persuade her. But she continued, by jeers and other insolences, to carry herself so contemptuously,

An Anabaptist burnt.

that at last the sentence was executed on her, the second of May the next year, bishop Scory preaching at her burning ; she carried herself then as she had done in the former parts of her process, very indecently, and in the end was burnt.

This action was much censured, as being contrary to the clemency of the gospel ; and was made oft use of by the papists, who said it was plain that the reformers were only against burning, when they were in fear of it themselves. The woman's carriage made her be looked on as a frantic person, fitter for bedlam than a stake. People had generally believed that all the statutes for burning heretics had been repealed ; but now, when the thing was better considered, it was found that the burning of heretics was done by the common law, so that the statutes made about it were only for making the conviction more easy, and the repealing the statutes did not take away that which was grounded on a writ at common law. To end all this matter at once ; two years after this, one George Van Pare, a Dutchman, being accused for saying that God the Father was only God, and that Christ was not very God,

Another burnt.

he was dealt with long to abjure ; but would not : so on the 6th of April 1551, he was condemned in the same manner that Joan of Kent was, and on the 25th of April was burnt in Smithfield. He suffered with great constancy of mind,

and kissed the stake and faggots that were to burn him. Of this Pare I find a popish writer saying, that he was a man of most wonderful strict life, that he used not to eat above once in two days, and before he did eat would lie some time in his devotion prostrate on the ground. All this they made use of to lessen the credit of those who had suffered formerly ; for it was said, they saw now that men of harmless lives might be put to death for heresy, by the confession of the reformers themselves : and in all the books published in queen Mary's days, justifying her severity against the protestants, these instances were always

This was much censured.

made use of ; and no part of Cranmer's life exposed him more than this did. It was said he had consented both to Lambert's and Anne Askew's death, in the former reign, who both suffered for opinions which he himself held now ; and he had now procured the death of these two persons, and when he was brought to suffer himself afterwards it was called a just retaliation on him. One thing was certain, that what he did in this matter flowed from no cruelty of temper in him, no man being further from that black disposition of mind ; but it was truly the effect of those principles by which he governed himself.

For the other sort of anabaptists, who only denied infants baptism, I find no severities used to them ; but several books were written against them, to which they wrote some answers. It was said that Christ allowed little children to be brought to him, and said, of such was the kingdom of heaven, and blessed them : now if they were capable of the kingdom of heaven, they must be regenerated, for Christ said none but such as were born of water and of the Spirit could enter into it. St. Paul had also called the children of believing parents holy, which seemed to relate to such a consecration of them as was made in baptism. And baptism being the seal of Christians, in the room of circumcision among the Jews, it was thought the one was as applicable to children as the other. And one thing was observed, that the whole world in that age having been baptized in their infancy, if that baptism was nothing, then there were none truly baptized in being ; but all were in the state of mere nature : now it did not seem reasonable that men who were not baptized themselves should go and baptize others : and therefore the first heads of that sect, not being rightly baptized themselves, seemed not to

Disputes concerning the Baptism of Infants.

act with any authority when they went to baptize others. The practice of the church, so early begun, and continued without dispute for so many ages, was at least a certain confirmation of a thing which had (to speak moderately) so good foundations in Scripture for the lawfulness, though not any peremptory, but only probable proof for the practice of it.

These are all the errors in opinion that I find were taken notice of at this time. There was another sort of people, of whom all the good men in that age made great complaints. Some there were called Gospellers, or Readers of the Gospel, who were a scandal to the doctrine they professed. In many sermons I have oft met with severe expostulations with these, and heavy denunciations of judgments against them. But I do not find anything objected to them, as to their belief; save only that the doctrine of predestination having been generally taught by the reformers, many of this sect began to make strange inferences from it; reckoning, that since everything was decreed, and the decrees of God could not be frustrated, therefore men were to leave themselves to be carried by these decrees. This drew some into great impiety of life, and others into desperation. The Germans soon saw the ill effects of this doctrine. Luther changed his mind about it, and Melancthon openly writ against it: and since that time the whole stream of the Lutheran churches has run the other way. But both Calvin and Bucer were still for maintaining the doctrine of these decrees; only they warned the people not to think much of them, since they were secrets which men could not penetrate into; but they did not so clearly show how these consequences did not flow from such opinions. Hooper, and many other good writers, did often dehort people from entering into these curiosities; and a caveat to that same purpose was put afterwards into the article of the Church about predestination.

One ill effect of the dissoluteness of people's manners broke out violently this summer, occasioned by the inclosing of lands. While the monasteries stood, there were great numbers of people maintained about these houses; their lands were easily let out, and many were relieved by them. But now the numbers of the people increased much, marriage being universally allowed; they also had more time than formerly, by the abrogation of many holy-days, and the putting down of processions and pilgrimages; so that as the numbers increased, they had more time than they knew how to bestow. Those who bought in the church-lands, as they everywhere raised their rents, of which old Latimer made great complaints in one of his court sermons, so they resolved to inclose their grounds, and turn them to pasture; for trade was then rising fast, and corn brought not in so much money as wool did. Their flocks also being kept by few persons in grounds so inclosed, the landlords themselves enjoyed the profit which formerly the tenants made out of their estates: and so they intended to force them to serve about them at any such rates as they would allow. By this means the commons of England saw they were like to be reduced to great misery. This was much complained of, and several little books were written about it. Some proposed a sort of agrarian law, that none might have farms above a set value, or flocks above a set number of two thousand sheep; which proposal I find the young king was much taken with, as will appear in one of the discourses he wrote with his own hand. It was also represented that there was no care taken of the educating of youth, except of those who were bred for learning; and many things were proposed to correct this; but in the mean time the commons saw the gentry were like to reduce them to a very low condition.

The protector seemed much concerned for the commons, and oft spoke against the oppression of landlords. He was naturally just and compassionate, and so did heartily espouse the cause of the poor people, which made the nobility and gentry hate him much. The former year, the commons about Hampton-Court petitioned the protector and council, complaining, that whereas the late king in his sickness had inclosed a park there, to divert himself with private easy game, the deer of that park did overlay the country, and it was a great burden to them; and therefore they desired that it might be disparked. The council considering that it was so near Windsor, and was not useful to the king, but a charge rather, ordered it to be disparked, and the deer to be carried to Windsor; but with this proviso, that if the king when he came of age desired to have a park there, what they did should be

no prejudice to him. There was also a commission issued out to inquire about inclosures and farms, and whether those who had purchased the abbey-lands kept hospitality, to which they were bound by the grants they had of them, and whether they encouraged husbandry. But I find no effect of this. And indeed there seemed to have been a general design among the nobility and gentry to bring the inferior sort to that low and servile state to which the peasants in many other kingdoms are reduced. In the parliament an act was carried in the house of lords for imparking grounds, but was cast out by the commons; yet gentlemen went on everywhere taking their lands into their own hands, and inclosing them.

In May the commons did rise first in Wiltshire; where sir William Herbert gathered Many are easily quieted. some resolute men about him, and dispersed them, and slew some of them. Soon after that, they rose in Sussex, Hampshire, Kent, Gloucestershire, Suffolk, Warwickshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Leicestershire, Worcestershire, and Rutlandshire; but by fair persuasions the fury of the people was a little stopped till the matter should be represented to the council. The protector said, he did not wonder the commons were in such distempers, they being so oppressed; that it was easier to die once than to perish for want; and therefore he set out a proclamation, contrary to the mind of the whole council, against all new inclosures; with another, indemnifying the people for what was past, so they carried themselves obediently for the future. Commissioners were also sent everywhere, with an unlimited power to the commissioners, to hear and determine all causes about inclosures, highways, and cottages. The vast power these commissioners assumed was much complained of; the landlords said it was an invasion of their property, to subject them thus to the pleasure of those who were sent to examine the matters, without proceeding in the ordinary courts according to law. The commons being encouraged by the favour they heard the protector bore them, and not able to govern their heat, or stay for a more peaceable issue, did rise again, but were anew quieted. Yet the protector being opposed much by the council, he was not able to redress this grievance so fully as the people hoped. So in Oxfordshire and Devonshire they rose again, and also in Norfolk and Yorkshire. Those in Oxfordshire were dissipated by a force of fifteen hundred men, led against them by the lord Gray. Some of them were taken and hanged by martial law, as being in a state of war; the greatest part ran home to their dwellings.

In Devonshire the insurrection grew to be better formed; for that county was not only But those of Devonshire grew formidable. far from the court, but it was generally inclined to the former superstition, and many of the old priests ran in among them. They came together on the 10th of June, being Whit-Sunday; and in a short time they grew to be ten thousand strong. At court it was hoped this might be as easily dispersed as the other risings were; but the protector was against running into extremities, and so did not move so speedily as the thing required. He, after some days, at last sent the lord Russel with a small force to stop their proceedings. And that lord, remembering well how the duke of Norfolk had with a very small army broken a formidable rebellion in the former reign, hoped that time would likewise weaken and disunite these; and therefore he kept at some distance, and offered to receive their complaints, and to send them to the council. But these delays gave advantage and strength to the rebels; who were now led on by some gentlemen: Arundel of Cornwall being in chief command among them; and in answer to the lord Russel, they agreed on fifteen articles,* the substance of which was as follows.

“1. That all the general councils, and the decrees of their forefathers should be observed.

Their Demands.

“2. That the act of the Six Articles should be again in force

“3. That the mass should be in Latin, and that the priests alone should receive.

“4. That the sacrament should be hanged up, and worshipped; and those who refused to do it should suffer as heretics.

“5. That the sacrament should only be given to the people at Easter in one kind.

“6. That baptism should be done at all times.

* Before this they drew up their demands in seven articles.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

"7. That holy bread, holy water, and palms, be again used ; and that images be set up, with all the other ancient ceremonies.

"8. That the new service should be laid aside, since it was like a Christmas game : and the old service again should be used with the procession in Latin.

"9. That all preachers in their sermons, and priests in the mass, should pray for the souls in purgatory.

"10. That the Bible should be called in, since otherwise the clergy could not easily confound the heretics.

"11. That Dr. Moreman, and Crispin, should be sent to them, and put in their livings.

"12. That cardinal Pole should be restored, and made of the king's council.

"13. That every gentleman might have only one servant for every hundred marks of yearly rent that belonged to him.

"14. That the half of the abbey and church-lands should be taken back, and restored to two of the chief abbeys in every county : and all the church-boxes for seven years should be given to such houses, that so devout persons might live in them, who should pray for the king and the commonwealth.

"15. And that for their particular grievances, they should be redressed, as Humphrey Arundel and the mayor of Bodmin should inform the king, for whom they desired a safe-conduct."

These articles being sent to the council, the archbishop of Canterbury was ordered to draw an answer to them, which I have seen corrected with his own hand. The substance of it was, that their demands were insolent, such as were dictated to them by some seditious priests : they did not know what general councils had decreed ; nor was there anything in the church of England contrary to them, though many things had been formerly received which were so : and for the decrees, they were framed by the popes to enslave the world, of which he gave several instances.

For the Six Articles, he says, they had not been carried in parliament if the late king had not gone thither in person, and procured that act ; and yet of his own accord he slackened the execution of it.

To the third, It was strange that they did not desire to know in what terms they worshipped God ; and for the mass, the ancient canons required the people to communicate in it, and the prayers in the office of the mass did still imply that they were to do it.

For the hanging up and adoring the host, it was but lately set up by pope Innocent, and Honorius, and in some places it had never been received.

For the fifth, The ancient church received that sacrament frequently and in both kinds.

To the sixth, Baptism in cases of necessity was to be administered at any time : but out of these cases it was fit to do it solemnly ; and in the ancient church it was chiefly done on the eves of Easter and Whit-Sunday, of which usages some footsteps remained still in the old offices.

To the seventh, These were late superstitious devices : images were contrary to the Scriptures, first set up for remembrance, but soon after made objects of worship.

To the eighth, The old service had many ludicrous things in it ; the new was simple and grave ; if it appeared ridiculous to them, it was as the gospel was long ago, foolishness to the Greeks.

To the ninth, The Scriptures say nothing of it ; it was a superstitious invention derogatory to Christ's death.

To the tenth, The Scriptures are the word of God, and the readiest way to confound that which is heresy indeed.

To the eleventh, These were ignorant, superstitious, and deceitful persons.

To the twelfth, Pole had been attainted in parliament for his spiteful writings and doings against the late king.

To the thirteenth, It was foolish and unreasonable ; one servant could not do a man's business ; and by this, many servants would want employment.

To the fourteenth, This was to rob the king, and those who had these lands of him ; and would be a means to make so foul a rebellion be remembered in their prayers.

To the fifteenth, These were notorious traitors, to whom the king's council was not to submit themselves.

After this they grew more moderate, and sent eight articles : 1. Concerning baptism. They made 2. About confirmation. 3. Of the mass. 4. For reserving the host. 5. For new De- holy bread and water. 6. For the old service*. 7. For the single lives of mands. priests. 8. For the Six Articles ; and concluded, God save the king, for they were his, both body and goods. To this there was an answer sent in the king's name on the 8th of July (so long did the treaty with them hold), in which, after expressions of the king's affection to his people, he taxes their rising in arms against him their king as contrary to the laws of God : he tells them, that they are abused by their priests, as in the instance of baptism, which according to the book might, necessity requiring it, be done at all times ; that the changes that had been set out were made after long and great consultation ; and the worship of this church, by the advice of many bishops and learned men, was reformed, as near to what Christ and his apostles had taught and done as could be : and all things had been settled in parliament. But the most specious thing that misled them being that of the king's age, it was showed them that his blood, and not his years, gave him the crown ; and the state of government requires, that at all times there should be the same authority in princes, and the same obedience in the people. It was all penned in a high threatening style, and concluded with an earnest invitation of them to submit to the king's mercy, as others that had risen had also done, to whom he had not only showed mercy, but granted redress of their just grievances : otherwise they might expect the utmost severity that traitors deserved.

But nothing prevailed on this enraged multitude, whom the priests inflamed with all the artifices they could imagine ; and among whom the host was carried about by a priest on a cart, that all might see it. But when this commotion was thus grown to a head, the men of Norfolk rose the 6th of July, being led by one Ket a tanner. These pretended nothing of religion, but only to suppress and destroy the gentry, and to raise the commons, and to put new councillors about the king. They increased mightily, and became twenty thousand strong, but had no order nor discipline, and committed many horrid outrages. The sheriff of the county came boldly to them, and required them in the king's name to disperse, and go home ; but had he not been well mounted, they had put him cruelly to death. They came to Moushold Hill above Norwich, and were much favoured by many in that city. Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, came among them, and preached very freely to them, of their ill lives, their rebellion against the king, and the robberies they daily committed ; by which he was in great danger of his life. Ket assumed to himself the power of judicature, and under an old oak, called from thence the Oak of Reformation, did such justice as might be expected from such a judge, and in such a camp. The marquis of Northampton was sent against them, but with orders to keep at a distance from them, and to cut off their provisions ; for so it was hoped that without the shedding much blood they might come to themselves again.

A Rising in When the news of this rising came into Yorkshire, the commons there rose also ; Yorkshire. being further encouraged by a prophecy ; that there should be no king nor nobility in England, that the kingdom should be ruled by four governors chosen by the commons, who should hold a parliament, in commotion, to begin at the south and north seas. This they applied to the Devonshire men on the south seas, and themselves on the north seas. They at their first rising fired beacons, and so gathered the country, as if it had been for the defence of the coast ; and meeting two gentlemen, with two others with them, they without any provocation murdered them, and left their naked bodies unburied. At the same time that England was in this commotion, the news came that the French king had sent a great army into the territory of Boulogne, so that the government was put to most extraordinary straits.

* That the service might be sung or said in choir.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

There was a fast proclaimed in and about London. Cranmer preached on the fast-day at court. I have seen the greatest part of his sermon under his own hand; and it is the only sermon of his I ever saw. It is a very plain unartificial discourse, no shows of learning, or conceits of wit in it, but he severely expostulated in the name of God with his hearers, for their ill lives, their blasphemies, adulteries, mutual hatred, oppression, and contempt of the gospel; and complained of the slackness in punishing these sins, by which the government became in some sort guilty of them. He set many passages of the Jewish story before them of the judgments such sins drew on, and of God's mercy in the unexpected deliverances they met with upon their true repentance. But he chiefly lamented the scandal given by many who pretended a zeal for religion, but used that for a cloak to disguise their other vices: he set before them the fresh example of Germany, where people generally loved to hear the gospel, but had not amended their lives upon it; for which God had now, after many years' forbearance, brought them under a severe scourge, and intimated his apprehensions of some signal stroke from heaven upon the nation, if they did not repent.

The rebels in Devonshire went and besieged Exeter, where the citizens resisted them with great courage; they set fire to the gates of the city, which those within fed with much fuel, for hindering their entry, till they had raised a rampart within the gates, and when the rebels came to enter, the fire being spent, they killed many of them. The rebels also wrought a mine, but the citizens countermined, and poured in so much water as spoiled their powder. So finding they could do nothing by force, they resolved to lie about the town, reckoning that the want of provision would make it soon yield. The lord Russel having but a small force with him staid awhile for some supplies, which sir William Herbert was to bring him from Bristol. But being afraid that the rebels should inclose him, he marched back from Honiton where he lay; and finding they had taken a bridge behind him he beat them from it, killing six hundred of them without any loss on his side. By this he understood their strength, and saw they could not stand a brisk charge, nor rally when once in disorder. So the lord Gray, and Spinola that commanded some Germans, joining him, he returned to raise the siege of Exeter, which was much straitened for want of victuals. The rebels had now shut up the city twelve days, they within had eat their horses, and endured extreme famine, but resolved to perish rather than fall into the hands of those savages; for the rebels were indeed no better. They had blocked up the ways, and left two thousand men to keep a bridge which the king's forces were to pass. But the lord Russel broke through them, and killed about one thousand of them; upon that the rebels raised the siege, and retired to Launceston. The lord Russel gave the citizens of Exeter great thanks in the king's name for their fidelity and courage; and pursued the rebels, who were now going off in parties, and were killed in great numbers. Some of their heads, as Arundel, and the mayor of Bodmin, Temson and Barret, two priests, with six or seven more, were taken and hanged.

And so this rebellion was happily subdued in the west, about the beginning of August, to the great honour of the lord Russel; who with a very small force had saved Exeter, and dispersed the rebels' army, with little or no loss at all.

But the marquis of Northampton was not so successful in Norfolk. He carried about eleven hundred men with him, but did not observe the orders given him, and so marched on to Norwich. The rebels were glad of an occasion to engage with him, and fell in upon him the next day with great fury, and the town not being strong, he was forced to quit it, but lost one hundred of his men in that action, among whom was the lord Sheffield, who was much lamented. The rebels took about thirty prisoners, with which they were much lifted up. This being understood at court, the earl of Warwick was sent against them, with six thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse that were prepared for an expedition to Scotland; he came to Norwich, but was scarce able to defend it; for the rebels fell often in upon him, neither was he well assured of the town. But he cut off their provisions, so that the rebels, having wasted all the country about them, were forced to remove. And then he followed them with his horse. They turned upon him, but he quickly routed them, and killed two thousand of them, and took Ket their

A Fast at
Court, where
Cranmer
preached.
Ex. MS. Col.
C. C. Cantab.

Exeter be-
sieged.

But is reliev-
ed, and the
Rebels defeat-
ed by the
Lord Russel.

Warwick
disperses the
Rebels at
Norfolk.

captain, with his brother, and a great many more. Ket was hanged in chains at Norwich next January.

The rebels in Yorkshire had not become very numerous, not being above three thousand in all; but hearing of the defeating of those in other parts, they accepted of the offer of pardon that was sent them; only some few of the chief ringleaders continued to make new stirs, and were taken, and hanged in York the September following.

When these commotions were thus over, the protector pressed that there might be a general and free pardon speedily proclaimed, for quieting the country, and giving their affairs a reputation abroad. This was much opposed by many of the council, who thought it better to accomplish their several ends by keeping the people under the lash, than by so profuse a mercy; but the protector was resolved on it, judging the state of affairs required it. So he gave out a general pardon of all that had been done before the 21st of August, excepting only those few whom they had in their hands, and resolved to make public examples. Thus was England delivered from one of the most threatening storms that at any time had broke out in it; in which deliverance the great prudence and temper of the protector seems to have had no small share. Of this whole matter advertisement was given to the foreign ministers, in a letter which will be found in the Collection.

There was this year a visitation of the university of Cambridge; Ridley was appointed to be one of the visitors, and to preach at the opening of it; he thereupon writ to May dean of St. Paul's, to let him know what was to be done at it, that so his sermon might be adjusted to their business. He received answer, that it was only to remove some superstitious practices and rites, and to make such statutes as should be found needful. But when he went to Cambridge he saw the instructions went further. They were required to procure a resignation of some colleges, and to unite them with others, and to convert some fellowships appointed for encouraging the study of divinity, to the study of the civil law*. In particular Clare-hall was to be suppressed. But the master and fellows would not resign, and after two days labouring to persuade them to it, they absolutely refused to do it. Upon this Ridley said he could not with a good conscience go on any further in that matter; the church was already so robbed and stripped, that it seemed there was a design laid down by some to drive all civility, learning, and religion out of the nation; therefore he declared he would not concur in such things, and desired leave to be gone. The other visitors complained of him to the protector, that he had so troubled them with his barking (so indecently did they express that strictness of conscience in him), that they could not go on in the king's service; and because Clare-hall was then full of northern people, they imputed his unwillingness to suppress that house to his partial affection to his countrymen, for he was born in the bishopric of Durham†. Upon this the protector writ a chiding letter to him. To it he writ an answer so suitable to what became a bishop, who would put all things to hazard rather than do anything against his conscience, that I thought it might do no small right to his memory to put it, with the answer which the protector writ to him, in the Collection. These with many more I found among his majesty's papers of state in that repository of them commonly called the 59, 60. • Paper-office; to which I had a free access by a warrant which was procured to me from the king, by the right honourable the earl of Sunderland, one of the principal secretaries of state, who very cheerfully and generously expressed his readiness to assist me in anything that might complete the history of our Reformation. That office was first set

* There were no other colleges to be suppressed besides Clare Hall, in order to found a new college of civilians, either by uniting it to Trinity Hall, or by augmenting the number of Trinity Hall to twenty fellows; as appears by King Edward's statutes (drawn up before the visitors came down) compared with his injunctions, (all upon the Black Book), drawn up after. Indeed Trinity Hall was to be surrendered, in order to the union or new foundation; wherein Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, then master, did good service, who refused to surrender, and that I sup-

pose partly upon political reasons. For had he parted with his own house, he would never have been made master of the new Law College, though he were doctor both of the common and civil law.—ANON. CORRECT.

† The two colleges of Clare Hall and Trinity Hall could not be brought to surrender in order to the uniting them; some visitors were for doing it by the king's absolute power. To this Ridley would not agree, and for this he was complained of.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

up by the care of the earl of Salisbury when he was secretary of state, in king James's time; which though it is a copious and certain repertory for those that are to write our history ever since the papers of state were laid up there, yet for the former times it contains only such papers as that great minister could then gather together, so that it is not so complete in the transactions that fall within the time of which I write.

There was also a settlement made of the controversy concerning the Greek tongue. There had been in king Henry's time a great contest raised concerning the pronunciation of the Greek vowels. That tongue was but lately come to any perfection in England, and so no wonder the Greek was pronounced like English, with the same sound and apertures of the mouth: to this Mr. Cheke, then reader of that tongue in Cambridge, opposed himself, and taught other rules of pronunciation. Gardiner was, it seems, so afraid of every innovation, though ever so much in the right, that he contended stiffly to have the old pronunciation retained: and Cheke persisting in his opinion, was either put from the chair, or willingly left it to avoid the indignation of so great and so spiteful a man as Gardiner was, who was then chancellor of the university*. Cheke wrote a book in vindication of his way of pronouncing Greek; of which this must be said, that it is very strange to see how he could write with so much learning and judgment on so bare a subject. Redmayn, Poinet, and other learned men were of his side, yet more covertly: but sir Tho. Smith, now secretary of state, writ three books on the same argument, and did so evidently confirm Cheke's opinion, that the dispute was now laid aside, and the true way of pronouncing the Greek took place; the rather because Gardiner was in disgrace, and Cheke and Smith were in such power and authority: so great an influence had the interests of men in supporting the most speculative and indifferent things.

Soon after this, Bonner fell into new troubles; he continued to oppose everything, as long as it was safe for him to do it, while it was under debate, and so kept his interest with the papists; but he complied so obediently with all the laws and orders of council, that it was not easy to find any matter against him. He executed every order that was sent him so readily, that there was not so much as ground for any complaint; yet it was known he was in his heart against everything they did, and that he cherished all that were of a contrary mind. The council being informed, that upon the commotions that were in England, many in London withdrew from the service and communion, and frequented masses, which was laid to his charge, as being negligent in the execution of the king's laws and injunctions; they writ to him on the 23d of July, to see to the correcting of these things, and that he should give good example himself. Upon which, on the 26th following, he sent about a charge to execute the order in this letter, which he said he was most willing and desirous to do. Yet it was still observed, that whatsoever obedience he gave, it was against his heart. And therefore he was called before the council the 11th of August. There a writing was delivered to him, complaining of his remissness; and particularly that whereas he was wont formerly on all high festivals to officiate himself, yet he had seldom or never done it, since the new service was set out: as also that adultery was openly practised in his diocese, which he took no care according to his pastoral office to restrain or punish: therefore he was strictly charged to see these things reformed. He was also ordered to preach on Sunday come three weeks, at St. Paul's cross; and that he should preach there once a quarter for the future, and be present at every sermon made there, except he were sick; that he should officiate at St. Paul's at every high festival, such as were formerly called *Majus duplex*, and give the communion: that he should proceed against all who did not frequent the common prayer, nor receive the sacrament once a year; or did go to mass: that he should search out and punish adulterers: that he should take care of the reparation of churches, and paying tithes, in his diocese, and should keep his residence in his house in London. As to his sermon, he was required to preach against rebellion, setting out the heinousness of it; he was also to show what was true religion, and that external ceremonies were nothing in

* Cheke was not put from the chair; nor did he part with it, till after he was sent for by the king to instruct the prince, as appears from the account of the life of his successor, Nicholas Carr, p. 59, and otherwise.—ANON. CORRECT.

themselves; but that in the use of them men ought to obey the magistrate, and join true devotion to them, and that the king was no less king, and the people no less bound to obey, when he was in minority, than when he was of full age.

On the first of September, being the day appointed for him to preach, there was a great assembly gathered to hear him. He touched upon the points that were enjoined him, excepting that about the king's age, of which he said not one word. But since the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament was a thing which he might yet safely speak of, he spent most of his sermon on the asserting the corporal presence; which he did with many sharp reflections on those who were of another mind. There were present among others William Latimer, and John Hooper, soon after bishop of Gloucester, who came and informed against him; that as he had wholly omitted that about the king's age, so he had touched the other points but slightly, and did say many other things which tended to stir up disorder and dissension. Upon this there was a commission issued out to Cranmer, and Ridley, with the two secretaries of state, and Dr. May dean of St. Paul's, to examine that matter. They or any two of them had full power by this commission to suspend, imprison or deprive him, as they should see cause. They were to proceed in the summary way, called in their courts *De plano*.

On the 10th of September, Bonner was summoned to appear before them at Lambeth. As he came into the place where they sat, he carried himself as if he had not seen them, till one pulled him by the sleeve to put off his cap to the king's commissioners; upon which he protested he had not seen them; which none of them could believe. He spake slightly to them of the whole matter, and turned the discourse off to the mass, which he wished were had in more reverence. When the witnesses were brought against him, he jeered them very undecently, and said the one talked like a goose, and the other like a woodcock, and denied all they said. The archbishop asked him, whether he would refer the matter in proof to the king's authority when under age. Many answered, "no, no." Bonner looked about, and laughed, saying, "Will you believe this fond people?" Some he called dunces, and others fools, and behaved himself more like a madman than a bishop. His insolent behaviour.

The next day he was again brought before them. Then the commission was read. The archbishop opened the matter, and desired Bonner to answer for himself: he read a protestation which he had prepared, setting forth, that since he had not seen the commission, he reserved to himself power to except, either to his judges, or to any other branch of the commission, as he should afterwards see cause. In this he called it a pretended commission, and them pretended judges, which was taxed as irreverent: but he excused it, alleging that these were terms of law which he must use, and so not be precluded from any objections he might afterwards make use of. The bill of complaint was next read, and the two informers appeared with their witnesses to make it good. But Bonner objected against them, that they were notorious heretics, and that the ill-will they bore him was because he had asserted the true presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar: that Hooper in particular had in his sermon, that very day on which he had preached, denied it; and had refuted and misrecited his sayings, like an ass, as he was an ass indeed!—so ill did he govern his tongue. Upon this Cranmer asked him, whether he thought Christ was in the sacrament with face, mouth, eyes, nose, and the other lineaments of his body; and there passed some words between them on that head: but Cranmer told him that was not a time and place to dispute, they were come to execute the king's commission. So Bonner desired to see both it and the denunciation; which were given him, and the court adjourned till the 13th.

Secretary Smith sate with them at their next meeting, which he had not done the former day, though his name was in the commission; upon this Bonner protested, that according to the canon law none could act in a commission but those who were present the first day in which it was read. But to this it was alleged, that the constant practice of the kingdom had been to the contrary: that all whose names were in any commission,

might sit and judge, though they had not been present at the first opening of it. This protestation being rejected, he read his answer in writing to the accusation.

His Defence. He first objected to his accusers, that they were heretics in the matter of the sacrament: and so were, according to the laws of the catholic church, under excommunication, and therefore ought not to be admitted into any Christian company. Then he denied that the injunctions given to him had been signed, either with the king's hand or signet, or by any of his council. But upon the whole matter he said he had in his sermon condemned the late rebellion in Cornwall, Devonshire, and Norfolk, and had set forth the sin of rebellion according to several texts of Scripture: he had also preached for obedience to the king's commands; and that no ceremonies that were contrary to them ought to be used; in particular he had exhorted the people to come to prayers, and to the communion, as it was appointed by the king, and wondered to see them so slack in coming to it: which he believed flowed from a false opinion they had of it. And therefore he taught, according to that which he conceived to be the duty of a faithful pastor, the true presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament: which was the true motive of his accusers in their prosecuting him thus. But though he had forgot to speak of the king's power under age, yet he had said that which necessarily inferred it; for he had condemned the late rebels for rising against their lawful king, and had applied many texts of Scripture to them, which clearly implied, that the king's power was then entire, otherwise they could not be rebels.

These are rejected. But to all this it was answered that it was of no great consequence who were the informers, if the witnesses were such that he could not except against them: besides, they were impowered by their commission to proceed *ex officio*; so that it was not necessary for them to have any to accuse. He was told that the injunctions were read to him in council by one of the secretaries, and then were given to him by the protector himself; that afterwards they were called for, and that article concerning the king's power before he came to be of age being added, they were given him again by secretary Smith; and he promised to execute them. He was also told, that it was no just excuse for him to say he had forgot that about the king's power; since it was the chief thing pretended by the late rebels, and was mainly intended by the council in their injunctions; so that it was a poor shift for him to pretend he had forgot it, or had spoken of it by a consequence.

The court adjourned to the 16th day, and then Latimer and Hooper offered to purge themselves of the charge of heresy, since they had never spoken or written of the sacrament but according to the Scripture: and whereas Bonner had charged them, that on the 1st of September they had entered into consultation and confederacy against him, they protested, they had not seen each other that day, nor been known to one another till some days after. Bonner upon this read some passages of the sacrament out of a book of Hooper's, whom he called that varlet. But Crammer cut off the discourse, and said, it was not their business to determine that point, and said to the people, that the bishop of London was not accused for anything he had said about the sacrament. Then Bonner, turning to speak to the people, was interrupted by one of the delegates, who told him, he was to speak to them, and not to the people: at which some laughing, he turned about in great fury, and said, "Ah Woodcocks! Woodcocks!" But to the chief point, he said he had prepared notes of what he intended to say about the king's power in his minority; from the instances in Scripture, of Achaz and Osias, who were kings at ten, of Solomon and Manasses, who reigned at twelve, and of Josias, Joachim, and Joas, who began to reign when they were but eight years old. He had also gathered out of the English history, that Henry the Third, Edward the Third, Richard the Second, Henry the Sixth, and Edward the Fifth, were all under age: and even their late king was but eighteen when he came to the crown; and yet all these were obeyed as much before as after they were of full age. But these things had escaped his memory, he not having been much used to preach. There had been also a long bill sent him from the council to be read, of the defeat of the rebels, which he said had disordered him: and the book in which he had laid his notes fell out of his hands when he was in the pulpit: for this he appealed to his two chaplains, Bourn and Harpsfield, whom he had desired to gather for him the names of those kings who reigned before they were of age. For the other injunctions, he had taken care to execute them, and had sent orders to his

archdeacons to see to them : and as far as he understood, there were no masses nor service in Latin within his diocese, except at the Lady Mary's, or in the chapels of ambassadors. But the delegates required him positively to answer whether he had obeyed that injunction about the king's authority or not, otherwise they would hold him as guilty ; and if he denied it, they would proceed to the examination of the witnesses. He refusing to answer otherwise than he had done, they called the witnesses, who were Sir John Cheke and four more, who had their oaths given them : and Bonner desiring a time to prepare his interrogatories, it was granted. So he drew a long paper of twenty interrogatories, every one of them containing many branches in it ; full of all the niceties of the canon law : a test of which may be had from the third in number, which is indeed the most material of all. The interrogatory was " Whether they, or any of them, were present at his sermon, where they stood, and near whom, when they came to it, and at what part of his sermon, how long they tarried, at what part they were offended, what were the formal words, or substance of it, who with them did hear it, where the other witnesses stood, and how long they tarried, or when they departed."

The court adjourned to the 18th of September ; and then there was read a declaration from the king, explaining their former commission, chiefly in the point of the denunciation, that they might proceed either that way or *ex officio*, as they saw cause ; giving them also power finally to determine the matter, cutting off all superfluous delays. Bonner gave in also some other reasons, why he should not be obliged to make a more direct answer to the articles objected against him : the chief of which was, that the article about the king's age was not in the paper given him by the protector, but afterwards added by secretary Smith of his own head. Cranmer admonished him of his irreverence, since he called them always his pretended judges. Smith added, that though proctors did so in common matters, for their clients, yet it was not to be endured in such a case, when he saw they acted by a special commission from the king. New articles were given him more explicit and plain than the former, but to the same purpose. And five witnesses were sworn upon these, who were all the clerks of the council, to prove that the article about the king's age was ordered by the whole council, and only put in writing by secretary Smith, at their command. He was appointed to come next day, and make his answer. But on the 19th two of his servants came, and told the delegates that he was sick, and could not attend. It was therefore ordered, that the knight-marshal should go to him ; and if he were sick, let him alone ; but if it were not so, should bring him before them next day. On the 20th Bonner appearing, answered as he had done formerly ; only he protested, that it was his opinion, that the king was as much a king, and the people as much bound to obey him, before he was of age as after it : and after that, secretary Smith having taken him up more sharply than the other delegates, he protested against him as no competent judge, since he had expressed much passion against him, and had not heard him patiently, but had compared him to thieves and traitors, and had threatened to send him to the Tower to sit with Ket and Arundel ; and that he had added some things to the injunctions given him by the protector, for which he was now accused, and did also proceed to judge him, notwithstanding his protestation, grounded on his not being present when the commission was first opened and received by the court. But this protestation also was rejected by the delegates ; and Smith told him, that whereas he took exception at his saying that he acted as thieves and traitors do, it was plainly visible in his doings ; upon which, Bonner, being much inflamed, said to him, that as he was secretary of state, and a privy counsellor, he honored him ; but as he was sir Thomas Smith, he told him he lied, and that he defied him. At this the archbishop chid him, and said, he deserved to be sent to prison for such irreverent carriage. He answered, he did not care whether they sent him, so they sent him not to the devil, for thither he would not go : he had a few goods, a poor carcass, and a soul : the two former were in their power, but the last was in his own. After this, being made to withdraw, he, when called in again, put in an appeal from them to the king, and read an instrument of it, which he had prepared at his own house that morning ; and so would make no other answer, unless the secretary should remove. For this contempt he was sent to the prison of the Marshalsea ; and as he was led away, he broke out in great passion, both against

He protests
against Secre-
tary Smith.

Smith, and also at Cranmer, for suffering heretics to infect the people, which he required him to abstain from, as he would answer for it to God and the king.

On the 23rd he was again brought before them, where, by a second instrument, he adhered to his former appeal. But the delegates said, they would go on, and judge him, unless there came a supersedeas from the king, and so required him to answer those articles which he had not yet answered, otherwise they would proceed against him as contumax, and hold him as confessing. But he adhered to his appeal, and so would answer no more. New matter was also brought of his going out of St. Paul's in the midst of the sermon on the 15th of the month, and so giving a public disturbance and scandal; and of his writing next day to the lord mayor, not to suffer such preachers to sow their ill doctrine. This was occasioned by the preacher's speaking against the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament: but he would give the court no account of that matter; so they adjourned to the 27th, and from that to the 1st of October. In that time great endeavours were used to persuade him to submit, and to behave himself better for the future; and upon that condition he was assured he should be gently used. But he would yield to nothing. So on the 1st of October, when he was brought before them, the archbishop told him, they had delayed so long, being unwilling to proceed to extremities with him, and therefore wished him to submit. But he read another writing, by which he protested, that he was brought before them by force, and that otherwise he would not have come, since, that having appealed from them, he looked on them as his judges no more. He said, that he had also written a petition to the lord chancellor, complaining of the delegates, and desiring that his appeal might be admitted; and said, by that appeal it was plain, that he esteemed the king to be clothed with his full royal power, now that he was under age, since he thus appealed to him. Upon which the archbishop, the bishop of Rochester, secretary Smith, and He is de- the dean of St. Paul's, gave sentence against him; that since he had not declared prived from his the king's power, while under age, in his sermon, as he was commanded by the Bishopric. protector and council, therefore the archbishop, with the consent and assent of his colleagues, did deprive him of the bishopric of London. Sentence being thus given, he appealed again by word of mouth. The court did also order him to be carried to prison till the king should consider further of it. This account of his trial is drawn from the register of London, where all these particulars are inserted. From thence it was that Fox printed them. For Bonner, though he was afterward commissioned by the queen to deface any records that made against the catholic cause, yet did not care to alter anything in this register after his re-admission in queen Mary's time. It seems he was not displeased with what he found recorded of himself in this matter.

Thus was Bonner deprived of his bishopric of London. This judgment, as all such things Censures are, was much censured. It was said, it was not canonical, since it was by a passed upon it. commission from the king, and since secular men were mixed with clergymen in the censure of a bishop. To this it was answered, that the sentence being only of deprivation from the see of London, it was not so entirely an ecclesiastical censure, but was of a mixed nature, so that laymen might join in it; and since he had taken a commission from the king for his bishopric, by which he held it only during the king's pleasure, he could not complain of this deprivation, which was done by the king's authority. Others who looked further back, remembered that Constantine the emperor had appointed secular men to inquire into some things objected to bishops, who were called cognitores, or triers; and such had examined the business of Cecilian bishop of Carthage, even upon an appeal, after it had been tried in several synods, and given judgment against Donatus and his party. The same Constantine had also by his authority put Eustathius out of Antioch, Athanasius out of Alexandria, and Paul out of Constantinople; and though the orthodox bishops complained of these particulars, as done unjustly at the false suggestion of the Arians, yet they did not deny the emperor's authority in such cases. Afterwards the emperors used to have some bishops attending on them in their comitatus or court, to whose judgment they left most causes, who acted only by commission from the emperor. So Epiphanius was brought to condemn Chrysostome at Constantinople, who had no authority to judge him by the canons. Others objected, that it was too severe to deprive Bonner for a defect in his memory; and

that therefore they should have given him a new trial in that point, and not have proceeded to censure him on such an omission ; since he protested it was not on design, but a pure forgetfulness ; and all people perceived clearly it had been beforehand resolved to lay him aside, and that therefore they now took him on this disadvantage, and so deprived him. But it was also well known, that all the papists infused this notion into the people, of the king's having no power till he came to be of age ; and he being certainly one of them, there was reason to conclude, that what he said for his defence was only a pretence ; and that it was of design that he had omitted the mentioning the king's power when under age. The adding of imprisonment to his deprivation was thought by some to be an extreme accumulation of punishments. But that was no more than what he drew upon himself by his rude and contemptuous behaviour. However, it seems that some of these objections wrought on secretary Petre, for he never sate with the delegates after the first day, and he was now turning about to another party.

On the other hand, Bonner was little pitied by most that knew him. He was a cruel and fierce man ; he understood little of divinity, his learning being chiefly in the canon law. Besides, he was looked on generally as a man of no principles. All the obedience he gave either to the laws, or to the king's injunctions, was thought a compliance against his conscience, extorted by fear. And his undecent carriage during his process had much exposed him to the people ; so that it was not thought to be hard dealing, though the proceedings against him were summary and severe. Nor did his carriage afterward during his imprisonment discover much of a bishop or a Christian. For he was more concerned to have puddings and pears sent him, than for anything else. This I gather from some original letters of his to Richard Lechmere, esq., in Worcestershire (which were communicated to me by his heir lineally descended from him, the worshipful Mr. Lechmere, now the senior bench

Collection of the Middle Temple), of which I transcribed the latter part of one, that will Number 37. be found in the Collection. In it he desires a large quantity of pears and puddings to be sent him : otherwise, he gives those to whom he writes an odd sort of benediction, very unlike what became a man of his character ; he gives them " to the devil, to the devil, and to all the devils," if they did not furnish him well with pears and puddings. It may perhaps be thought indecent to print such letters, being the privacies of friendship, which ought not to be made public ; but I confess Bonner was so brutish and so bloody a man, that I was not ill-pleased to meet with anything that might set him forth in his natural colours to the world.

Thus did the affairs of England go on this summer within the kingdom ; but it will be Foreign now necessary to consider the state of our affairs in foreign parts. The king of Affairs. France, finding it was very chargeable to carry on the war wholly in Scotland, resolved this year to lesson that expense, and to make war directly with England, both at sea and land. So he came in person with a great army, and fell into the country of Boulogne,

The French where he took many little castles about the town ; as Sellaque, Blackness, take many Hamletue, Newhaven, and some lesser ones. The English writers say, those Places about were ill-provided, which made them be so easily lost ; but Thuanus says, they Boulogne. were all very well stored. In the night they assaulted Bullingberg, but they beat off : then they designed to burn the ships that were in the harbour, and had prepared wild-fire, with other combustible matter, but were driven away by the English. At the same time the French fleet met the English fleet at Jersey, but, as king Edward writes in his diary, they were beat off with the loss of one thousand men ; though Thuanus puts the loss wholly on the English side. The French king sate down before Boulogne in September, hoping that the disorders then in England would make that place be ill supplied, and easily yielded. The English, finding Bullingberg was not tenable, razed it, and retired into the town ; but the plague broke into the French camp, so the king left it under the command of Chastilion. He endeavoured chiefly to take the pier, and so to cut off the town from the sea, and from all communication with England ; and after a long battery he gave the assault upon it, but was beat off. There followed many skirmishes between him and the garrison, and he made many attempts to close up the channel, and thought to have sunk a galley full of stones and gravel in it ; but in all these he was still unsuccessful. And therefore winter

coming on, the siege was raised; only the forts about the town, which the French had taken, were strongly garrisoned; so that Boulogne was in danger of being lost the next year.

In Scotland also, the English affairs declined much this year. Thermes, before the winter was ended, had taken Broughty Castle, and destroyed almost the whole garrison. The English unsuccessful. In the southern parts there was a change made of the lords wardens of the in Scotland. English marches. Sir Robert Bowes was complained of, as negligent in relieving Haddington the former year; so the lord Dacres was put in his room. And the lord Gray, who lost the great advantage he had when the French raised the siege of Haddington, was removed, and the earl of Rutland was sent to command. The earl made an inroad into Scotland, and supplied Haddington plentifully with all sorts of provisions, necessary for a siege. He had some Germans and Spaniards with him; but a party of Scotch horse surprised the Germans' baggage; and Romero, with the Spanish troop, was also fallen on, and taken, and almost all his men were cut off. The earl of Warwick was to have marched with a more considerable army this summer into Scotland, had not the disorders in England diverted him, as it has been already shown. Thermes did not much more this year. He intended once to have renewed the siege of Haddington; but when he understood how well they were furnished, he gave it over. But the English council, finding how great a charge the keeping of it was, and the country all about it being destroyed, so that no provisions could be had, but what were brought from England, from which it was twenty-eight miles distant, resolved to withdraw their garrison, and quit it, which was done on the 1st of October; so that the English having now no garrison within Scotland but Lauder, Thermes sate down before that, and pressed it, so that had not the peace been made up with France, it had fallen into his hands.

Things which in this disorder both at home and abroad, the protector had nothing to depend on but the emperor's aid; and he was so ill satisfied with the changes that had been made in religion that much was not to be expected from him. The confusions this year occasioned that change to be made in the office of the daily prayers, where the answer to the petition, "Give peace in our time O Lord," which was formerly, and is still continued, was now made, "Because there is none other that fighteth for us but only thou O God *." The state of Germany. For now the emperor having reduced all the princes, and most of the cities of Germany. Germany to his obedience, none but Magdeburg and Breame standing out, did by a mistake, incident to great conquerors, neglect those advantages which were then in his hands, and did not prosecute his victories, but leaving Germany, came this summer into the Netherlands, whither he had ordered his son prince Philip to come from Spain to him through Italy and Germany, that he might put him into possession of these provinces and make them swear homage to him. Whether at this time the emperor was beginning to form the design of retiring, or whether he did this only to prevent the mutinies and revolts that might fall out upon his death, if his son were not in actual possession of them, is not so certain. One thing is memorable in that transaction that was called the *Latus Introitus*, or the terms upon which he was received prince of Brabant, to which the other provinces had been formerly united into one principality; after many rules and limitations of government in the matter of taxes and public assemblies, the not keeping up of forces Cott. Library Galba B. 12. and governing them not by strangers, but by natives, it was added, "That if he broke these conditions it should be free for them not to obey him or acknowledge him any longer, till he returned to govern according to their laws." This was afterwards the chief ground on which they justified their shaking off the Spanish yoke, all these conditions being publicly violated.

At this time there were great jealousies in the emperor's family. For as he intended to have had his brother resign his election to be king of the Romans, that it in the Emperor's Family. might be transferred on his own son; so there were designs in Flanders which the French cherished much to have Maximilian, Ferdinand's son, the most accomplished and virtuous prince that had been for many ages to be made their prince.

* This petition and answer stand in the *first* liturgy of Edward VI., fol. 4.—ANON. CORRECT.

The Flemings were much disgusted with the queen-regent's government, who, when there was need of money sent to Bruges and Antwerp, ordering deputies to be sent her from Flanders and Brabant; and when they were come, she told them what money must be raised; and if they made any objections, she used to bid them give over merchandizing with the emperor, for he must and would have the money he asked; so that nothing remained to them but to see how to raise what was thus demanded of them, rather than desired from them. This, as the English ambassador writ from Bruges, seemed to be the reason that moved the emperor to make his son swear to such rules of government, which the sequel of his life showed, he meant to observe in the same manner that his father had done before him. At the same time, in May this year, I find a secret advertisement was sent over from France to the English court, that there was a private treaty set on foot between that king and the princes of Germany, for restoring the liberty of the empire; but that the king of France was resolved to have Boulogne in his hands before he entered on new projects. Therefore it was proposed to the protector to consider whether it were not best to deliver it up by a treaty, and so to leave the king of France free to the defence of their friends in the empire; for I find the consideration of the Protestant religion was the chief measure of our councils all this reign.

Upon this there was great distraction in the councils at home. The protector was inclined to deliver up Boulogne for a sum of money, and to make peace both with the French and Scots. The king's treasure was exhausted, affairs at home were in great confusion, the defence of Boulogne was a great charge, and a war with France was a thing of that consequence, that in that state of affairs it was not to be adventured on. But on the other hand, those who hated the protector and measured councils more by the bravery than the solidity of them, said it would be a reproach to the nation to deliver up a place of that consequence, which their late king, in the declining of his days had gained with so much loss of men and treasure; and to sell this for a little money was accounted so sordid that the protector durst not adventure on it. Upon this occasion I find sir William Paget (being made comptroller of the king's household, which was then thought an advancement from the office of a secretary of state) made a long discourse, and put it in writing. The substance of it was to balance the dangers in which England was at that time. The business of Scotland and Boulogne drew France into a quarrel against it. On the account of religion, it had no reason to expect much from the emperor. The interest of England was ten to preserve the protestants of Germany, and therefore to unite with France, which would be easily engaged in that quarrel against the emperor. He proposed a firm alliance with the Venetians, who were then jealous of the emperor's progress in Italy, and would be ready to join against him if he were thoroughly engaged in Germany; and by their means England was to make up an agreement with France. On the other hand, William Thomas, then a clerk of the council, writ a long discourse of other expedients; he agreed with Paget, as to the ill state of England, having many enemies and no friends. The north of England was wasted by the incursion of the Scots. Ireland was also in an ill condition, for the natives there did generally join with the Scots, being addicted to the old superstition. The emperor was so set on reducing all to one religion, that they could expect no great aid from him, unless they gave him some hope of returning to the Roman religion. But the continuance of the war would undo the nation: for if the war went on, the people would take advantage from it to break out into new disorders: it would be also very dishonourable to deliver up, or rather to sell, the late conquests in France. Therefore he proposed, that to gain time, they should treat with the emperor, and even give him hopes of re-examining what had been done in religion: though there was danger even in that, of disheartening those of Magdeburg, and the few remaining Protestants in Germany; as also they might expect the emperor would be highly enraged when he should come to find that he had been deluded: but the gaining of time was then so necessary, that the preservation of the nation depended on it. For Scotland he proposed, that the governor of that kingdom should be pressed to pretend to the crown; since their queen was gone into a strange country: by this means Scotland would be for

A great faction against the Protector.

Paget's advice about foreign affairs.

Cotton. Libr. Titus B. 2.

Thomas's advice differs from his. Cotton. Libr. Vespasian D. 13.

that whole age separated from the interests of France, and obliged to depend on England : and the French were now so hated in Scotland, that any who would set up against them would have an easy work, especially being assisted by the nearness of England. And for Ireland, he proposed, that the chief heads of families should be drawn over, and kept at court. And that England thus being respited from foreign war, the nation should be armed, and exercised, the coin reformed, treasure laid up, and things in the government at home that were uneasy should be corrected.

Thus I have opened the councils at that time, as I found them laid before me in those authentic papers, from which I drew them. The result of their consultation was to send over sir William Paget to join with sir Philip Hobbey, then resident at the emperor's court. His instructions will be found in the Collection. The substance of them was, that the treaty between the emperor and the late king should be renewed with this king, and confirmed by the prince and the states of Flanders : that some ambiguous passages in it should be cleared : that the emperor would comprehend Boulogne within the league defensive, and so protect it, England being ready to offer anything reciprocal in the room of it. He was also to show their readiness to agree to the emperor concerning the lady Mary's marriage, to adjust some differences occasioned by the complaints made of the admiralty, and about trade : to show the reason of the messages that passed between them and France ; and to engage, that if the emperor would heartily assist them, they would never agree with France. Paget was also to propose, as of himself, that Boulogne should be put into the emperor's hands upon a reasonable recompense. Thus was Paget instructed, and sent over in June this year. But the emperor put him off with many delays, and said, the carrying of his son about the towns in Flanders and Brabant, with the many ceremonies and entertainments that followed it, made it not easy for him to consider of matters that required such deep consultation. He put him off from Brussels to Ghent, and from Ghent to Bruges. But Paget growing impatient of such delays, since the French were marched into the Boulognese ; the bishop of Arras, (son to Granvel that had been long the emperor's chief minister) who was now like to succeed in his father's room that was old and infirm, and the two presidents of the emperor's councils, St. Maurice and Viglius, came to sir William Paget, and had a long communication with him and Hobbey, an account whereof will be found in the Collection in a despatch from them to the protector.

They first treated of an explanation of some ambiguous words in the treaty, to which the emperor's ministers promised to bring them an answer. Then they talked long of the matters of the admiralty, the emperor's ministers said, no justice was done in England upon the merchants' complaints ; Paget said, every mariner came to the protector, and if he would not solicit their business, they ran away with a complaint that there was no justice ; whereas he thought, that as they meddled with no private matters, so the protector ought to turn all these over upon the courts that were the competent judges. But the bishop of Arras said, there was no justice to be had in the admiralty courts, who were indeed parties in all these matters ; Paget said, there was as much justice in the English admiralty courts as was in theirs : and the bishop confessed, there were great corruptions in all these courts. So Paget proposed, that the emperor should appoint two of his council to hear and determine all such complaints, in a summary way, and the king should do the like in England. For the confirmation of the treaty, the bishop said, the emperor was willing his son should confirm it ; but that he would never sue to his subjects to confirm his treaties ; and he said, when it was objected that the treaty with France was confirmed by the three estates, that the prerogative of the French crown was so restrained that the king could alienate nothing of his patrimony without the parliament of Paris and his three estates. He believed the king of England had a greater prerogative : he was sure the emperor was not so bound up ; he had fifteen or sixteen several parliaments, and what work must he be at if all these must descant on his transactions ? When this general discourse was over, the two presidents went away : but the bishop of Arras staid with him in private. Paget proposed the business of Boulogne : but the bishop having given him many good words in the general, excepted much to it, as

dishonourable to the emperor ; since Boulogne was not taken when the league was concluded between the emperor and England : so that if he should now include it in the league, it would be a breach of faith and treaties with France : and he stood much on the honour and conscience of observing these treaties inviolably. So this conversation ended ; in which the most remarkable passage is, that concerning the limitations on the French crown, and the freedoms of the English ; for at that time the king's prerogative in England was judged of that extent, that I find in a letter written from Scotland, one of the main objections made to the marrying their queen to the king of England was, that a union with England would much alter the constitution of their government, the prerogatives of the kings of England being of a far larger extent than those in Scotland.

Two or three days after the former conversation, the emperor's ministers returned to Paget's lodging, with answer to the propositions which the English ambassadors had made ; of Collection, which a full account will be found in the Collection in the letter which the Number 40. ambassadors writ upon it into England. The emperor gave a good answer to some of the particulars, which were ambiguous in former treaties. For the confirmation of the treaty, he offered that the prince should join in it ; but since the king of England was under age, he thought it more necessary that the parliament of England should confirm it. To which Paget answered, that their kings, as to the regal power, were the same in all the conditions of life ; and therefore when the great seal was put to any agreement, the king was absolutely bound by it. If his ministers engaged him in ill treaties, they were to answer for it at their perils ; but howsoever the king was tied by it. They discoursed long about the administration of justice, but ended in nothing. And as for the main business about Boulogne, the emperor stood on his treaties with the French, which he could not break : upon which Paget said to the bishop, that his father had told him, they had so many grounds to quarrel with France, that he had his sleeveful of them to produce when there should be occasion to make use of them. But finding the bishop's answers were cold, and that he only gave good words, he told him that England would then see to their own security ; and so he took that for the emperor's final answer, and thereupon resolved to take his leave, which he did soon after, and came back into England. But at home the councils were much divided, of which the sad effects broke out soon afterward.

It was proposed in council, that the war with Scotland should be ended. For it having been begun, and carried on, only on design to obtain the marriage, since the Debates in Council concerning Peace. hopes of that were now so far gone, that it was not in the power of the Scots themselves to retrieve them, it was a vain and needless expense both of blood and money to keep it up ; and since Boulogne was by the treaty, after a few more years, to be delivered up to the French, it seemed a very unreasonable thing, in the low state to which the king's affairs were driven, to enter on a war, in which they had little reason to doubt but they should lose Boulogne, after the new expense of a siege and another year's war. The protector had now many enemies, who laid hold on this conjuncture to throw him out of the government. The earl of Southampton was brought into the council, but had not laid down his secret hatred of the protector ; and did all he could to make a party against him. The earl of Warwick was the fittest man to work on ; him therefore he gained over to his side, and having formed a confidence in him, he showed him that he had really got all these victories for which the protector triumphed ; he had won the field of Pinkey near Musselburgh, and had subdued the rebels of Norfolk ; and as he had before defeated the French, so if he were sent over thither, new triumphs would follow him ; but it was below him to be second to any. So he engaged him to quarrel in everything with the protector, all whose wary motions were ascribed to fear or dulness. To others he said, "What friendship could any expect from a man who had no pity on his own brother ?" But that which provoked the Complaints against the Protector. nobility most, was the partiality the protector had for the commons in the insurrections that had been this summer. He had also given great grounds of jealousy by entertaining foreign troops in the king's wars ; which, though it was not objected to him, because the council had consented to it, yet it was whispered about that he had extorted that consent. But the noble palace he was raising in the Strand (which yet carries his name,) out of the ruins of some bishops' houses, and churches, drew as public

an envy on him as anything he had done. It was said, that when the king was engaged in such wars, and when London was much disordered by the plague, that had been in it for some months, he was then bringing architects from Italy, and designing such a palace as had not been seen in England. It was also said, that many bishops and cathedrals had resigned many manors to him, for obtaining his favour. Though this was not done without leave obtained from the king; for in a grant of some lands made to him by the king on the 11th Rot. Pat. 4. of July, in the second year of his reign, it is said, That these lands were given Par. 2. Reg. him as a reward for his services in Scotland, for which he was offered greater rewards; but that he refusing to accept of such grants as might too much impoverish the crown, had taken a licence to the bishop of Bath and Wells, for his alienating some of the lands of that bishopric to him; he is in that patent called by the grace of God duke of Somerset, which had not of late years been ascribed to any but sovereign princes. It was also said, that many of the chantry lands had been sold to his friends at easy rates; for which they concluded he had great presents; and a course of unusual greatness had raised him up too high; so that he did not carry himself towards the nobility with that equality that they expected from him.

All these things concurred to beget him many enemies, and he had very few friends; for none stuck firmly to him but Paget, and secretary Smith, and especially Cranmer, who never forsook his friend. All that favoured the old superstition were his enemies; and seeing the earl of Southampton heading the party against him, they all ran into it. And of the bishops that were for the Reformation, Goodrich of Ely likewise joined to them. He had attended on the admiral in his preparations for death, from whom, it seems, he drank in ill impressions of the protector. All his enemies saw, and he likewise saw it himself, that the continuance of the war must needs destroy him; and that a peace would confirm him in his power, and give him time and leisure to break through the faction, that was now so strong against him, that it was not probable he could master it without the help of some time. So in the council his adversaries delivered their opinions against all motions for peace; and though upon Paget's return from Flanders it appeared to be very unreasonable to carry on the war; yet they said Paget had secret instructions to procure such an answer, that it might give a colour to so base a project. The officers that came over from these places that the French had taken, pretended, as is common for all men in such circumstances, that they wanted things necessary for a siege: and though in truth it was quite contrary, (as we read in Thuanus) yet their complaints were cherished and spread about among the people. The protector had also, against the mind of the council, ordered the garrison to be drawn out of Haddington; and was going, notwithstanding all their opposition, to make peace with France; and did in many things act by his own authority, without asking their advice, and often against it. This was the assuming a regal power, and seemed not to be endured by those who thought they were in all points his equals. It was also said, that when, contrary to the late king's will, he was chosen protector, it was with that special condition that he should do nothing without their consent; and though by the patent he had for his office his power was more enlarged, (which was of greater force in law than a private agreement at the council-table,) yet even that was objected to him, as a high presumption in him to pretend to such a vast power. Thus all the month of September there were great heats among them; several persons interposed to mediate, but to no effect; for the faction against him was now so strong, that they resolved to strip him of his exorbitant power, and reduce him to an equality with themselves. The king was then at Hampton-Court, where also the protector was, with some of his own retainers and servants about him; which increased the jealousies, for it was given out that he intended to carry away the king. So on the 6th of October some of the

Most of the
Council sepa-
rate from
him.

council met at Ely-house, the lord St. John president, the earls of Warwick, Arundel, and Southampton; sir Edw. North, sir Richard Southwell, sir Edmund Peckham, sir Edw. Wotton, and Dr. Wotton; and secretary Petre being sent to them in the king's name, to ask what they met for, he joined himself likewise to them. They sate as the king's council, and entered their proceedings in the council-book, from whence I draw the account of this transaction.

These being met together, and considering the disorders that had been lately in England,

the losses in Scotland and France, laid the blame of all on the protector, who they said, was given up to other counsels, so obstinately, that he would not hearken to the advices they had given him, both at the board, and in private; and they declared, that having intended that day to have gone to Hampton-Court, for a friendly communication with him, he had raised many of the commons to have destroyed them, and had made the king set his hand to the letters he had sent for raising men; and had also dispersed seditious bills against them; therefore they intended to see to the safety of the king and the kingdom. So they sent for the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and required them to obey no letters sent them by the protector, but only such as came from themselves. They also writ many letters to the nobility and gentry over England, giving them an account of their designs and motives, and requiring their assistance. They also sent for the lieutenant of the Tower, and he submitted to their orders. Next day, the lord chancellor, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewsbury, sir Tho. Cheyney, sir John Gage, sir Ralph Sadler, and the lord chief-justice

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Montague, joined with them. Then they wrote to the king a letter, (which is in the Collection) full of expressions of their duty and care of his person, complaining of the duke of Somerset's not listening to their counsels, and of his gathering a force about him for maintaining his wilful doings; they owned that they had caused secretary Petre to stay with them, and in it they endeavoured to persuade the king that they were careful of nothing so much as of his preservation. They also wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury, and to sir William Paget, to see to the king's person, and that his own servants should attend on him, and not those that belonged to the duke of Somerset. But the protector, hearing of this disorder, had removed the king to Windsor in all haste; and had taken down all the armour that was either there, or at Hampton-Court, and had armed such as he could gather about him for his preservation.

The council at London complained much of this, that the king should be carried to a place where there were no provisions fit for him. So they ordered all things that he might need to be sent to him from London. And on the 8th of October they went to Guildhall, where they gave an account of their proceedings to the common council of the city: and assured them, they had no thoughts of altering the religion, as was given out by their enemies, but intended only the safety of the king, and the peace of the kingdom; and for these ends

The City of
London joins
with them.

desired their assistance. The whole common council with one voice declared, they thanked God for the good intentions they had expressed, and assured them they would stand by them with their lives and goods. At Windsor, when the protector understood, that not only the city but the lieutenant of the Tower, of whom he had held himself assured, had forsaken him, he resolved to struggle no longer; and though it is not improbable that he, who was chiefly accused for his protecting the commons, might have easily gathered a great body of men for his own preservation; yet he resolved rather to give way to the tide that was now against him. So he protested, before the king and the few councillors then about him, that he had no design against any of the lords: and that the force he had gathered was only to preserve himself from any violent attempt that might be

The Protector
offers to treat
and submit.
Collection,
Number 42.

made on his person; he declared, that he was willing to submit himself; and therefore proposed, that two of those lords should be sent from London, and they, with two of those that were yet about the king, should consider what might be done, in whose determination he would acquiesce: and desired, that whatsoever was agreed on, should be confirmed in parliament. Hereupon there was sent to London a warrant under the king's hand, for any two of the lords of the council that were there to come to Windsor with twenty servants a-piece, who had the king's faith for their safety in coming and going; and Cranmer, Paget, and Smith wrote to them to dispose them to end the matter peaceably, and not follow cruel counsels, nor to be misled by them who meant otherwise than they professed, of which they knew more than they would then mention. This seemed to point at the earl of Southampton.

On the 9th of October the council at London increased by the accession of the lord Russel, the lord Wentworth, sir Anthony Brown, sir Ant. Wingfield, and sir John Baker, the speaker of the house of commons. For now those who had stood off awhile, seeing the protector was resolved to yield, came and united themselves with the prevailing party; so

that they were in all two-and-twenty. They were informed, that the protector had said, that if they intended to put him to death, the king should die first; and if they would furnish him, they should furnish the king first; and that he had armed his own men, and set them next to the king's person, and was designing to carry him out of Windsor, and as some reported, out of the kingdom; upon which they concluded, that he was no more fit to be protector. But of those words no proofs being mentioned in the council-books, they look like the forgeries of his enemies to make him odious to the people. The council ordered a proclamation of their proceedings to be printed, and writ to the lady Mary, and the lady Elizabeth, acquainting them with what they had done. They also wrote to the king (as

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Number 43.

will be found in the Collection) acknowledging the many bonds that lay on them in gratitude both for his father's goodness to them, and his own, to take care of him. They desired he would consider, they were his whole council, except one or two; and were those whom his father had trusted with the government: that the protector was not raised to that power by his father's will, but by their choice, with that condition, that he should do all things by their advice; which he had not observed, so that they now judged him most unworthy of these honours: therefore they earnestly desired they might be admitted to the king's presence, to do their duties about him, and that the forces gathered about his person might be sent away, and the duke of Somerset might submit himself to the order of council. They also wrote to the archbishop and sir William

Collection,
Number 44.

Paget, (which is in the Collection) charging them as they would answer it, that the king's person might be well looked to, that he should not be removed from Windsor, and that he should be no longer guarded by the duke of Somerset's men, (as they said he had been, of which they complained severely) but by his own sworn servants; and they required them to concur in advancing the desire they had signified by their letter to the king, protesting that they would do with the duke of Somerset as they would desire to be done by, and with as much moderation and favour as in honour they could: so that there was no reason to apprehend from them such cruelty as they had mentioned in their letters. These were sent by sir Philip Hobbey, who was returned from Flanders, and had been sent by the king to London on the day before. Upon this, Cranmer and Paget, (as is entered in the council-book) persuaded both the king and the protector to grant their desire. The protector's servants were dismissed, and the king's were set about his person. And Cranmer, Paget and Smith, wrote to the council at London, that all they had proposed should be granted: they desired to know whether the king should be brought to London, or stay at Windsor; and that three of the lords might be sent thither, who should see all things done according to their minds; and for other things they referred them to Hobbey

Collection,
Number 45.

that carried the letter (which is in the Collection); upon this the council sent sir Anthony Wingfield, sir Anthony St. Lieger and sir J. Williams, to Windsor, with a charge to see that the duke of Somerset should not withdraw before they arrived, and that sir Tho. Smith the secretary, sir Michael Stanhope, sir John Thynn, Edw. Wolfe, and William Cecil, should be restrained to their chambers, till they examined them. On the 12th of October the whole council went to Windsor, and coming to the king, they protested that all they had done was out of the zeal and affection they had to his person and service. The king received them kindly, and thanked them for their care of him, and assured them that he took all they had done in good part. On the 13th day they sat in council, and sent for those who were ordered to be kept in their chambers; only Cecil was let go. They charged them, that they had been the chief instruments about the duke of Somerset in all his wilful proceedings; therefore they turned Smith out of his place of

He is accused
and sent to
the Tower.
Collection,
Number 46.

secretary, and sent him with the rest to the Tower of London. On the day following, the protector was called before them, and articles of misdemeanours and high treason were laid to his charge, (which will be found in the Collection). The substance of them was, that being made protector, on condition that he should do nothing without the consent of the other executors, he had not observed that condition, but had treated with ambassadors, made bishops and lord-lieutenants, by his own authority: and that he had held a court of requests in his own house; and had done many things contrary to law, had embased the coin, had in the matter of inclosures set

out proclamations, and given commissions against the mind of the whole council; that he had not taken care to suppress the late insurrections, but had justified and encouraged them; that he had neglected the places the king had in France, by which means they were lost; that he had persuaded the king that the lords who met at London intended to destroy him, and had desired him never to forget it, but to revenge it, and had required some young lords to keep it in his remembrance; and had caused those lords to be proclaimed traitors; that he had said, if he should die, the king should die too; that he had carried the king so suddenly to Windsor, that he was not only put in great fear, but cast into a dangerous disease: that he had gathered the people, and armed them for war; and had armed his friends and servants; and left the king's servants unarmed; and that he intended to fly to Jersey, or Guernsey. So he was sent to the Tower, being conducted thither by the earls of Sussex, and Huntingdon. That day the king was carried back again to Hampton-Court; and an order was made, that six lords should be the governors of his person; who were the marquis of Northampton, the earls of Warwick and Arundel, the lords St. John, Russel, and Wentworth. Two of those were in their course to attend constantly on the king.

And thus fell the duke of Somerset from his high offices and great trust. The articles objected to him seemed to say as much for his justification, as the answers could do, if they were in my power. He is not accused of rapine, cruelty, or bribery; but only of such things as are incident to all men that are of a sudden exalted to a high and disproportioned greatness. What he did about the coin, was not for his own advantage, but was done by a common mistake of many governors, who, in the necessity of their affairs, fly to this as their last shift, to draw out their business as long as it is possible; but it ever rebounds on the government to its great prejudice and loss. He bore his fall more equally than he had done his prosperity; and set himself in his imprisonment to study, and reading; and falling on a book that treated of patience, both from the principles of moral philosophy, and of Christianity, he was so much taken with it, that he ordered it to be translated into English, and writ a preface to it himself, mentioning the great comfort he had found in reading it, which had induced him to take care that others might reap the like benefit from it. Peter Martyr writ him also a long consolatory letter, which was printed, both in Latin, and in an English translation; and all the Reformed, both in England and abroad, looked on his fall as a public loss to that whole interest, which he had so steadily set forward.

But on the other hand, the popish party were much lifted up at his fall; and the rather, because they knew the earl of Southampton, who they hoped should have directed all affairs, was entirely theirs. It was also believed, that the earl of Warwick had given them secret assurances: so it was understood at the court of France, as Thuanus writes. They had also, among the first things they did, gone about to discharge the duke of Norfolk of his long imprisonment, in consideration of his great age, his former services, and the extremity of the proceedings against him, which were said to have flowed chiefly from the ill offices the duke of Somerset had done him. But this was soon laid aside. So now the papists made their addresses to the earl of Warwick. The bishop of Winchester wrote to him a hearty congratulation, rejoicing that the late tyranny (so he called the duke of Somerset's administration) was now at an end; he wished him all prosperity, and desired, that when he had leisure from the great affairs that were in so unsettled a condition, some regard might be had of him. The bishop of London, being also in good hopes, since the protector and Smith, whom he esteemed his chief enemies, were now in disgrace, and Cranmer was in cold, if not in ill terms, with the earl of Warwick, sent a petition that his appeal might be received, and his process reviewed. Many also began to fall off from going to the English service, or the communion; hoping that all would be quickly undone that had been settled by the duke of Somerset. But the earl of Warwick, finding the king so zealously addicted to the carrying on of the Reformation, that nothing could recommend any one so much to him, as the promoting it further would do, soon forsook the popish party, and was seemingly the most earnest on a further Reformation that was possible. I do not find that he did write any

answer to the bishop of Winchester. He continued still a prisoner. And for Bonner's matter, there was a new court of delegates appointed to review his appeal, consisting of four civilians, and four common lawyers; who having examined it, reported, that the process had been legally carried on, and the sentence justly given, and that there was no good reason why the appeal should be received, and therefore they rejected it. This being reported to the council, they sent for Bonner in the beginning of February, and declared to him, that his appeal was rejected, and that the sentence against him was in full force still.

But the business of Boulogne was that which pressed them most. They misdoubting, as was formerly shown, that Paget had not managed that matter dexterously and earnestly with the emperor, sent on the 18th of October sir Tho. Cheyny, and sir Phil. Hobbey to him, to intreat him to take Boulogne into his protection; they also sent over the earl of Huntington to command it, with the addition of a thousand men for the garrison. When the ambassadors came to the emperor, they desired leave to raise two thousand horse and three thousand foot in his dominions for the preservation of Boulogne. The emperor gave them very good words, but insisted much on his league with France; and referred them to the bishop of

Arras, who told them plainly the thing could not be done. So sir Tho. Cheyny took his leave of the emperor, who at parting desired him to represent to the king's council, how necessary it was to consider matters of religion again, that so they might be all of one mind; for, to deal plainly with them, till that were done, he could not assist them so effectually as otherwise he desired to do. And now the council saw clearly, they had not been deceived by Paget in that particular, and therefore resolved to apply themselves to France for a peace.

But now the earl of Warwick falling off wholly from the popish party, the earl of Southampton left the court in great discontent. He was neither restored to his office of chancellor, nor made lord treasurer, (that place, which was vacant by the duke of Somerset's fall, being now given to the lord St. John, who soon after was made earl of Wiltshire;) nor was he made one of those who had charge of the king's person. So he began to lay a train against the earl of Warwick; but he was too quick for him, and discovered it; upon which he left the court in the night, and it was said, he poisoned himself, or pined away with discontent, for he died in July after.

So now the Reformation was ordered to be carried on; and there being one part of the divine offices not yet reformed, that is, concerning the giving orders, some bishops and divines, brought now together by a session of parliament, were appointed to prepare a book of ordination.

But now I turn to the parliament, which sate down on the 4th of November. In it a severe law was made against unlawful assemblies; that if any, to the number of twelve, should meet together unlawfully, for any matter of state, and being required by any lawful magistrate, should not disperse themselves, it should be treason; and if any broke hedges, or violently pulled up pales, about inclosures, without lawful authority, it should be felony. It was also made felony to gather the people together without warrant, by ringing of bells, or sound of drums and trumpets, or the firing of beacons. There was also a law made against prophecies concerning the king or his council, since by these the people were disposed to sedition; for the first offence it was to be punished by imprisonment for a year, and 10*l.* fine; for the second, it was imprisonment during life, with the forfeiture of goods and chattels. All this was on the account of the tumults the former year, and not with any regard to the duke of Somerset's security, as some have without any reason fancied: for he had now no interest in the parliament, nor was he in a condition any more to apprehend tumults against himself, being stripped of his so much envied greatness. Another law was made against

vagabonds, relating, that the former statute made in this reign being too severe, was by that means not executed; so it was repealed, and the law made in king Henry VIII.'s reign put in force; provisions were laid down for relieving the sick and impotent, and setting the poor, that were able, to work: that once a month there should be everywhere a visitation of the poor, by those in office, who should send away such as did not belong to that place, and those were to be carried from constable to constable, till they

were brought to such places as were bound to see to them. There was a bill brought in for the repealing of a branch of the act of uniformity, but it went no further than one reading.

On the 14th of November the bishops made a heavy complaint to the lords, of the abounding of vice and disorder, and that their power was so abridged, that they could punish no sin, nor oblige any to appear before them, or to observe the orders of the church. This was heard by all the lords with great regret, and they ordered a bill to be drawn about it. On the 18th of November a bill was brought in, but rejected at first reading, because it seemed to give the bishops too much power. So a second bill was appointed to be drawn by a committee of the house. It was agreed to, and sent down to the commons, who laid it aside after the second reading. They thought it better to renew the design that was in the former reign, of two-and-thirty persons being authorized to compile the body of ecclesiastical laws; and when that was prepared, it seemed more proper, by confirming it, to establish ecclesiastical jurisdiction, than to give the bishops any power, while the rules of their courts were so little determined or regulated: so an act passed, empowering the king to name sixteen persons of the spirituality, of whom four should be bishops, and sixteen of the temporality, of whom four should be common lawyers, who within three years should compile a body of ecclesiastical laws; and those being nothing contrary to the common and statute laws of the land, should be published by the king's warrant, under the great seal, and have the force of laws in the ecclesiastical courts. Thus they took care that this should not be turned over to an uncertain period, as it had been done in the former reign, but designed that it should be quickly finished. The bishops of that time were generally so backward in every step to a reformation, that a small number of them was made necessary to be of this commission. The effect that it had shall be afterwards opened.

There was a bill brought into the house of commons, that the preaching and holding of
 1550. some opinions should be declared felony: it passed with them, but was laid aside by the lords. A bill for the form of ordaining ministers was brought into the house of lords, and was agreed to, the bishops of Durham, Carlisle, Worcester, Chichester, and Westminster, protesting against it. The substance of it was, that such forms of ordaining ministers as should be set forth by the advice of six prelates and six divines, to be named by the king, and authorized by a warrant under the great seal, should be used after April next, and no other. On the 2d of January a bill was put in against the duke of Somerset, of the articles formerly mentioned, with a confession of them signed by his hand. This he was prevailed with to do, upon assurances given that he should be gently dealt with, if he would freely confess, and submit himself to the king's mercy. But it was said by some of the lords, that they did not know whether that confession was not drawn from him by force: and that it might be an ill precedent to pass acts upon such papers without examining the party, whether he had subscribed them freely and uncompelled: so they sent four temporal lords, and four bishops, to examine him concerning it. And the day following, the bishop of Coventry and Litchfield made the report, that he thanked them for that kind message, but that he had freely subscribed the confession that lay before them. He had made it on his knees before the king and council, and had signed it on the 13th of December. He protested his offences had flowed from rashness and indiscretion, rather than malice, and that he had no treasonable design against the king or his realms. So he was fined by act of parliament in 2000*l.* a year of land, and he lost all his goods and offices. Upon this he wrote to the council, acknowledging their favour, in bringing off his matter by a fine; he confessed that he had fallen into the frailties that often attend on great places, but what he had done amiss was rather for want of true judgment, than from any malicious meaning: he humbly desired they would interpose with the king for a moderation of his fine, and that he might be pardoned and restored to favour; assuring them, that for the future he should carry himself so humbly and obediently, that he should thereby make amends for his former follies: this was much censured by many, as a sign of an abject spirit; others thought it was wisely done in him, once to get out of prison on any terms, since the greatness of his former condition gave such jealousy to his enemies, that unless he had his pardon, he would be in

continual danger, as long as he was in their hands. So on the 6th of February he was set at liberty, giving bond of 10,000*l.* for his good behaviour; and being limited that he should stay at the king's house of Sheen, or his own of Sion, and should not go four miles from them, nor come to the king or the council, unless he were called; he had his pardon on the 16th of February, and carried himself after that so humbly, that his behaviour, with the king's great kindness to him, did so far prevail, that on the 10th of April after, he was restored into favour, and sworn of the privy-council. And so this storm went over him much more gently than was expected; but his carriage in it was thought to have so little of the hero, that he was not much considered after this.

But to go on with the business of the parliament; reports had been spread, that the old

The Reformation is set on vigorously. service would be again set up; and these were much cherished by those who still loved the former superstition; who gave out, that a change was to be expected, since the new service had been only the act of the duke of Somerset. Upon this

the council wrote on Christmas day a letter to all the bishops of England, to this effect, "That whereas the English service had been devised by learned men, according to the Scripture, and the use of the primitive church; therefore, for putting away those vain expectations, all clergymen were required, to deliver to such as should be appointed by the king to receive them, all antiphonals, missals, grayles, processions, manuals, legends, pies, portuasses, journals, and ordinals, after the use of Sarum, Lincoln, York, or any other private use; requiring them also to see to the observing one uniform order in the service set forth by the common consent of the realm; and particularly to take care that there should be everywhere provision made of bread and wine for the communion on Sunday."

Collection, Number 46. This will be found in the Collection. But to give a more public declaration of their zeal, an act was brought into parliament about it, and was agreed to by all the lords; except the earl of Derby, the bishops of Durham, Coventry and Litchfield, Carlisle, Worcester, Westminster, and Chichester, and the lords Morley, Stourton, Windsor, and Wharton. By it, not only all the books formerly mentioned were to be destroyed, but all that had any image that had belonged to any church or chapel, were required to deface it before the last of June, and in all the primers set out by the late king, the prayers to the saints were to be dashed out. There was also an act for a subsidy to be paid in one year, for which there was a release granted of a branch of the subsidy formerly given. Last of all came the king's general pardon, out of which those in the Tower, or other prisons, on the account of the state, as also all anabaptists, were excepted.

Thus were all matters ended, and on the 1st of February the parliament was prorogued. Only in the house of commons there was a debate that deserves to be remembered. It seems that before this time the eldest sons of peers were not members of the house of commons; and sir Francis Russel, becoming, by the death of his elder brother, heir apparent to the lord Russel; it was on the 21st of January carried upon a debate, "that he should abide in the house as he was before." So it is entered in the original journal of the house of commons, which was communicated to me by Mr. Surle, and Mr. Clark, in whose hands it is now, and is the first journal that ever was taken in that house.

But it may be expected that I should next give an account of the forms of ordination now agreed on. Twelve were appointed by the council to prepare the book; among whom Heath, bishop of Worcester, was one, but he would not consent to the reformations that were proposed in it: so on the 8th of February he was called before the council, and required to agree to that which all the rest had consented to. But he could not be prevailed with to do it. Wherefore on the 4th of March he was committed to the Fleet, because (as it is entered in the council books) that he obstinately denied to subscribe the book for the making of bishops and priests. He had hitherto opposed everything done towards reformation in parliament, though he had given an entire obedience to it when it was enacted. He was a man of a gentle temper and great prudence, that understood affairs of state better than matters of religion. But now it was resolved to rid the church of those compliers, who submitted out of fear or interest to save their benefices, but were still ready upon any favourable conjuncture, to return back to the old superstition.

Heath Bishop of Worcester put in Prison for not agreeing with the others appointed to draw the Book for Ordinations.

As for the forms of ordination, they found, that the Scripture mentioned only the imposition of hands and prayer. In the apostolical constitutions, in the fourth council of Carthage, and in the pretended works of Denis the Areopagite, there was no more used. Therefore all those additions, of anointing, and giving them consecrated vestments, were later inventions. But most of all the conceit, which from the time of the council of Florence was generally received, that the rites by which a priest was ordained, were the delivering him the vessels for consecrating the Eucharist, with a power to offer sacrifice to God for the dead and the living. This was a vain novelty, only set up to support the belief of transubstantiation; and had no ground in the Scriptures, nor the primitive practice. So they agreed on a form of ordaining deacons, priests, and bishops, which is the same we yet use, except in some few words, that have been added since in the ordination of a priest or bishop. For there was then no express mention made in the words of ordaining them, that it was for the one, or the other office: in both it was said, "Receive thou the Holy Ghost in the name of the Father," &c. But that having been since made use of to prove both functions the same, it was of late years altered, as it is now. Nor were these words, being the same in giving both orders, any ground to infer that the church esteemed them one order; the rest of the office showing the contrary very plainly. Another difference between the ordination book set out at that time, and that we now use was, that the bishop was to lay his one hand on the priest's head, and with his other to give him a Bible, with a chalice and bread in it, saying the words now said at the delivery of the Bible. In the consecration of a bishop there was nothing more than what is yet in use, save that a staff was put into his hand, with this blessing, "Be to the flock of Christ a shepherd." By the rule of this ordinal, a deacon was not to be ordained before he was twenty-one, a priest before he was twenty-four, nor a bishop before he was thirty years of age.

In this ritual all those superadded rites were cut off, which the later ages had brought in, to dress up these performances with the more pomp; whereof we have since a more perfect account than it was possible for them then to have. For in our age Morinus, a learned priest of the oratorian order, has published the most ancient rituals he could find; by which it appears how these offices swelled in every age by some new addition. About the middle of the sixth century, they anointed and blessed the priests' hands in some parts of France; though the Greek church never used anointing: nor was it in the Roman church two ages after that; for pope Nicolaus the First plainly says, it was never used in the church of Rome. In the eighth century, the priests' garments were given with a special benediction, for the priests offering expiatory sacrifices: it was no ancients that that phrase was used in ordinations; and in that same age there was a special benediction of the priests' hands, used before they were anointed; and then his head was anointed. This was taken partly from the Levitical law, and partly because the people believed that their kings derived the sacredness of their persons, from their being anointed; so the priests having a mind to have their persons secured and exempted from all secular power, were willing enough to use this rite in their ordinations; and in the tenth century, when the belief of transubstantiation was received, the delivering of the vessels for the Eucharist, with the power of offering sacrifices, was brought in, besides a great many other rites. So that the church did never tie itself to one certain form of ordinations; nor did it always make them with the same prayers; for what was accounted anciently the form of ordination, was in the later ages but a preparatory prayer to it.

The most considerable addition that was made in the book of ordinations, was the putting questions to the persons to be ordained; who by answering these, make solemn declarations of sponsions and vows to God. The first question when one is presented to orders, is, "Do you trust that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost, to take upon you this office and ministration, to serve God, for the promoting his glory, and for the edifying of his people?" To which he is to answer, "He trusts he is." It has been oft lamented, that many come to receive orders before ever they have seriously read over these questions, and examined themselves whether they could with a good conscience make the answers there prescribed: since it is scarce credible that men of common honesty would lie in the presence of God on so great an occasion; and yet it is too

The Additions brought into the Church of Rome in giving Orders.

Interrogations and Sponsions in the new Book.

visible, that many have not any such inward vocation, nor have ever considered seriously what it is. If it were well apprehended, that heat that many have to get into orders would soon abate; who perhaps have nothing in their eye, but some place of profit, or benefice, to which way must be made by that preceding ceremony; and so enter into orders, as others are associated into fraternities and corporations, with little previous sense of that holy character they are to receive, when they thus dedicate their lives and labours to the service of God in the gospel. In the primitive church the apprehension of this made even good and holy men afraid to enter under such bonds; and therefore they were oft to be dragged almost by force, or caught at unawares, and be so initiated; as appears in the lives of those two Greek fathers, Nazianzen and Chrysostom. If men make their first step to the holy altar by such a lie, as is their pretending to a motion of the Holy Ghost, concerning which they know little, but that they have nothing at all of it; they have no reason to expect that blessing which otherwise attends on such dedications. And it had been happy for the church if all those that are authorised to confer orders, had stood on this more critically; and not been contented with a bare putting these questions to those who come to be ordained; but had used a due strictness beforehand, suitable to that grave admonition of St. Paul's to Timothy, "Lay hands suddenly on no man, and be not partaker of other men's sins."

In the sponsions made by the priests, they bind themselves to "teach the people committed to their charge, to banish away all erroneous doctrines, and to use both public and private monitions, and exhortations, as well to the sick, as the whole, within their cures, as need shall require, and as occasion shall be given." Such as remember that they have plighted their faith for this to God, will feel the pastoral care to be a load indeed, and so be far enough from relinquishing it, or hiring it out perhaps to a loose or ignorant mercenary. These are the blemishes and scandals that lie on our church, brought on it partly by the corruption of some simoniacal patrons, but chiefly by the negligence of some, and the faultiness of other clergymen: which could never have lost so much ground in the nation, upon such trifling accounts, as are the contests since raised about ceremonies; if it were not that the people, by such palpable faults in the persons and behaviour of some churchmen, have been possessed with prejudices, first against them, and then upon their account against the whole church: so that these corrupt churchmen are not only to answer to God for all those souls within their charge, that have perished through their neglect, but in a great degree for all the mischief of the schism among us; to the nourishing whereof they have given so great and palpable occasion. The importance of those things made me judge they deserved this digression, from which I now turn to other affairs.

The business of Boulogne lay heavy on the council. The French had stopped all communication between Calais and it; so that it was not easy to supply it from thence. The council, to rid the nation of the foreigners, sent them all to Calais with three thousand English, and resolved to force a way through, if it came to extremities; but at this time both the French and English were well disposed to a peace. The king of France knew the emperor intended

to go into Germany next summer; so he longed to be at liberty to wait on his motions. The English council, that opposed the delivery of Boulogne, chiefly to throw off the duke of Somerset, that being done, were all convinced that it was not worth the cost and danger of a war; only they stood on the indecency of

yielding it; especially they having raised such clamours against the protector, when he went about the delivering it up. So they made great shows of preparations to defend it; but at the same time were not unwilling to listen to propositions of peace. One Guidotti, a Florentine that lived in England, was employed by the constable of France, Montmorency, to set on a treaty; yet he was to do it without owning he had any orders from that king. He went often to and again between Paris and London, and at last it was resolved on both

sides that there should be a treaty. But at this time there was a great change of affairs in Italy. Pope Paul III. having held that see fifteen years, died the 10th of November, in the eighty-second year of his age; much broken in mind at the calamity of his family, the killing of his son, the loss of Placentia, and the ingratitude of his grandchild. Upon his death all the cardinals, being gathered from Bologna, Trent, and other neighbouring places entered the conclave; where one that is to have such a share in

It is resolved
to deliver
Boulogne to
the French.

Pope Paul
III. dies.

the following part of this work, was so much concerned, that it will be no impertinent digression to give an account of it. There were great animosities between the imperialists and the French: Cardinal Farnese had also many votes that followed him; so that these three factions were either of them strong enough to exclude any that was unacceptable to Cardinal Pole them. Cardinal Pole was set up by Farnese as a moderate imperialist, who had been elected Pope. He carried it so well at Trent, that they saw he would not blindly follow the emperor.

He had lived many years at Viterbo, where he was made legate, after he had given over his practices against England. There he gave himself wholly to the study of divinity, not without some imputations of favouring heresy. For one Antonino Flaminio, that was also suspect of Lutheranism, lived with him. Tremellius, that learned Jew, who had been baptized in his house, was also known to incline that way; and many, who left their monasteries, and went to Germany, used to stay some time with him on their way, and were well received by him; nor would he proceed against any suspected of heresy. There was cause enough to raise suspicion in a less jealous people than Italians. Yet the vast zeal that he had shown for the exaltation of the papacy, made all those things be overlooked. He was sent one of the pope's legates to Trent, where he asserted the German doctrine of justification by faith: but upon the emperor's setting out the Interim he wrote freely against it. He was indeed a man of an easy and generous temper, but much in the power of those whom he loved and trusted. Farnese therefore looking on him as one that would be governed by him, and that was acceptable to the imperialists, and not much hated by the French, the cardinal of Guise being his friend, resolved to promote him; and by the scrutiny they made, it was found that they were within two of the number that was requisite. But he seemed so little concerned at it himself, that he desired them not to make too much haste in a thing of that nature; for that dignity was rather to be undertaken with fear, than to be ambitiously desired. The cardinals, who had heard of such things among the ancient Romans, but had seen few such modern instances, and who valued men by nothing more than their ambitious aspiring, imputed this either to dulness, or hypocrisy: he himself seemed nothing affected with it, and did not change his behaviour, and carried it with an equality of mind, that became one who had divided his time between philosophy and divinity. Caraffa, that hated him, did all he could to alienate the conclave from him; he objected to him, not only heresy, but also the suspicion of incontinence, since he bred up a nun who was believed to be his daughter. Of these things he coldly purged himself; he showed that he had suffered so much on the account of religion in his own country, that he was beyond the suspicion of heresy; and he proved that the girl whom he maintained among the nuns, was an Englishman's daughter, to whom he had assigned an allowance. Caraffa prevailed little, and the next night the number was complete; so that the cardinals came to adore him, and make him pope; but he receiving that, with his usual coldness said, it was night, and God loved light better than darkness, therefore he desired to delay it till day came. The Italians who, whatever judges they may be about the qualifications of such a pope as is necessary for their affairs, understood not this temper of mind, which in better times would have recommended one with the highest advantages, shrunk all from him: and after some intrigues usual on such occasions, chose the cardinal de Monte, afterwards pope Julius III., who gave a strange omen of what advancements he intended to make, when he gave his own hat, according to the custom of the popes who bestow their hats before they go out of the conclave, on a mean servant of his, who had the charge of a monkey that he kept; and being asked what he observed in him to make him a cardinal, he answered, as much as the cardinals had seen in him to make him pope. But it was commonly said, that the secret of this promotion was an unnatural affection to him. Upon this occasion I shall refer the

Collection,
Number 48.

reader to a letter which I have put in the Collection, written by cardinal Wolsey upon the death of pope Adrian VI., to get himself chosen pope; it sets out so naturally the intrigues of that court on such occasions, that though it belongs to the former Part, yet having fallen upon it since I published it, I thought it would be no unacceptable thing to insert in this Part, though it does not belong to it. It will demonstrate how likely it is, that a bishop chosen by such arts, should be the infallible judge of controversies, and the head of the church.

And now to return to England; it was resolved to send ambassadors to France: who were, the lord Russel, Paget, now made a lord, secretary Petre, and sir John Mason. Their instructions will be found in the Collection. The substance of them was, they were not to stick about the place of treaty, but to have it at Calais or Boulogne, if it might be: they were to agree to the delivery up of Boulogne, but to demand that the Scotch queen should be sent back for perfecting the marriage formerly agreed on: that the fortifications of Newhaven and Blackness should be ruined: that the perpetual pension agreed to king Henry should still be paid, together with all arrears that were due before the wars: they were only to insist on the last, if they saw the former could not be obtained: they were to agree the time and manner of the delivery of Boulogne to be as honourable as might be. For Scotland, they being also in war with the emperor, the king of England could not make peace with them, unless the emperor, his ally, who had made war on them upon his account, were also satisfied: all places there were to be offered up, except Roxburgh and Aymouth. If the French spoke anything of the king's marrying their king's daughter Elizabeth, they were to put it off; since the king was yet so young. They were also at first to agree to no more but a cessation. So they went over on the 21st of January; the French commissioners appointed to treat with them were Rochpot, Chastilion, Mortier, and de Sany, who desired the meeting might be near Boulogne, though the English endeavoured to have brought it to Guisnes. Upon the English laying out their demands, the French answered them roundly, that for delivering up the queen of Scots, they would not treat about it; nor about a perpetual pension; since, as the king was resolved to marry the Scotch queen to the dauphin, so he would give no perpetual pension, which was in effect to become a tributary prince: but for a sum of money they were ready to treat about it. As to Scotland, they demanded, that all the places that had been taken should be restored, as well Roxburgh and Aymouth, as Lauder and Dunglass. The latter two were soon yielded to, but the commissioners were limited as to the former. There was also some discourse of rasing the fortifications of Alderney and Sark, two small islands in the Channel, that belonged to England: the latter was in the hands of the French, who were willing to yield it up, so the fortifications both in it and Alderney were rased. Upon this there were second instructions sent over from the council, (which are in the Collection,) that they should so far insist on the keeping of Roxburgh and Aymouth, as to break up their conference upon it; but if that did not work on the French, they should yield it rather than give over the treaty. They were also instructed to require hostages from the French till the money were all paid, and to offer hostages on the part of England till Boulogne was delivered; and to struggle in the matter of the isles all they could, but not to break about it. Between the giving the first and second instructions, the lord St. John was created earl of Wiltshire, as appears by his subscriptions. The commissioners finished their treaty about the end of February, on these articles. On condition that all claims of either side should be reserved as they were at the beginning of the war. This was a temper between the English demand of all the arrears of king Henry's pension, and the French denial of it: for thus the king reserved all the right he had before the war. Boulogne was to be delivered within six months, with all the places about it, and the ordnance, except what the English had cast since they had it: for which surrender the French were to pay 400,000 crowns, (then of equal value with the English noble,) the one-half three days after the town was in their hands, and the other in the August after. There was to be a peace with Scotland; and Roxburgh and Aymouth, Lauder and Dunglass, were to be rased: and there was to be a free trade between England, France, and Scotland. Six hostages were to be given on either side: all the English were to be sent back upon the delivery of the town: and three of the French on the first, and the rest on the second payment. The French hostages were the duke of Enghien, the marquis de Mean, son to the duke of Guise, Montmorency, son to the constable, the duke of Tremouille, the viccedam of Chartres, and Henaudy, son to Annebault, the admiral. On the English side were the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Hartford, the earl of Shrewsbury, the earl of Arundel's son, the lord Strange,

A treaty between the English and French. Collection, Number 48. Instructions given to the English ambassadors.

Collection, Number 49.

Articles of the treaty.

and the lord Matrauers. So was the peace concluded: all the articles in it were duly performed, and the hostages delivered back. It was proclaimed in London on the 29th of March, being confirmed by both the kings. Only it was much observed, that when it was to be confirmed in England, the earl of Warwick, on pretence of sickness, was absent: those who began to conceive great jealousies of him, thought this was to make a show to the people that he abhorred so dishonourable a thing, as himself had oft called it during the duke of Somerset's administration, and that therefore he would not by his presence seem to consent to it, though he had signed all the orders for it.

And now was the king entering in the fourth year of his reign, free from all wars, which had hitherto much distracted his government. So the council was more at leisure to settle the affairs at home. But the earl of Warwick, beginning to form great designs, resolved first to make himself popular, by calling all that had meddled in the king's affairs to a strict account: and either to make them compound for great sums, by which the king's debts should be paid; or to keep them under the lash till he made them subservient to his ends. He began with the earl of Arundel, to whose charge many things being laid, he submitted himself to a fine of 12,000*l.*, to be paid in twelve years. This was the more taken notice of, because Southampton, Arundel, and he, with sir Richard Southwell, master of the rolls, had been the chief contrivers of the duke of Somerset's fall: Southampton was given away, Arundel fined, and Southwell was soon after put in the Fleet, for dispersing some seditious bills. This wrought much on the vulgar, who imputed it to a secret curse on those who had conspired against the duke of Somerset: and the delivery of Boulogne made it yet more plain, that the charge against him was chiefly grounded on malice. After Arundel's disgrace, all the duke of Somerset's friends made their compositions, and were discharged. Sir Tho. Smith, Sir Michael Stanhope, Tho. Fisher, and William Gray, each of them acknowledged they owed the king 3000*l.*, and sir Jo. Thynn submitted to 6000*l.*

But I shall next prosecute the narration of what concerned the church. It was now resolved to fill the see of London: Ridley being esteemed both the most learned, and most thoroughly zealous for the Reformation, was pitched on to be the man. So on the 21st of February he was writ for, and on the 24th he was declared bishop of London and Westminster, and was to have 1000*l.* a year of the rents of the bishopric; and for his further supply, was dispensed with to hold a prebendary of Canterbury and Westminster. It was thought needless to have two bishoprics so near one another; and some, gaping after the lands of both, procured this union. But I do not see any reason to think, that at any time in this reign, the suppression of the deaneries and prebends in cathedrals was designed. For neither in the suppression of the bishoprics of Westminster, Gloucester, or Durham, was there any attempt made to put down the deaneries or prebendaries in these places: so that I look on this as a groundless conceit, among many others that pass concerning this reign. For Thirleby of Westminster, there was no cause given to throw him out; for he obeyed all the laws and injunctions when they came out, though he generally opposed them when they were making. So to make way for him, William Reps, the bishop of Norwich, was prevailed with to resign, and he was promoted to that see, vacant (as his patent has it) by the free resignation of William the former bishop. And the same day being the 1st of April, Ridley was made bishop of London and Westminster. Both were, according to the common form, to be bishops *durante vita naturali*, during life.

The see of Winchester had been two years as good as vacant, by the long imprisonment of Gardiner, who had been now above two years in the Tower. When the book of Common-prayer was set out, the lord St. John and secretary Petre were sent with it to him, to know of him whether he would conform himself to it or not: and they gave him great hopes, that if he would submit, the protector would sue to the king for mercy to him. He answered, That he did not know himself guilty of anything that needed mercy: so he desired to be tried, for what had been objected to him, according to law. For the book, he did not think that while he was a prisoner he was bound to give his opinion about such things; it might be thought he did it against his conscience to obtain

his liberty ; but if he were out of prison, he should either obey it, or be liable to punishment according to law. Upon the duke of Somerset's fall, the lord treasurer, the earl of Warwick, sir William Herbert, and secretary Petre, were sent to him * : (Fox says, this was on the 9th of July, and it is so in king Edward's Journal ; but there must be an error in that, for Gardiner in his answer says, that upon the duke of Somerset's coming to the Tower, he looked to have been let out within two days, and had made his farewell feast, but when these were with him a month or thereabout had passed : so it must have been in November the former year.) They brought him a paper, to which they desired he would set his hand. It contained first a preface, which was an acknowledgment of former faults,

Some Articles for which he had been justly punished : there were also divers articles contained are sent to in it, which were touching the king's supremacy ; his power of appointing or him.

dispensing with holidays and fasts ; that the book of Common-prayer set out by the king and parliament was a most Christian and godly book, to be allowed of by all bishops and pastors in England, and that he should both in sermons and discourses commend it to be observed ; that the king's power was complete now when under age, and that all owed obedience to him, now, as much as if he were thirty or forty years old ; that the Six Articles were justly abrogated ; and that the king had full authority to correct and reform what was amiss in the church both in England and Ireland. He only excepted to the preface ; and offered to sign all the articles, but would have had the preface left out. They bid him rather write on the margin his exceptions to it ; so he writ, that he could not with a good conscience agree to the preface, and with that exception he set his hand to the whole paper.

Which he The lords used him with great kindness, and gave him hope that his troubles signed with should be quickly ended. Herbert and Petre came to him some time after that, some excep- but how soon is not so clear, and pressed him to make the acknowledgment tions.

without exception ; he refused it, and said, he would never defame himself, for when he had done it, he was not sure but it might be made use of against him as a confession. Two or three days after that, Ridley was sent to him, together with the other two, and they brought him new articles. In this paper the acknowledgment was more general than in the former : it was said here in the preface, that he had been suspected of not approving the king's proceedings, and being appointed to preach, had not done it as he ought to have done, and so deserved the king's displeasure, for which he was sorry : the

New Articles articles related to the pope's supremacy, the suppression of abbeys and chantries, sent to him. pilgrimages, masses, images, the adoring the sacrament, the communion in both

kinds, the abolishing the old books, and bringing in the new book of service, and that for ordaining of priests and bishops, the completeness of the Scripture, and the use of it in the vulgar tongue, the lawfulness of clergymen's marriage, and to Erasmus's paraphrase that it had been on good considerations ordered to be set up in churches. He read all these, and said, he desired first to be discharged of his imprisonment, and then he would freely answer them all, so as to stand by it, and suffer if he did amiss : but he would trouble himself with no more articles, while he remained in prison ; since he desired not to be delivered out of his troubles in the way of mercy, but of justice. After that, he was brought before the council, and the lords told him they sat by a special commission to judge him, and so required him to subscribe the articles that had been sent to him. He prayed them earnestly to put him to a trial for the grounds of his imprisonment, and when that was over he would clearly answer them in all other things ; but he did not think he could subscribe all the articles after one sort ; some of them being about laws already made, which he could not qualify, others of them being matters of learning, in which he might use more freedom : in conclusion, he desired leave to take them with him, and he would consider how to answer them. But they required him to subscribe them all without any qualification ; which he

But he refus- refused to do. Upon this the fruits of his bishopric were sequestered ; and he ing to sign was required to conform himself to their orders within three months, upon pain them, was of deprivation ; and the liberty he had, of walking in some open galleries, when hardly used. the duke of Norfolk was not in them, was taken from him ; and he was again shut up in his chamber.

* The duke of Somerset was not then fallen. It was between his two falls.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

All this was much censured, as being contrary to the liberties of Englishmen, and the forms of all legal proceedings. It was thought very hard to put a man in prison upon a complaint against him; and without any further inquiry into it, after two years' durance to put articles to him. And they which spoke freely, said it favoured too much of the Inquisition. But the canon law not being rectified, and the king being in the pope's room, there were some things gathered from the canon law, and the way of proceeding *ex officio*, which rather excused than justified this hard measure he met with. The sequel of this business shall be related in its proper place.

This Lent old Latimer preached before the king. The discourse of the king's marrying a daughter of France had alarmed all the reformers, who rather inclined to a daughter of Ferdinand king of the Romans. (To a marriage with her it is no wonder they all wished well; for both Ferdinand and his son Maximilian were looked upon as princes that in their hearts loved the Reformation, and the son was not only the best prince, but accounted one of the best men of the age.)

But Latimer in his sermon advised the king to marry in the Lord; and to take care that marriages might not be made only as bargains, which was a thing too frequently done, and occasioned so much whoredom and divorcing in the nation. He run out in a sad lamentation of the vices of the time, the vanity of women, the luxury and irregularity of men; he complained, that many were gospellers for love of the abbey and chantry-lands; he pressed that the discipline of the church and the excommunicating of scandalous persons might be again set up: he advised the king to beware of seeking his pleasure too much, and to keep none about him who would serve him in it: he said he was so old, that he believed he would never appear there more, and therefore he discharged his conscience freely: he complained the king's debts were not paid, and yet his officers lived high, made great purchases, and built palaces: he prayed them all to be good to the king, and not to defraud the poor tradesmen that wrought for his stores, who were ill paid. This I set down not so much to give an account of that sermon, as of the state of the court and nation, which he so freely discoursed of.

Wakeman, that had been abbot of Tewksbury, and was after made bishop of Gloucester, died in December last year; and on the 3rd of July this year, Hooper was by letters patents appointed to be his successor. Upon which there followed a contest that has since had such fatal consequences, that of it we may say with St. James, "How great a matter hath a little fire kindled!" It has been already shown, that the vestments used in divine service were appointed to be retained in this church; but

Hooper refused to be consecrated in the episcopal vestments. The grounds he went on were, that they were human inventions, brought in by tradition or custom, not suitable to the simplicity of the Christian religion; and all such ceremonies were condemned by St. Paul as beggarly elements: that these vestments had been invented chiefly for celebrating the mass with much pomp, and had been consecrated for that effect; therefore he desired to be excused from the use of them. Cranmer and Ridley, on the other hand, alleged, that traditions in matters of faith were justly rejected; but in matters of rites and ceremonies, custom was oft a good argument for

the continuance of that which had been long used. Those places of St. Paul did only relate to the observance of the Jewish ceremonies, which some in the apostles' times pleaded were still to be retained, upon the authority of their first institution by Moses: so this implying, that the Messiah was not yet come, in whom all these had their accomplishment, the apostles did condemn the use of them on any such account; though when the bare observing them, without the opinion of any such necessity in them, was likely to gain the Jews, they both used circumcision, and purified themselves in the temple: if then they who had such absolute authority in those matters did condescend so far to the weakness of the Jews, it was much more becoming subjects to give obedience to laws in things indifferent. And the abuse that had been formerly, was no better reason to take away the use of these vestments, than it was to throw down churches, and take away the bells, because the one had been consecrated and the other baptised, with many superstitious ceremonies. Therefore, they required Hooper to conform himself to the

Latimer's advice to the King concerning his Marriage.

Hooper is made Bishop of Gloucester.

But refuses to wear the Episcopal Vestments.

Upon this a great Dispute rises.

law. Cranmer, who, to his other excellent qualities, had joined a singular modesty and distrust of himself, writ about this difference to Bucer, reducing it to these two plain questions:—Whether it was lawful and free from any sin against God, for the ministers of the church of England to use those garments in which they did then officiate; since they were required to do it by the magistrate's command? And whether he that affirmed that it was unlawful, or on that account refused to use those vestments, did not sin against God; calling that unclean which God had sanctified, and the magistrate required; since he thereby disturbed the public order of the kingdom? To this Bucer writ a large answer on the 8th of December this year. He thought that those who used these garments ought to declare they did not retain them as parts of Moses' law, but as things commanded by the law of the land: he thought every creature of God was good, and no former abuse could make it so ill, that it might not be retained; and since these garments had been used by the ancient fathers before popery, and might still be of good use to the weak when well understood, and help to maintain the ministerial dignity, and to show that the church did not of any lightness change old customs, he thought the retaining them was expedient: that so the people might, by seeing these vestments, consider of the candour and purity that became them: and in this sense he thought, to the pure all things were pure; and so the apostles complied in many things with the Jews. Upon the whole matter, he thought they sinned who refused to obey the laws in that particular. But he added, that since these garments were abused by some to superstition, and by others to be matter of contention, he wished they were taken away, and a more complete reformation established: he also prayed that a stop might be put to the spoiling of churches, and that ecclesiastical discipline against offenders might be set up: "For," said he, "unless these manifest and horrid sacrileges be put down, and the complete kingdom of Christ be received, so that we all submit to his yoke; how intolerably shall the wrath of God break out on this kingdom! The Scriptures set many such examples before our eyes, and Germany offers a most dreadful prospect of what England might look for."

He writ also to Hooper upon the same argument. He wished the garments were removed by law; but argued fully for the use of them till then: he lamented the great corruptions that were among the clergy, and wished that all good men would unite their strength against these; and then lesser abuses would be more easily redressed. He also answered Hooper's objections on the principles formerly laid down. Peter Martyr was also writ to; and, as

he writ to Bucer, he was fully of his mind, and approved of all he had writ about it. And he added these words, which I shall set down in his own terms, copied from the original letter: "*Quæ de Hopeno ad me scribis, non potuerunt non videri mira; certè illis auditis obstupui. Sed bene habet, quod episcopi literas meas viderunt; unde invidia ego quidem sum liberatus. Ecce illius causa sic jacet, ut melioribus et piis nequaquam probetur. Dolet, dolet, idq; mihi gravissimè, talia inter evangelii professores contingere. Ille toto hoc tempore, cum illi sit interdicta concio, non videtur posse quiescere: suæ fidei confessionem edidit, qua rursus multorum animos exacerbavit: deinde queritur de consiliariis, et fortasse, quod mihi non refert, de nobis: Deus felicem catastrophe non lætis actibus imponat!*" In English: "What you wrote to me about Hooper could not but seem wonderful to me: when I heard it, I was struck with it. It was well that the bishops saw my letters, by which I am freed from their displeasure. His business is now at that pass, that the best and most pious disprove of it. I am grieved, and sadly grieved, that such things should fall out among the professors of the gospel. All this while in which he is suspended from preaching, he cannot be at rest: he has set out a profession of his faith, by which he has provoked many: he complains of the privy-councillors, and perhaps of us too, of which he says nothing to me. God give a happy issue to these uncomfortable beginnings!" This I set down more fully, that it may appear how far either of these divines were from cherishing such stiffness in Hooper. He had been chaplain to the duke of Somerset, as appeared by his defence of himself in Bonner's process; yet he obtained so much favour of the earl of Warwick, that he writ earnestly in his behalf to the archbishop to dispense with the use of the garments and the oath of canonical obedience at

his consecration *. Cranmer wrote back, that he could not do it without incurring a *præmunire* : so the king was moved to write to him, warranting him to do it, without any danger which the law could bring on him for such an omission. But though this was done on the 4th of August, yet he was not consecrated till March next year ; and in the mean while it appears, by Peter Martyr's letters, that he was suspended from preaching.

This summer, John à Lasco, with a congregation of Germans that fled from their country upon the persecution raised there for not receiving the Interim, was allowed to hold his assembly at St. Austin's in London †. The congregation was erected into a corporation. John à Lasco was to be superintendant, and there were four other ministers associated with him. For the curiosity of the thing, I have put the patents in the Collection. There were also three hundred and eighty of the congregation made denizens of England, as appears by the records of their patents. But à Lasco did not carry himself with that decency that became a stranger who was so kindly received : for he wrote against the orders of this church, both in the matter of the habits, and about the posture in the sacrament, being for sitting rather than kneeling.

This year, Polidore Virgil, who had been now almost forty years in England, growing old, desired leave to go nearer the sun. It was granted him on the 2nd of June ‡ : and in consideration of the public service he was thought to have done the nation by his History, he was permitted to hold his archdeaconry of Wells and his prebend of Nonnington, notwithstanding his absence out of the kingdom. On the 26th of June, Poinet was declared bishop of Rochester, and Coverdale was made coadjutor to Vesy, bishop of Exeter.

About the end of this year, or the beginning of the next, there was a review made of the Common-prayer book. Several things had been continued in it, either to draw in some of the bishops, who by such yielding might be prevailed on to concur in it ; or in compliance with the people, who were fond of their old superstitions. So now a review of it was set about. Martin Bucer was consulted in it : and Alesse, the Scotch divine mentioned in the former part, translated it into Latin for his use. Upon which Bucer writ his opinion, which he finished the 5th of January in the year following.

The substance of it was, that he found all things in the common service and daily prayers were clearly according to the Scriptures. He advised, that in cathedrals the quire might not be too far separated from the congregation, since in some places the people could not hear them read prayers. He wished there were a strict discipline to exclude scandalous livers from the sacrament. He wished the old habits might be laid aside, since some used them superstitiously, and others contended much about them. He did not like the half office of communion or second-service to be said at the altar, when there was no sacrament. He was offended with the requiring the people to receive at least once a year, and would have them pressed to it much more frequently. He disliked that the priests generally read prayers with no devotion, and in such a voice that the people understood not what they said. He would have the sacrament delivered into the hands, and not put into the mouths of the people. He censured praying for the dead, of which no mention is made in the Scripture, nor by Justin Martyr an age after. He thought that the prayer, that the elements might be to us the body and blood of Christ, favoured transub-

* The oath of canonical obedience, as printed in the form of consecration, An. 1549, is so unexceptionable, that there seems to be no ground for scruple ; being only a promise of all due reverence and obedience to the archbishop, &c. It seems to have been the oath of supremacy, which at that time contained expressions more liable to exception, being a kind of, &c. oath, requiring obedience to acts and statutes, made or to be made, and concluding with, "So helpe me God, All Saints," &c.

Fuller, who was once of opinion that it was the oath of canonical obedience that Hooper scrupled, yet altered his opinion, [Worthies in Somersetshire, p. 22,] upon these,

or such like reasons. Parsons expressly says it was the oath of supremacy. *De Tribus Convers.* Par. 3, chap. 6, sect. 68.—ANON. CORRECT.

† They were most of them Netherlanders or French (only a few Germans), and consequently not concerned with the Interim ; and the language they officiated in was the Low German and French, &c. *Utenhov. Narrat. de Institut. et Dissipat. Belgarum*, &c. p. 12, 28, &c. Those that went off with à Lasco were Low Germans, French, English, or Scots. *Ib.* p. 22.—ANON. CORRECT.

‡ The passport was signed in March 1554, to go with four servants and three horses.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

stantiation too much : a small variation might bring it nearer to a Scripture form. He complained that baptism was generally in houses, which being the receiving infants into the church, ought to be done more publicly. The hallowing of the water, the chrisme, and the white garment he censured, as being too scenical : he excepted to the exorcising the devil, and would have it turned to a prayer to God : that authoritative way of saying " I adjure " not being so decent. He thought the godfathers answering in the child's name not so well as to answer in their own, that they should take care in these things, all they could. He would not have confirmation given upon a bare recital of the catechism ; but would have it delayed till the persons did really desire to renew the baptismal vow. He would have catechising every holy-day, and not every sixth Sunday : and that people should be still catechised, after they were confirmed, to preserve them from ignorance. He would have all marriages to be made in the full congregation. He would have the giving unction to the sick, and praying for the dead, to be quite laid aside ; as also the offering the chrismes at the churching of women. He advised that the communion should be celebrated four times a year. He sadly lamented the want of faithful teachers ; and intreated the archbishop to see to the mending of this, and to think on some stricter ways of examining those who were to be ordained, than barely the putting of some questions to them. All this I have gathered out the more largely, that it may appear how carefully things were then considered : and that almost in every particular, the most material things which Bucer excepted to were corrected afterwards.

But at the same time, the king having taken such care of him, that hearing that he had suffered in his health last winter by the want of a stove, such as is used in Germany, he had sent him 20*l*. to have one made for him ; he was told that the king would expect a new-year's gift from him of a book made for his own use. So upon that occasion he Bucer writ a book for the king's use. writ a book entituled, " Concerning the Kingdom of Christ." He sets out in it the miseries of Germany, which he says were brought on them by their sins ; for they would bear no discipline ; nor were the ministers so earnest in it as was fitting : though in Hungary it was otherwise. He writes largely of ecclesiastical discipline ; which was intended chiefly for separating ill men from the sacrament ; and to make good men avoid their company, whereby they might be ashamed. He presses much the sanctification of the Lord's day, and of the other holy-days, and that there might be many days of fasting : but he thought Lent had been so abused, that other times for it might be more expedient. He complains much of pluralities and non-residence as a remainder of popery, so hurtful to the church, that in many places there were but one or two, or few more sermons in a whole year : but he thought that much was not to be expected from the greatest part of the clergy, unless the king would set himself vigorously to reform these things. Lastly, he would have a complete exposition of the doctrine of the church digested, and set out : and he proposed divers laws to the king's consideration : as,

1. For catechising children.
2. For sanctifying holy-days.
3. For preserving churches for God's service, not to be made places for walking or for commerce.
4. To have the pastoral function entirely restored to what it ought to be, that bishops throwing off all secular cares, should give themselves to their spiritual employments ; he advises that coadjutors might be given to some, and a council of presbyters be appointed for them all. It was plain, that many of them complied with the laws against their minds ; these he would have deprived. He advises rural bishops to be set over twenty or thirty parishes, who should gather their clergy often together, and inspect them closely : and that a provincial synod should meet twice a year, where a secular man in the king's name should be appointed to observe their proceedings.
5. For restoring church-lands, that all who served the church might be well provided : if any lived in luxury upon their high revenues, it was reasonable to make them use them better ; but not to blame or rob the church for their fault.
6. For the maintenance of the poor, for whom anciently a fourth part of the church's goods was assigned.

The 7th was about marriage. That the prohibited degrees might be well settled ; marriage without consent of parents annulled ; and that a second marriage might be lawful after a divorce, which he thought might be made for adultery, and some other reasons.

8. For the education of youth.

9. For restraining the excess of some people's living.

10. For reforming and explaining the laws of the land which his father had begun.

11. To place good magistrates ; that no office should be sold, and that inferior magistrates should often give an account to the superior of the administration of their offices.

12. To consider well who were made judges.

13. To give order that none should be put in prison upon slight offences.

The 14th was for moderating of some punishments ; chiefly, the putting of thieves to death, which was too severe, whereas adultery was too slightly passed over : though adultery be a greater wrong to the suffering party than any theft, and so was punished with death by Moses' law.

This book was sent to the young king. And he having received it, set himself to write a general discourse about a reformation of the nation, which is the second among the discourses written by him that follow the Journal of his Reign. In it he takes notice of the corrections of the Book of the Liturgy which were then under consideration ; as also that it was necessary there should be a rule of church discipline, for the censure of ill livers ; but he thought that power was not to be put into the hands of all the bishops at that time. From thence he goes on to discourse of the ill state of the nation, and of the remedies that seemed proper for it. The first he proposes was the education of youth, next the correction of some laws, and there either broke it off, or the rest of it is lost. In which, as there is a great discovery of a marvellous probity of mind, so there are strange hints to come from one not yet fourteen years of age ; and yet it is all written with his own hand, and in such a manner, that any who shall look on the original will clearly see it was his own work : the style is simple, and suitable to a child : few men can make such composures, but somewhat above a child will appear in their style, which makes me conclude it was all a device of his own.

This year the king began to write his Journal himself. The first three years of his reign are set down in a short way of recapitulating matters. But this year he set down what was done every day, that was of any moment, together with the foreign news that were sent over. And oftentimes he called to mind passages some days after they were done ; and sometime after the middle of a month he tells what was done in the beginning of it. Which shows clearly it was his own work ; for if it had been drawn for him by any that were about him, and given him only to copy out for his memory, it would have been more exact ; so that there remains no doubt with me but that it was his own originally. And therefore since all who have writ of that time have drawn their informations from that Journal ; and though they have printed some of the letters he wrote, when a child, which are indeed the meanest things that ever fell from him ; yet, except one little fragment, nothing of it has been yet published ; I have copied it out entirely, and set it before my Collection. I have added to it some other papers that were also writ by him. The first of these is in French ; it is a collection of many passages out of the Old Testament against idolatry, and the worshipping of images, which he dedicated to his uncle, being then protector : the original under his own hand lies in Trinity College in Cambridge, from whence I copied the Preface and the Conclusion, which are printed in the Collection after his Journal.

There was nothing else done of moment this year, in relation to the church, save the visitation made of the diocese of London by Ridley their new bishop. But the exact time of it is not set down in the register. It was according to king Edward's Journal some time before the 26th of June : for he writes, that on that day sir Jo. Yates the high sheriff of Essex was sent down with letters to see the bishop of London's injunctions performed, which touched the plucking down of superlataries, altars, and such like ceremonies and abuses ; so that the visitation must have been about the beginning of June. The articles of it are in bishop Sparrow's Collection. They are concerning

The King
thinks of re-
forming many
abuses.

Coll. K. Edw.
Remains,
Number 2.

He writes a
Journal of all
Proceedings
during his
Reign.

Coll. K. Edw.
Remains,
Number 1.

Ridley visits
his Diocese.

the doctrines and lives, and labours, and charities of the clergy; viz. whether they spake in favour of the bishop of Rome, or against the use of the Scripture, or against the Book of Common Prayer? Whether they stirred up sedition, or sold the communion or trentals, or used private masses anywhere? Whether any anabaptists or others used private conventicles, with different opinions and forms from those established? Whether there were any that said the wickedness of the minister took away the effect of the sacraments, or denied repentance to such as sinned after baptism? Other questions were about baptisms and marriages. Whether the curates did visit the sick, and bury the dead, and expound the catechism, at least some part of it, once in six weeks? Whether any observed abrogated holy-days, or the rites that were now put down?

To these he added some injunctions which are in the Collection. Most of them relate to the old superstitions, which some of the priests were still inclinable to practise, and for which they had been gently, if at all, reprov'd by Bonner. Such were, washing their hands at the altar, holding up the bread, licking the chalice, blessing their eyes with the patten or sudary, and many other relics of the mass. The ministers were also required to charge the people oft to give alms, and to come oft to the communion, and to carry themselves reverently at church. But that which was most new was, that there having been great contests about the form of the Lord's board, whether it should be made as an altar, or as a table; therefore, since the form of a table was more like to turn the people from the superstition of the popish mass, and to the right use of the Lord's supper, he exhorted the curates and churchwardens to have it in the fashion of a table, decently covered; and to place it in such part of the quire or chancel as should be most meet, so that the ministers and communicants should be separated from the rest of the people; and that they should put down all by-altars.

There are many passages among ancient writers, that show their communion-tables were of wood; and that they were so made as tables, that those who fled into churches for sanctuary did hide themselves under them. The name altar came to be given to these generally, because they accounted the Eucharist a sacrifice of praise, as also a commemorative sacrifice of the oblation which Christ made of himself on the cross. From hence it was, that the communion-table was called also an altar. But now it came to be considered, whether, as these terms had been on good reason brought into the church, when there was no thought of the corruptions that followed; so if it was not fit, since they did still support the belief of an expiatory sacrifice in the mass, and the opinion of transubstantiation, and were always but figurative forms of speech, to change them; and to do that more effectually, to change the form and place of them. Some have fondly thought that Ridley gave this injunction after the letter which the council writ to him in the end of November following. But as there was no fit time to begin a visitation after that time this year, so the style of the injunctions shows they were given before the letter. The injunction only exhorts the curates to do it, which Ridley could not have done in such soft words, after the council had required and commanded him to do it: so it appears that the injunctions were given only by his episcopal power. And that afterwards the same matter being brought before the council, who were informed that in many places there had been contests about it, some being for keeping to their old custom, and others being set on a change, the council thought fit to send their letter concerning it to Ridley on the 24th of November following. The letter sets out, that altars were taken away in divers places, upon good and godly considerations, but still continued in other places; by which there rose much contention among the king's subjects; therefore, for avoiding that, they did charge and command him to give substantial order through all his diocese for removing all altars, and setting up tables everywhere for the communion to be administered in some convenient part of the chancel: and that these orders might be the better received, there were reasons sent with the letters, which he was to cause discreet preachers to declare, in such places as he thought fit, and that himself should set them out in his own cathedral, if conveniently he could.

The reasons* were, to remove the people from the superstitious opinions of the popish

* These reasons were drawn up by Ridley.—STEELE'S CORRECT.

mass: and because a table was a more proper name than an altar, for that on which the sacrament was laid; and whereas in the Book of Common Prayer these terms are promiscuously used, it is done without prescribing anything about the form of them; so that the changing the one into the other did not alter any part of the liturgy. It was observed, that altars were erected for the sacrifices under the law, which ceasing, they were also to cease; and that Christ had instituted the sacrament not at an altar, but at a table. And it had been ordered by the preface to the Book of Common Prayer, that if any doubt arose about any part of it, the determining of it should be referred to the bishop of the diocese. Upon these reasons therefore was this change ordered to be made all over England, which was universally executed this year.

There began this year a practice which might seem in itself not only innocent, but good, Sermons on working-days forbidden. of preaching sermons and lectures on the week-days, to which there was great running from neighbouring parishes. This as it begat emulation in the clergy, so it was made use of as a pretence for many to leave their labour, and gad idly about. Upon complaint therefore made of it, Ridley had a letter sent to him from the Council against all preaching on working-days, on which there should only be prayers. How this was submitted to then is not clear. But it cannot be denied, that there have been since that time excesses on all hands in this matter; while some have, with great sincerity and devotion, kept up these in market-towns; but others have carried them on with too much faction, and a design to detract from such as were not so eminent in their way of preaching. Upon these abuses, while some rulers have studied to put all such performances down, rather than to correct the abuses in them, great contradiction has followed on it; and the people have been possessed with unjust prejudices against them, as hinderers of the word of God; and that opposition has kept up the zeal for these lectures. Which nevertheless, since they have been more freely preached, have of late years produced none of the ill effects that did follow them formerly when they were endeavoured to be suppressed.

And thus I end the transactions about religion this year. The rest of the affairs at home were chiefly for the regulating of many abuses that had grown up and been nourished by a long continuance of war. All the foreign soldiers were dismissed. And though the duke of Lunenburg had offered the king ten thousand men to his assistance, and desired to enter into a treaty of marriage for the lady Mary, they only thanked him for the offer of his soldiers, of which they, being now at peace with all their neighbours, had no need; and since the proposition for marrying the lady Mary to the infant of Portugal was yet in dependence, they could not treat in that kind with any other prince till that overture was some way ended. There were endeavours also for encouraging trade, and reforming the coin. And at the court things began to put on a new visage; for there was no more any faction; the duke of Somerset and the earl of Warwick being now joined into a near alliance; the earl's eldest son, the lord Lisle, marrying the duke's daughter; so that there was a good prospect of happy times.

In Scotland, the peace being proclaimed, the government was now more entirely in the hands of the duke of Castelherault, who gave himself up wholly to the counsels of his base brother, who was archbishop of St. Andrew's. And he was so abandoned to his pleasures, that there was nothing so bad that he was ashamed of. He kept another man's wife openly for his concubine. There were also many excesses in the government. Which things, as they alienated all people's minds from the clergy, so they disposed them to receive the new doctrines, which many teachers were bringing from England, and prepared them for the changes that followed afterwards. The queen-mother went over into France in September, pretending it was to see her daughter, and the rest of her kindred there; where she laid down the method for the wresting of the government of Scotland out of the governor's hands, and taking it into her own.

The emperor appointed a diet of the Empire to meet in the end of July, and required all to appear personally at it, except such as were hindered by sickness, of which they were to make faith upon oath. And at the same time he proscribed the town of Magdeburg. But the magistrates of that town set out a large manifesto for their own vindication, as they had done the former year. They said, "they were ready

The affairs
of Scotland.

And of Ger-
many.



JAMES HAMILTON, EARL OF ARRAN.

DUKE OF CHATELHERAULT

OB. 1574.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF WHICH IS THE PROPERTY OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF HAMILTON

to give him all the obedience, that they were bound to by the laws of the Empire: they were very apprehensive of the mischiefs of a civil war: they were not so blind as to think they were able to resist the emperor's great armies, lifted up with so many victories, if they trusted only to their own strength: they had hitherto done no act of hostility to any, but what they were forced to for their own defence. It was visible, the true ground of the war of Germany was religion, to extinguish the light of the gospel, and to subdue them again to the papal tyranny. For the artifices that were formerly used to disguise it did now appear too manifestly; so that it was not any more denied. But it would be too late to see it, when Germany was quite oppressed. In civil matters, they said, they would yield to the miseries of the time. But St. Peter had taught them that it was better to obey God than man; and therefore they were resolved to put all things to hazard, rather than to make shipwreck of faith and a good conscience." There were tumults raised in Strasburg, and divers other towns, against those who set up the mass among them: and generally all Germany was disposed to a revolt, if they had had but a head to lead them.

The emperor had also set out a very severe edict in Flanders, when he left it, against all that favoured the new doctrines, as they were called. But the execution of this was stopped at the intercession of the town of Antwerp, when they perceived the English were resolved to remove from thence, and carry their trade to some other place. When the diet was opened, the emperor pressed them to submit to the council which the new pope had removed back to Trent. Maurice of Saxe answered, he could not submit to it, unless all that had been done formerly in it should be reviewed, and the divines of the Augsburg confession were both heard and admitted to a suffrage, and the pope should subject himself to their decrees, and dispense with the oath which the bishops had sworn to him. On these terms he would submit to it, and not otherwise. This was refused to be entered into the registers of the diet by the elector of Mentz; but there was no haste, for the council was not to sit till the next year. The emperor complained much, that the "Interim" was not generally received; to which it was answered by the princes, that it was necessary to give the people time to overcome their former prejudices. All seemed to comply with him. And Maurice did so insinuate himself into him, that the siege of Magdeburg being now formed, and a great many princes having gathered forces against it, among whom the duke of Brunswick and the duke of Mecklenburg were the most forward; yet he got himself declared by the diet general of the empire, for the reduction of that place, and he had 100,000 crowns for undertaking it, and 60,000 crowns a month were appointed for the expense of the war. He saw well, that if Magdeburg were closely pressed, it would soon be taken, and then all Germany would be brought to the emperor's devotion: and so the war would end in a slavery. But he hoped so to manage this small remainder of the war, as to draw great effects from it. This was a fatal step to the emperor, thus to trust a prince who was of a different religion, and had a deep resentment of the injury he had done him, in detaining his father-in-law the landgrave of Hesse prisoner, against the faith he had given him. But the emperor reckoned, that as long as he had John duke of Saxe in his hands, Maurice durst not depart from his interests; since it seemed an easy thing for him to repossess the other of his dominions and dignity. Thus was the crafty emperor deluded, and now put that, upon which the completing of his great designs depended, into the hands of one that proved too hard for him at that in which he was such a master, cunning and dissimulation.

In these consultations did this year end. In the beginning of the next year, there was a great complaint brought against Dr. Oglethorp, afterwards bishop of Carlisle under queen Mary, and now president of Magdalen college in Oxford. But he, to secure himself from that part of the complaint that related to religion, being accused as one that was against the new book of service, and the king's other proceedings, signed a paper (which will be found in the Collection) in which he declared, "That he had never taught anything openly against those, but that he thought them good, if well used; and that he thought the order of religion now set forth to be better and much nearer the use of the apostolical and primitive church than that which was formerly; and that in particular, he did approve of the communion in both kinds,

the people's communicating always with the priest, the service in English, and the homilies that had been set forth : and that he did reject the lately received doctrine of transubstantiation, as being not agreeable to the Scriptures, or to ancient writers : but he thought there was an inconceivable presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, and that therefore it should be received not without great examination beforehand." So compliant was he now, though he became of another mind in queen Mary's time ; yet then he was more moderate than the greatest part of those who did now comply most servilely. In particular, Dr. Smith had written a book for the cœlibate of priests, and had opposed all the changes that had been made : he was brought to London upon the complaints that were sent up against him from Oxford, but after a while's imprisonment, he was set at liberty, giving surety for his good behaviour : and carried himself so obediently after it, that Cranmer got his sureties to be discharged, upon which he writ him a letter as full of acknowledgment as was possible :

which is in the Collection. " He protested he should retain the sense of it as long as he lived ; he wished that he had never written his book of the cœlibate of priests, which had been printed against his will : he found he was mistaken in that which was the foundation of it all, that the priests of England had taken a vow against marriage : he desired to see some of the collections Cranmer had made against it." (It seems Cranmer was inquiring after a manuscript of Ignatius's epistles, for he tells him, " They were in Magdalen College Library ;) he acknowledged the archbishop's great gentleness toward all those who had been complained of for religion in that university ; and protested, that for his own part, if ever he could serve his basest servant, he would do it ; wishing that he might perish if he thought otherwise than he said ; and wished him long life for the propagation and advancement of the Christian doctrine." Soon after he writ another letter to Cranmer*, in which he cited some passages out of Austin concerning his retractions ; and professes he would not be ashamed to make the like, and to set forth Christ's true religion ; and called, in St. Paul's words, " God to be a witness against his soul if he lied." He had also in the beginning of this reign made a recantation sermon of some opinions he had held concerning the mass, but what these were, King Edward's Journal (from whence I gather it) does not inform us†. Day bishop of Chichester did also now so far comply, as to preach a sermon at court against transubstantiation, though he had refused to set his hand to the book of Common-prayer, before it was enacted by law. For the principle that generally run among the popish party was, that though they would not consent to the making of such alterations in religion, yet, being made, they would give obedience to them : which Gardiner plainly professed, and it appeared in the practice of all the rest. This was certainly a gross sort of compliance, in those who retained the old opinions, and yet did now declare against them ; and in the worship they offered up to God, acted contrary to them ; which was the highest degree of prevarication both with God and man that was possible. But Cranmer was always gentle and moderate. He left their private consciences to God : but thought, that if they gave an external obedience, the people would be brought to receive the changes more easily ; whereas the proceeding severely against them might have raised more opposition. He was also naturally a man of bowels and compassion, and did not love to drive things to extremities ; he considered that men who had grown old in some errors could not easily lay them down, and so were by degrees to be worn out of them. Only in the proceedings against Gardiner and Bonner, he was carried beyond his ordinary temper. But Gardiner he knew to be so inveterate a papist, and so deep a dissembler, that he was for throwing him out, not so much for the particulars objected to him, as upon the ill character he had of him. Bonner had also deceived him so formerly, and had been so cruel

* The bishop's anonymous corrector assures his " lordship that these letters were written to Parker, not to Cranmer ; " and adds, " if your lordship has any doubt of it, I can make it very evident." The letter given in the Collection, from a manuscript in Corpus Christi Colledge, Cambridge, is however addressed to Cranmer.—ED.

† The particulars were, 1. Concerning submission to governors in church and state. 2. Concerning unwritten traditions. 3. Concerning the sacrifice of the mass, &c.,

as may be seen in his retraction, printed at London, anno 1547, *cum priv.* entitled " A Godly and faithful Retraction, made and published at Paul's Cross in London, anno 1547, 15 May ; by Master Richard Smith, D.D. and Reader of the King's Majesties Lecture in Oxford ; revoking therein certain Errors and Faults, by him committed in some of his Books." It was repeated at Oxford, July the 24th, the same year.—ANON. CORRECT.

a persecutor upon the statute of the Six Articles, and was become so brutal and luxurious, that he judged it necessary to purge the church of him. And the sees of London and Winchester were of such consequence, that he was induced, for having these well supplied, to stretch a little in these proceedings against those dissembling bishops.

In the end of February he lost his friend Martin Bucer, on whose assistance he had depended much, in what remained yet to be done. Bucer died of the stone, and griping of the guts, on the 28th of February*. He lay ill almost all that month, and expressed great desire to die. Bradford, who will be mentioned in the next Book with much honour, waited most on him in his sickness. He lamented much the desolate state of Germany, and expressed his apprehensions of some such stroke coming upon England, by reason of the great dissoluteness of the people's manners, of the want of ecclesiastical discipline, and the general neglect of the pastoral charge. He was very patient in all his pain, which grew violently on him; he lay oft silent, only after long intervals cried out sometimes, "Chastise me, Lord! but throw me not off in my old age." He was by order from Cranmer, and sir John Cheke, buried with the highest solemnities that could be devised, to express the value the university had for him. The vice-chancellor, and all the graduates, and the mayor, with all the town, accompanied his funeral to St. Mary's; where after prayers, Haddon, the university orator, made such a speech concerning him, and pronounced it with that affection, that almost the whole assembly shed tears. Next Dr. Parker, that had been his most intimate friend, made an English sermon in his praise, and concerning the sorrowing for our departed friends. And the day following Dr. Redmayn, then master of Trinity college, made another sermon concerning death; and in it gave a full account of Bucer's life and death. He particularly commended the great sweetness of his temper to all, but remarkably to those who differed from him. Redmayn and he had differed in many things, both concerning justification, and the influences of divine grace. But he said, as Bucer had satisfied him in some things, so he believed if he had lived he had satisfied him in more; and that he being dead, he knew none alive from whom he could learn so much. This character given him by so grave and learned a man, who was in many points of a different persuasion from him, was a great commendation to them both. And Redmayn was indeed an extraordinary person. All in the university that were eminent either in Greek or Latin poetry, did adorn his coffin with epitaphs: in which they expressed a very extraordinary sense of their loss: about which one Carr† writ a copious and passionate letter to sir John Cheke. But Peter Martyr bore his death with the most sensible sorrow that could be imagined; having in him lost a father, and the only intimate friend he had in

His Character.

England. He was a very learned, judicious, pious, and moderate person. Perhaps he was inferior to none of all the reformers for learning; but for zeal, for true piety, and a most tender care of preserving unity among the foreign churches, Melancthon and he, without any injury done the rest, may be ranked apart by themselves. He was much opposed by the popish party at Cambridge; who, though they complied with the law, and so kept their places, yet either in the way of argument, as it had been for dispute's sake, or in such points as were not determined, set themselves much to lessen his esteem. Nor was he furnished naturally with the quickness that is necessary for a dispute, from which they studied to draw advantages: and therefore Peter Martyr writ to him to avoid all public disputes with them. For they did not deal candidly on these occasions. They often kept up their questions till the hour of the dispute, that so the extemporary faculty of him who was to preside might be the more exposed; and right or wrong they used to make exclamations, and run away with a triumph: in one of his letters to Bucer, he particularly mentions Dr. Smith for an instance of this. It was that Smith he said who writ against the marriage of priests, and yet was believed to live in adultery with his man's wife. This letter was occasioned by the disputes that were in August the former year, between Bucer and Sedgwick, Young and Pern, about the authority of the Scripture, and the church. Which disputes Bucer intending to publish, caused them to be writ out,

* Bucer died on the 1st of March.—Ed.

† Nicholas Carr, Regius Professor of the Greek tongue

in Cambridge, and a great restorer of learning in that university.—GRANGER'S CORRECT.

and sent the copy to them to be corrected, offering them, that if anything was omitted that they had said, or if they had anything else to say which was forgot in the dispute, they might add it: but they sent back the papers to him without vouchsafing to read them. At Ratisbon he had a conference with Gardiner, who was then king Henry's ambassador; in which Gardiner broke out into such a violent passion, that as he spared no reproachful words, so the company thought he would have fallen on Bucer and beat him; he was in such disorder, that the little vein between his thumb and forefinger did swell and palpitate, which Bucer said he had never before that observed in any person in his life.

But as Bucer was taken away by death, so Gardiner was sometime before put out, which was a kind of death; though he had afterwards a resurrection fatal to very many. Gardiner is deprived. There was a commission issued out, to the archbishop, the bishops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, secretary Petre, judge Hales, Griffith, Leyson, and John Oliver, two civilians, and Goodrick, and Gosnosd, two masters of Chancery, to proceed against Gardiner for his contempt in the matters formerly objected to him. He put in a compurgation, by which he endeavoured to show there was malice borne to him, and conspiracies against him, as appeared by the business of sir Henry Knevet, mentioned in the former Part, and the leaving him out of the late king's will, which he said was procured by his enemies. He complained of his long imprisonment without any trial, and that articles of one sort after another were brought to him; so that it was plain he was not detained for any crime, but to try if such usage could force him to do anything, that should be imposed on him. He declared, that what order soever were set out by the king's council, he should never speak against it, but to the council themselves; and that though he could not give consent to the changes before they were made, he was now well satisfied to obey them; but he would never make any acknowledgment of any fault. The things chiefly laid against him were, that being required, he refused, to preach concerning the king's power when he was under age; and that he had affronted preachers sent by the king into his diocese; and had been negligent in obeying the king's injunctions; and continued, after all, so obstinate, that he would not confess his fault, nor ask the king mercy. His crimes were aggravated by this, that his timely asserting the king's power under age, might have been a great mean for preventing the rebellion and effusion of blood which had afterwards happened, chiefly on that pretence, to which his obstinacy had given no small occasion. Upon this, many witnesses were examined; chiefly the duke of Somerset, the earls of Wiltshire and Bedford, who deposed against him. But to this he answered, that he was not required to do it by any order of council, but only in a private discourse, to which he did not think himself bound to give obedience. Other witnesses were also examined on the other particulars. But he appealed from the delegates to the king in person. Yet his judges, on the 18th of April, gave sentence against him; by which, for his disobedience and contempt, they deprived him of his bishopric. Upon that he renewed his protestation and appeal; and so his process ended, and he was sent back to the Tower, where he lay till queen Mary discharged him.

The same censures, with the same justifications, belong both to this and Bonner's business: so I shall repeat nothing that was formerly said. He had taken a commission, as well as Bonner, to hold his bishopric only during the king's pleasure; so they both had the less reason to complain which way soever the royal pleasure was signified to them. Eight days after, on the 26th of April, Poinet was translated from Rochester to Winchester; and had 2000 marks a year in lands assigned him out of that wealthy bishopric for his subsistence. Dr. Scory was made bishop of Rochester. Veysey bishop of Exeter did also resign, pretending extreme old age; but he had reserved 48*l.* a year in pension for himself, during life, out of the lands of the bishopric; and almost all the rest he had basely alienated, taking care only of himself, and ruining his successors. Miles Coverdale was made bishop of Exeter. So that now the bishoprics were generally filled with men well affected to the Reformation.

The business of Hooper was now also settled. He was to be attired in the vestments that were prescribed, when he was consecrated, and when he preached before the king, or in his cathedral, or in any public place; but he was dispensed with upon other occasions. On these conditions he was consecrated in March: for the writ for doing it bears date the 7th of that month. So now the bishops being

Hooper is consecrated upon his Conformity.

generally addicted to the purity of religion, most of this year was spent in preparing articles, which should contain the doctrine of the church of England.

Many thought they should have begun first of all with those. But Cranmer upon good reasons was of another mind, though much pressed by Bucer about it. Till the order or bishops was brought to such a model, that the far greater part of them would agree to it, it was much fitter to let that design go on slowly, than to set out a profession of their belief, to which so great a part of the chief pastors might be obstinately averse. The corruptions that were most important were those in the worship, by which men in their immediate addresses to God, were necessarily involved in unlawful compliances, and these seemed to require a more speedy reformation. But for speculative points there was not so pressing a necessity to have them all explained, since in these, men might, with less prejudice, be left to a freedom in their opinions. It seemed also advisable to open and ventilate matters in public disputations and books, written about them for some years, before they should go too hastily to determine them : lest if they went too fast in that affair, it would not be so decent to make alterations afterwards ; nor could the clergy be of a sudden brought to change their old opinions. Therefore upon all these considerations that work was delayed till this year ; in which they set about it, and finished it, before the convocation met in the next February. In what method they proceeded for the compiling of these articles ; whether they were given out to several bishops and divines to deliver their opinions concerning them, as was done formerly, or not, it is not certain. I have found it often said, that they were framed by Cranmer and Ridley ; which I think more probable ; and that they were by them sent about to others, to correct or to add to them as they saw cause. They are in the Collection, with the differences between these and those set out in queen Elizabeth's time marked on the margin.

Collection,
Number 55.

The Articles
of Religion
are prepared.

They began with the assertion of the blessed Trinity, the incarnation of the eternal Word, and Christ's descent into hell ; grounding this last on these words of St. Peter, of his " preaching to the spirits that were in prison." The next article was about Christ's resurrection : the fifth about the Scriptures containing all things necessary to salvation : so that nothing was to be held an article of faith that could not be proved from thence. The sixth, that the Old Testament was to be kept still.

The 7th. For the receiving the three creeds, the Apostles', the Nicene, and Athanasius' Creed ; in which they went according to the received opinion, that Athanasius was the author of that Creed, which is now found not to have been compiled till near three ages after him.

The 8th. Makes original sin to be the corruption of the nature of all men descending from Adam ; by which they had fallen from original righteousness, and were by nature given to evil ; but they defined nothing about the derivation of guilt from Adam's sin.

The 9th. For the necessity of prevailing grace, without which we have no free will to do things acceptable to God.

The 10th. About divine grace, which changeth a man, and yet puts no force on his will.

The 11th. That men are justified by faith only ; as was declared in the Homily.

The 12th. That works done before grace are not without sin.

The 13th. Against all works of supererogation.

The 14th. That all men, Christ only excepted, are guilty of sin.

The 15th. That men who have received grace, may sin afterwards, and rise again by repentance.

The 16th. That the blaspheming against the Holy Ghost is, when men out of malice and obstinacy rail against God's word, though they are convinced of it, yet persecute it ; which is unpardonable.

The 17th. That predestination is God's free election of those, whom he afterwards justifies ; which though it be matter of great comfort to such as consider it aright, yet it is a dangerous thing for curious and carnal men to pry into ; and it being a secret, men are to be governed by God's revealed will : they added not a word of reprobation.

The 18th. That only the name of Christ, and not the law or light of nature, can save men.

The 19th. That all men are bound to keep the moral law.

The 20th. That the church is a congregation of faithful men, who have the word of God preached, and the sacraments rightly administered; and that the church of Rome, as well as other particular churches, have erred in matters of faith.

The 21st. That the church is only the witness and keeper of the word of God; but cannot appoint anything contrary to it, nor declare any articles of faith without warrant from it.

The 22d. That general councils may not be gathered without the consent of princes; that they may err and have erred in matters of faith: and that their decrees in matters of salvation have strength only as they are taken out of the Scriptures.

The 23d. That the doctrines of purgatory, pardons, worshipping of images, and relics, and invocation of saints, are without any warrant, and contrary to the Scriptures.

The 24th. That none may preach or minister the sacraments, without he be lawfully called by men who have lawful authority.

The 25th. That all things should be spoken in the church in a vulgar tongue.

The 26th. That there are two sacraments, which are not bare tokens of our profession, but effectual signs of God's good-will to us: which strengthen our faith, yet not by virtue only of the work wrought, but in those who receive them worthily.

The 27th. That the virtue of these does not depend on the minister of them.

The 28th. That by baptism we are the adopted sons of God; and that infant baptism is to be commended, and in any ways to be retained.

The 29th. That the Lord's supper is not a bare token of love among Christians; but is the communion of the body and blood of Christ: that the doctrine of transubstantiation is contrary to Scripture, and hath given occasion to much superstition: that a body being only in one place, and Christ's body being in heaven, therefore there cannot be a real and bodily presence of his flesh and blood in it; and that this sacrament is not to be kept, carried about, lifted up, nor worshipped.

The 30th. That there is no other propitiatory sacrifice, but that which Christ offered on the cross.

The 31st. That the clergy are not by God's command obliged to abstain from marriage.

The 32d. That persons rightly excommunicated are to be looked on as heathens, till they are by penance reconciled, and received by a judge competent.

The 33d. It is not necessary that ceremonies should be the same at all times; but such as refuse to obey lawful ceremonies ought to be openly reprov'd, as offending against law and order, giving scandal to the weak.

The 34th. That the Homilies are godly and wholesome, and ought to be read.

The 35th. That the Book of Common-prayer is not repugnant, but agreeable to the gospel: and ought to be received by all.

The 36th. That the king is supreme head under Christ: that the bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in England: that the civil magistrate is to be obeyed for conscience sake: that men may be put to death for great offences: and that it is lawful for Christians to make war.

The 37th. That there is not to be a community of all men's goods; but yet every man ought to give to the poor according to his ability.

The 38th. That though rash swearing is condemned; yet such as are required by the magistrate may take an oath.

The 39th. That the resurrection is not already past, but at the last day men shall rise with the same bodies they now have.

The 40th. That departed souls do not die, nor sleep with their bodies, and continue without sense till the last day.

The 41st. That the fable of the Millenniums is contrary to Scripture, and a Jewish dotage.

The last condemned those who believed that the damned, after some time of suffering, shall be saved.

Thus was the doctrine of the Church cast into a short and plain form: in which they took care both to establish the positive articles of religion, and to cut off the errors formerly

introduced in the time of popery, or of late broached by the Anabaptists and enthusiasts of Germany: avoiding the niceties of schoolmen, or the peremptoriness of the writers of controversy; leaving in matters that are more justly controvertible, a liberty to divines to follow their private opinions, without thereby disturbing the peace of the church.

There was in the ancient Church a great simplicity in their creeds, and the exposition of the doctrine. But afterwards, upon the breaking out of the Arian, and other heresies, concerning the person of Jesus Christ; as the orthodox fathers were put to find out new terms to drive the heretics out of the equivocal use of these formerly received; so they too soon grew to love niceties, and to explain mysteries, with similes, and other subtleties which they invented: and councils afterwards were very liberal in their anathematisms against any who did not agree in all points to their terms, or ways of explanation. And though the council of Ephesus decreed, that there should be no additions made to the creed, they understood that not of the whole belief of Christians, but only of the creed itself: and did also load the Christian doctrine with many curiosities. But though they had exceeded much, yet the schoolmen getting the management of the doctrine, spun their thread much finer; and did easily procure condemnations, either by papal bulls, or the decrees of such councils as met in those times, of all that differed from them in the least matter. Upon the progress of the Reformation the German writers, particularly Osiander, Iliricus, and Amstorfius, grew too peremptory, and not only condemned the Helvetian churches, for differing from them in the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament, but were severe to one another for lesser punctilios, and were at this time exercising the patience of the great and learned Melancthon, because he thought that in things of their own nature indifferent, they ought to have complied with the emperor. This made those in England resolve on composing these articles with great temper, in many such points. Only one notion that has been since taken up by some, seems not to have been then thought of; which is, that these were rather articles of peace than of belief; so that the subscribing was rather a compromise not to teach any doctrine contrary to them, than a declaration that they believed according to them. There appears no reason for this conceit, no such thing being then declared; so that those who subscribed, did either believe them to be true, or else they did grossly prevaricate.

The next business in which the reformers were employed this year, was the correcting the Common-Prayer-book, and the making some additions, with the changing of such particulars as had been retained only for a time. The most considerable additions were, that in the daily service they prepared a short but most simple and grave form of a general confession of sins; in the use of which they intended that those who made this confession should not content themselves with a bare recital of the words, but should join with them, in their hearts, a particular confession of their private sins to God. To this was added a general absolution, or pronouncing in the name of God, the pardon of sin to all those who did truly repent, and unfeignedly believe the gospel. For they judged, that if the people did seriously practise this, it would keep up in their thoughts frequent reflections on their sins; and it was thought that the pronouncing a pardon upon these conditions might have a better effect on the people, than that absolute and unqualified pardon which their priests were wont to give in confession. By which absolution in times of popery the people were made to believe that their sins were thereupon certainly forgiven; than which nothing could be invented that would harden them into a more fatal security, when they thought a full pardon could be so readily purchased. But now they heard the terms on which they could only expect it, every day promulgated to them. The other addition was also made upon good consideration, in the office of the communion; to which the people were observed to come without due seriousness or preparation: therefore for awakening their consciences more feelingly, it was ordered, that the office of the communion should begin with a solemn pronouncing of the Ten Commandments: all the congregation being on their knees; as if they were hearing that law anew: and a stop to be made at every commandment, for the people's devotion, of imploring mercy for their past offences, and grace to observe it for the time to come. This seemed as effectual a mean as they could devise, till church-penitence were again set up, to beget in men deep reflections on their sins, and

Some Corrections made in the Common-Prayer-Book.

to prepare them thereby to receive that holy sacrament worthily. The other changes were, the removing of some rites which had been retained in the former book ; such as the use of oil in confirmation, and extreme unction, the prayers for souls departed, both in the communion service and in the office of burial, the leaving out some passages in the consecration of the eucharist that seemed to favour the belief of the corporal presence, with the use of the cross in it and in confirmation, with some smaller variations. And indeed they brought the whole liturgy to the same form in which it is now, except some inconsiderable variations that have been since made for the clearing of some ambiguities.

In the office of the communion, they added a rubric concerning the posture of kneeling. which was appointed to be still the gesture of communicants. It was hereby declared, that that gesture was kept up as a most reverent and humble way of expressing our great sense of the mercies of God in the death of Christ there communicated to us : but that thereby there was no adoration intended to the bread and wine, which was gross idolatry ; nor did they think the very flesh and blood of Christ were there present : since his body, according to the nature of all other bodies, could be only in one place at once ; and so he being now in heaven, could not be corporally present in the sacrament. This was by queen Elizabeth ordered to be left out of the Common-Prayer-book ; since it might have given offence to some, otherwise inclinable to the communion of the church, who yet retained the belief of the corporal presence. But since his present Majesty's restoration, many having excepted to the posture, as apprehending something like idolatry or superstition might lie under it, if it were not rightly explained ; that explication which was given in king Edward's time, was again inserted in the Common-Prayer-book.

For the posture, it is most likely that the first institution was in the table-gesture, which was lying along on one side. But it was apparent in our Saviour's practice, that the Jewish church had changed the posture of that institution of the Passover, in whose room the Eucharist came. For though Moses had appointed the Jews to eat their Paschal Lamb, standing with their loins girt, with staves in their hands, and shoes on their feet ; yet the Jews did afterwards change this into the common-table-posture ; of which change, though there is no mention in the Old Testament, yet we see it was so in our Saviour's time ; and since he complied with the common custom, we are sure that change was not criminal. It seemed reasonable to allow the Christian church the like power in such things with the Jewish ; and as the Jews thought their coming into the promised land might be a warrant to lay aside the posture appointed by Moses, which became travellers best ; so Christ being now exalted, it seemed fit to receive this sacrament with higher marks of outward respect than had been proper in the first institution, when he was in the state of humiliation, and his divine glory not yet so fully revealed. Therefore in the primitive church they received standing and bending their body, in a posture of adoration. But how soon that gesture of kneeling came in, is not so exactly observed, nor is it needful to know. But surely there is a great want of ingenuity in them that are pleased to apply these orders of some later popes for kneeling at the elevation, to our kneeling ; when ours is not at one such part, which might be more liable to exception, but during the whole office : by which it is one continued act of worship, and the communicants kneel all the while. But of this no more needs to be said than is expressed in the rubric, which occasioned this digression.

Thus were the reformations both of doctrine and worship prepared : to which all I can add of this year, is, that there were six eminent preachers chosen out to be the king's chaplains in ordinary : two of those were always to attend at court ; and four to be sent over England to preach and instruct the people. In the first year, two of these were to go into Wales, and the other two into Lancashire : the next year two into the marches of Scotland, and two into Yorkshire ; the third year two into Devonshire, and two into Hampshire ; and the fourth year two into Norfolk, and two into Kent and Sussex. These were Bill, Harley, Pern, Grindal, Bradford, and Knox. These, it seems, were accounted the most zealous and readiest preachers of that time ; who were thus sent about as itinerants, to supply the defects of the greatest part of the clergy, who were generally very faulty.

An Account
of kneeling in
the Commu-
nion.

Some Orders
given to the
King's Chap-
lains.

The business of the lady Mary was now taken up with more heat than formerly. The emperor's earnest suit, that she might have mass in her house, was long rejected : for it was said, that as the king did not interpose in the matters of the emperor's government, so there was no reason for the emperor to meddle in his affairs. Yet the state of England making his friendship at that time necessary to the king, and he refusing to continue in his league, unless his kinswoman obtained that favour, it was promised, that for some time, in hope she would reform, there should be a forbearance granted. The emperor's ambassadors pressed to have a license for it under the great seal. It was answered, that being against law, it could not be done : then they desired to have it certified under the king's hand, in a letter to the emperor ; but even that was refused. So that they only gave a promise for some time by word of mouth ; and Paget, and Hobbey, who had been the ambassadors with the emperor, declared they had spoke of it to him with the same limitations. But the emperor, who was accustomed to take for absolute what was promised only under conditions, writ to the lady Mary, that he had an absolute promise for the free exercise of her religion ; and so she pretended this, when she was at any time questioned about it. The two grounds she went on were, that she would follow the ancient and universal way of worship, and not a new invention that lay within the four seas ; and that she would continue in that religion in which her father had instructed her. To this the king sent an answer, telling her, that she was a part of this church and nation, and so must conform herself to the laws of it ; that the way of worship now set up, was no other than what was clearly consonant to the pure word of God ; and the king's being young, was not to be pretended by her, lest she might seem to agree with the late rebels. After this, she was sent for to court, and pains was taken to instruct her better. But she refused to hear anything, or to enter into any reasonings, but said she would still do as she had done. And she claimed the promise that was said to be made to the emperor. But it was told her, that it was but temporary and conditional. Whereupon the last summer she was designing to fly out of England ; and the king of France gave sir John Mason, the English resident, notice that the regent of Flanders had hired one Scipperus, who should land on the coast of Essex, as if it had been to victual his ship, and was to have conveyed her away. Upon this information, order was given to see well to the coast ; so the design being discovered, nothing could be effected. It was certainly a strange advice to carry her away, and no less strange in the king's ministers to hinder it, if there was at that time any design formed to put her by her succession. For if she had been beyond sea at the king's death, it is not probable that she could have easily come to the crown. The emperor's ambassador solicited for her violently, and said he would presently take leave, and protest, that they had broken their faith to his master, who would resent the usage of the lady Mary as highly as if it were done immediately to himself. The counsellors, having no mind to draw a new war on their heads, especially from so victorious a prince, were all inclined to let the matter fall. There was also a year's cloth lately sent over to Antwerp ; and one thousand five hundred cinqtails of powder, with a great deal of armour, bought there for the king's use, was not come over. So it was thought by no means advisable to provoke the emperor, while they had such effects in his ports ; nor were they very willing to give higher provocations to the next heir of the crown. Therefore they all advised the king not to do more in that matter at present, but to leave the lady Mary to her discretion, who would certainly be made more cautious by what she had met with, and would give as little scandal as was possible by her mass. But the king could not be induced to give way to it, for he thought the mass was impious and idolatrous ; so he would not consent to the continuance of such a sin. Upon this the council ordered Cranmer, Ridley, and Poinet to discourse about it with him. They told him that it was always a sin in a prince to permit any sin ; but to give a connivance, that is, not to punish, was not always a sin : since sometimes a lesser evil connived at, might prevent a greater. He was overcome by this ; yet not so easily, but that he burst forth in tears, lamenting his sister's obstinacy, and that he must suffer her to continue in so abominable a way of worship, as he esteemed the mass. So he answered the emperor's agents, that he should send over an ambassador to clear that matter. And Dr. Wotton was despatched about it, who carried over attestations

from all the council, concerning the qualifications of the promise that had been made ; and was instructed to press the emperor, not to trouble the king in his affairs at home in his own kingdom. If the lady Mary was his kinswoman, she was the king's sister and subject ; he was also to offer, that the king would grant as much liberty for the mass in his dominions as the emperor would grant for the English service in his dominions. But the emperor pretended, that when her mother died, she left her to his protection, which he had granted her, and so must take care of her. And the emperor was so exalted with his successes, that he did not easily bear any contradiction. But the council being further offended with her for the project of going beyond sea, and being now less in fear of the emperor, since they had made peace with France, resolved to look more nearly to her. And finding that Dr. Mallet and Barkley, her chaplain, had said mass in one of her houses, when she was not in it, they ordered them to be proceeded against. Upon which, in December the last year, she writ earnestly to the council to let it fall. By her letter it appears, that Mallet used to be sometimes at his benefice, where it is certain he could officiate no other way but in that prescribed

The Council by law : so it seems his conscience was not very scrupulous. The council writ writ to her of her a long answer, which being in the style of a churchman, seems to have been it ;

penned either by Cranmer or Ridley. In which letter they fully cleared the matter of the promise : then they showed how express the law was, with which they could not dispense ; and how ill grounded her faith, as she called it, was. They asked her what warrant there was in Scripture, that the prayers should be in an unknown tongue, that images should be in the church, or that the sacrament should be offered up for the dead. They told her, that in all questions about religion, St. Austin and the other ancient doctors appealed to the Scripture ; and if she would look into these, she would soon see the errors of the old superstition, which were supported by false miracles and lying stories, and not by Scripture or good authority. They expressed themselves in terms full of submission to her, but said they were trusted with the execution of the king's laws, in which they must proceed equally. So they required her, if the chaplains were in her house, to send them to the sheriff of Essex. But it seems they kept out of the way, and so the matter slept till the beginning of May this year, that Mallet was found, and put in the Tower, and convicted of his offence. Upon this there passed many letters between the council and her ; she earnestly desiring to have him set at liberty, and they as positively refusing to do it.

In July the council sent for Rochester, Inglefield, and Walgrave, three of her chief officers, and gave them instructions to signify the king's express pleasure to her, to have the new service in her family, and to give the like charge to her chaplains and all her servants, and to return with an answer. In August they came back, and said she was much indisposed, and received the message very grievously. She said she would obey the king in all things, except where her conscience was touched : but she charged them to deliver none of their message to the rest of her family ; in which they being her servants, could not disobey her, especially when they thought it might prejudice her health. Upon this they were sent

to the Tower. The lord chancellor, sir Ant. Wingfield, and sir William Petre, were next sent to her with a letter from the king, and instructions from the council, for the charge they were to give to her and her servants. They came to her house of Copthall in Essex. The lord chancellor gave her the king's letter, which she received on her knees, and said, she paid that respect to the king's hand, and not to the matter of the letter, which she knew proceeded from the council : and when she read it, she said, " Ah ! Mr. Cecil took much pains here : " (he was then secretary of state, in Dr. Wotton's room.) So she turned to the counsellors, and bid them deliver their message to her. She wished them to be short, for she was not well at ease, and would give them a short answer, having writ her mind plainly to the king with her own hand. The lord chancellor told her, that all the council were of one mind, that she must be no longer suffered to have private mass, or a form of religion different from what was established by law. He went to read the names of those who were of that mind ; but she desired him to spare his pains, she knew they were all of a sort. They next told her, they had order to require her chaplains to use no other service, and her servants to be present at no other, than what was according to law. She answered, she was the king's most obedient

And sent
some to her.

subject and sister, and would obey him in everything but where her conscience held her, and would willingly suffer death to do him service: but she would lay her head on a block, rather than use any other form of service than what had been at her father's

But she was intractable.

death: only she thought she was not worthy to suffer death on so good an account. When the king came to be of age, so that he could order these things

himself, she would obey his commands in religion: for although he, good sweet king, (these were her words) had more knowledge than any of his years, yet he was not a fit judge in these matters; for if ships were to be set to sea, or any matter of policy to be determined, they would not think him fit for it, much less could he be able to resolve points of divinity. As for her chaplains, if they would say no mass, she could hear none; and for her servants, she knew they all desired to hear mass: her chaplains might do what they would, it was but a while's imprisonment; but for the new service, it should never be said in her house; and if any were forced to say it, she would stay no longer in the house. When the counsellors spake of Rochester, Inglefield, and Walgrave, who had not fully executed their charge, she said it was not the wisest counsel to order her servants to control her in her own house, and they were the honestest men not to do such a thing against their consciences. She insisted on the promise made to the emperor, which she had under his hand, whom she believed better than them all: they ought to use her better for her father's sake, who had raised them all, almost out of nothing. But though the emperor were dead, or would bid her obey them, she would not change her mind, and she would let his ambassador know how they used her. To this they answered, clearing the mistake about the promise, to which she gave little heed. They told her, they had brought one down to serve as her comptroller in Rochester's room: she said she would choose her own servants, and if they went to impose any on her, she would leave the house. She was sick, but would do all she could to live; but if she died, she would protest they were the causes of it: they gave her good words, but their deeds were evil. Then she took a ring from her finger, and on her knees gave it to the lord chancellor, to give to the king as a token from her, with her humble commendations; and protested much of her duty to him; but she said, this will never be told him. The counsellors went from her to her chaplains, and delivered their message to them, who promised they would obey. Then they charged the rest of the servants in like manner, and also commanded them to give notice if those orders were broken. And so they went to go away. But as they were in the court, the lady Mary called to them from her window, to send her comptroller to her; for she said, that now she herself received the accounts of her house, and knew how many loaves were made of a bushel of meal, to which she had never been bred, and so was weary of that office; but if they would needs send him to prison, she said, "I beshrew him if he go not to it merrily, and with a good will;" and concluded, "I pray God to send you to do well in your souls and bodies, for some of you have but weak bodies." This is the substance of the report these counsellors gave when they returned back to the court on the 29th of August. By which they were now out of all hopes of prevailing with her by persuasions or authority: so it was next considered, whether it was fit to go to further extremities with her. How the matter was determined, I do not clearly find; it is certain the lady Mary would never admit of the new service, and so I believe she continued to keep her priests, and have mass; but so secretly, that there was no ground for any public complaint. For I find no further mention of that matter, than what is made by Ridley, of a passage that befel him in September next year.

He went to wait on her, she living then at Hunsden; where she received him at first civilly, and told him, she remembered of him in her father's time, and at dinner sent him to dine with her officers: after dinner he told her, he came not only to do his duty to her, but to offer to preach before her next Sunday; she blushed, and once or twice desired him to make the answer to that himself. But when he pressed her further, she said, the parish-church would be open to him if he had a mind to preach in it; but neither she nor any of her family should hear him. He said, he hoped she would not refuse to hear God's word: she said, she did not know what they called God's word; but she was sure that was not now God's word that was called so in her

father's days. He said, God's word was the same at all times. She answered, she was sure he durst not for his ears have avowed these things in her father's time which he did now: and for their books, as she thanked God she never had, so she never would read them. She also used many reproachful words to him, and asked him if he was of the council; he said not; she replied, he might well enough be, as the council goes now-a-days; and so dismissed him, thanking him for coming to see her, but not at all for offering to preach before her. Sir Tho. Wharton, one of her officers, carried him to a place where he desired him to drink; which Ridley did; but reflecting on it, said, he had done amiss, to drink in a place where God's word was rejected; for if he had remembered his duty, he should upon that refusal have shaken the dust off his feet, for a testimony against the house, and have departed immediately. These words he was observed to pronounce with an extraordinary concern, and went away much troubled in his mind. And this is all I find of the lady Mary during this reign. For the lady Elizabeth, she had been always bred up to like the Reformation; and Dr. Parker, who had been her mother's chaplain, received a strict charge from her mother a little before her death, to look well to the instructing her daughter in the principles of true religion; so that there is no doubt to be made of her cheerful receiving all the changes that had been established by law.

And this is all that concerns religion, that falls within this year. But now a design came to be laid, which though it broke not out for some time, yet it was believed to have had a great influence on the fall of the duke of Somerset. The earl of Warwick began to form great projects for himself, and thought to bring the crown into his family. The king was now much alienated from the lady Mary; the privy council had also embroiled themselves so with her, that he imagined it would be no hard matter to exclude her from the succession. There was but one reason that could be pretended for it; which was, that she stood illegitimated by law, and that therefore the next heirs in blood could not be barred their right by her, since it would be a great blot on the honour of the English crown to let it devolve on a bastard. This was as strong against the lady Elizabeth, since she was also illegitimated by a sentence in the spiritual court, and that confirmed in parliament; so if their jealousy of the elder sister's religion, and the fear of her revenge, moved them to be willing to cut her off from the succession, the same reason that was to be used in law against her, was also to take place against her sister. So he reckoned that these two were to be passed over, as being put both in the act of succession, and in the late king's will, by one error. The next in the will, were the heirs of the French queen by Charles Brandon, who were the duchess of Suffolk, and her sister. Though I have seen it often said in many letters and writings of that time, that all that issue by Charles Brandon was illegitimated; since he was certainly married to one Mortimer, before he married the queen of France; which Mortimer lived long after his marriage to that queen: so that all her children were bastards: some say he was divorced from his marriage to Mortimer, but that is not clear to me*.

This year the sweating sickness, that had been formerly both in Henry VII. and the late king's reign, broke out with that violence in England, that many were swept away by it. Such as were taken with it, died certainly if they slept, to which they had a violent desire; but if it took them not off in twenty-four hours, they did sweat out the venom of the distemper; which raged so in London, that in one week 800 died of it. It did also spread into the country, and the two sons of Charles Brandon by his last wife, both dukes of Suffolk, died within a day one of another. So that title was fallen. Their sister by the half blood was married to Gray lord marquis of Dorset. So she being the eldest daughter to the French queen, the earl of Warwick resolved to link himself to that family, and to procure the honour of the dukedom of Suffolk to be given the marquis of Dorset, who was a weak man, and easily governed. He had three daughters:

* Charles Brandon first married Margaret, one of the daughters of John Nevil, marquis Montague, widow of sir John Mortimer; secondly, Anne, daughter of Anthony Browne, by whom he had issue after marriage, Mary, wedded to Thomas Stanley; thirdly, Mary queen of France, as sir William Dugdale hath it in the text; though

in the scheme adjoined by him, the order is inverted:—1, Anne; 2, Margaret, but *repudiata*; 3, Mary.—GRANGER'S CORRECT. [The two sons mentioned in the text were the issue of a fourth wife, Catherine, daughter and sole heiress of William, the last lord Willoughby of Eresby.—Ed.]

the eldest was Jane, a lady of as excellent qualities as any of that age; of great parts, bred to learning, and much conversant in Scripture; and of so rare a temper of mind, that she charmed all who knew her, in particular the young king, about whom she was bred, and who had always lived with her in the familiarities of a brother. The earl of Warwick designed to marry her to Guilford, his fourth son, then living, his three elder being already married; and so to get the crown to descend on them if the king should die, of which it is thought he resolved to take care. But apprehending some danger from the lady Elizabeth's title, he intended to send her away. So an ambassador was despatched to Denmark, to treat a marriage for her with that king's eldest son.

To amuse the king himself, a most splendid embassy was sent to France, to propose a marriage for the king to that king's daughter Elizabeth, afterwards married to Philip of Spain. The marquis of Northampton was sent with this proposition, and with the order of the Garter. With him were the earls of Worcester, Rutland, and Ormond; the lords Lisle, Fitzwater, Bray, Abergaveny, and Evers; and the bishop of Ely, who was to be their mouth: with them went many gentlemen of quality, who with their train made up near 500. King Henry received the garter with great expressions of esteem for the king. The bishop of Ely told him they were come to desire a more close tie between these crowns by marriage, and to have the league made firmer between them in other particulars. To which the cardinal of Lorraine made answer, in his way of speaking, which was always vain and full of ostentation. A commission was given to that cardinal, the constable, the duke of Guise, and others, to treat about it.

The English began first, for form's sake, to desire the queen of Scots; but that being rejected, they moved for the daughter of France, which was entertained, but so that neither party should be bound in honour and conscience till the lady were twelve years of age. Yet this never taking effect, it is needless to enlarge further about it; of which the reader will find all the particulars in king Edward's Journal. The king of France sent another very noble embassy into England, with the order of St. Michael to the king, and a very kind message, that he had no less love to him than a father could bear to his own son. He desired the king would not listen to the vain rumours which some malicious persons might raise to break their friendship, and wished there might be such a regulation on their frontiers that all differences might be amicably removed. To this the young king made answer himself, "That he thanked his good brother for his order, and for the assurances of his love, which he would always requite. For rumours, they were not always to be credited, nor always to be rejected; it being no less vain to fear all things, than it was dangerous to doubt of nothing: and for any differences that might arise, he should be always ready to determine them by reason rather than force, so far as his honour should not be thereby diminished." Whether this answer was prepared beforehand or not, I cannot tell; I rather think it was; otherways it was extraordinary for one of fourteen to talk thus on the sudden.

But while all this was carrying on, there was a design laid to destroy the duke of Somerset. He had such access to the king, and such freedoms with him, that the earl of Warwick had a mind to be rid of him, lest he should spoil all his projects. The duke of Somerset seemed also to have designed in April this year to have got the king again in his power, and dealt with the lord Strange, that was much in his favour, to persuade him to marry his daughter Jane, and that he would advertise him of all that passed about the king. But the earl of Warwick, to raise himself and all his friends higher, procured a great creation of new honours. Gray was made duke of Suffolk, and himself duke of Northumberland; for Henry Piercy, the last earl of Northumberland, dying without issue, his next heirs were the sons of Thomas Piercy, that had been attainted in the last reign for the Yorkshire rebellion. Paulet, then lord treasurer, and earl of Wiltshire, was made marquis of Winchester; and sir William Herbert, that had married the marquis of Northampton's sister, was made earl of Pembroke. The lord Russel had been made earl of Bedford last year, upon his return from making the peace with the French: sir Tho. Darcy had also been made lord Darcy. The new duke of Northumberland could no longer bear such a rival in his greatness, as the duke of Somerset was, who was the only person that he

A Conspiracy
against the
Duke of So-
merset.

thought could take the king out of his hands. So on the 17th of October the duke was apprehended, and sent to the Tower; and with him the lord Gray; sir Ralph Vane, who had escaped over the river, but was taken in a stable in Lambeth, hid under the straw: sir Tho. Palmer and sir Tho. Arundel were also taken, yet not sent at first to the Tower, but kept under guards in their chambers. Some of his followers, Hamond, Nudigate, and two of the Scymours, were sent to prison. The day after, the duchess of Somerset was also sent to the Tower, with one Crane, and his wife, that had been much about her, and two of her chamberwomen. After these, sir Tho. Holdcroft, sir Miles Partridge, sir Michael Stanhope, Wingfield, Bannister, and Vaughan, were all made prisoners. The evidence against the duke was, that he had made a party for getting himself declared protector in the next parliament; which the earl of Rutland did positively affirm; and the duke did so answer it, that it is probable it was true. But though this might well inflame his enemies, yet it was no crime. But sir Tho. Palmer, though imprisoned with him as a complice, was the person that ruined him. He had been before that brought secretly to the king, and had told him that, on the last St. George's day, the duke, apprehending there was mischief designed against him, thought to have raised the people, had not sir William Herbert assured him he should receive no harm: that lately he intended to have the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, invited to dinner at the lord Paget's; and either to have set on them by the way, or to have killed them at dinner: that sir Ralph Vane had 2000 men ready, that sir Tho. Arundel had assured the Tower, and that all the gendarmory were to be killed. The duke of Somerset, hearing Palmer had been with the king, challenged him of it, but he denied all. He sent also for secretary Cecil, and told him he suspected there was an ill design against him: to which the secretary answered, if he were not in fault, he might trust to his innocency; but if he were, he had nothing to say but to lament him.

All this was told the king with such circumstances, that he was induced to believe it; and the probity of his disposition wrought in him a great aversion to his uncle, when he looked on him as a conspirator against the lives of the other counsellors: and so he resolved to leave him to the law. Palmer being a second time examined, said, that sir Ralph Vane was to have brought 2000 men, who, with the duke of Somerset's 100 horse, were, on a muster-day, to have set on the gendarmory; that being done, the duke resolved to have gone through the City, and proclaimed "Liberty, liberty:" and if his attempt did not succeed, to have fled to the Isle of Wight, or to Pool. Crane confirmed all that Palmer had said; to which he added, that the earl of Arundel was privy to the conspiracy; and that the thing had been executed, but that the greatness of the enterprise had caused delays, and sometimes diversity of advice: and that the duke, being once given out to be sick, had gone privately to London to see what friends he could make. Hamond being examined, confessed nothing, but that the duke's chamber at Greenwich had been guarded in the night by many armed men. Upon this evidence, both the earl of Arundel and the lord Paget were sent to the Tower. The earl had been one of the chief of those who had joined with the earl of Warwick to pull down the protector; and being, as he thought, ill rewarded by him, was become his enemy. So this part of the information seemed very credible. The thing lay in suspense till the first of December, that the duke of Somerset was brought to his trial: where the marquis of Winchester was lord steward. The peers that judged him were twenty-seven in number: the dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, the earls of Derby, Bedford, Huntington, Rutland, Bath, Sussex, Worcester, Pembroke, and the viscount of Hereford; the lords Abergavenny, Audley, Wharton, Evers, Latimer, Borough; Zouch, Stafford, Wentworth, Darcy, Sturton, Windsor, Cromwell, Cobham, and Bray. The crimes laid against him were cast into five several indictments, as the king has it in his Journal; but the record mentions only three, whether indictments or articles is not so clear. That he had designed to have seized on the king's person, and so have governed all affairs; and that he, with one hundred others, intended to have imprisoned the earl of Warwick, afterwards duke of Northumberland; and that he had designed to have raised an insurrection in the city of London. Now by the act that passed in the last parliament, if twelve

The King is
possessed a-
gainst him.

He is brought
to his Trial.

persons should have assembled together to have killed any privy-counsellor, and upon proclamation they had not dispersed themselves, it was treason : or if such twelve had been by any malicious artifice brought together for any riot, and being warned did not disperse themselves, it was felony, without benefit of clergy or sanctuary. It seemed very strange that the three peers, Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, who were his professed enemies, and against the first of whom it was pretended in the indictment that he had conspired, should sit his judges : for though by the law no peer can be challenged in a trial, yet the law of nations, that is superior to all other laws, makes that a man cannot be judge in his own cause : and which was very unusual, the lord chancellor, though then a peer, was left out of the number ; but it is like the reconciliation between the duke of Somerset and him was then suspected, which made him not be called to be one of his judges.

The duke of Somerset being, it seems, little acquainted with law, did not desire counsel to plead, or assist him in point of law, but only answered to matters of fact. He prefaced, that he desired no advantage might be taken against him for any idle or angry word that might have at any time fallen from him. He protested he never intended to have raised the northern parts, but had only, upon some reports, sent to sir William Herbert to be his friend : that he had never determined to have killed the duke of Northumberland, or any other person, but had only talked of it, without any intention of doing it : that for the design of destroying the gendarmory, it was ridiculous to think that he with a small troop could destroy so strong a body of men, consisting of 900 ; in which though he had succeeded, it could have signified nothing : that he never designed to raise any stir in London, but had always looked on it as a place where he was most safe : that his having men about him in Greenwich was with no ill design, since when he could have done mischief with them, he had not done it, but upon his attachment rendered himself a prisoner without any resistance. He objected also many things against the witnesses, and desired they might be brought face to face. He particularly spake much against sir Tho. Palmer, the chief witness : but the witnesses were not brought, only their examinations were read. Upon this, the king's counsel pleaded against him, that to levy war was certainly treason ; that to gather men with intention to kill privy-counsellors was also treason ; that to have men about him to resist the attachment was felony ; and to assault the lords, or contrive their deaths, was felony. Whether he made any defence in law or not, does not appear ; for the material defence is not mentioned in all the accounts I have seen of it ; which was, that these conspiracies and gatherings of the king's subjects were only treasonable and felonious after they had been required to disperse themselves, and had refused to give obedience. And in all this matter, that is never so much as alleged, no not in the indictment itself, to have been done. It is plain it was not done ; for if any such proclamation or charge had been sent him, it is probable he would either have obeyed it, or gone into London, or to the country, and tried what he could have done by force : but to have refused such a command, and so to have come within the guilt of treason, and yet not to stir from his house, are not things consistent.

When the peers withdrew, it seems the proofs about his design of raising the north, or the city, or of the killing the gendarmes, did not satisfy them ; for all these had been without question treasonable. So they only held to that point of conspiring to imprison the duke of Northumberland. If he, with twelve men about him, had conspired to do that, and had continued together after proclamation, it was certainly felony : but that not being pretended, it seems there was no proclamation made. The duke of Suffolk was of opinion, that no contention among private subjects should be on any account screwed up to be treason. The duke of Northumberland said, he would never consent that any practice against him should be

reputed treason. After a great difference of opinion, they all acquitted him of treason : but the greater number found him guilty of felony.

When they returned him not guilty of treason, all the people, who were much concerned for his preservation, shouted for joy, so loud and so long, that they were heard at

Charing-Cross. But the joy lasted not long, when they heard that he was condemned of felony, and sentence was thereupon given that he should die as a felon.

The duke had carried himself all the while of the trial with great temper and patience ;

And is acquitted of Treason, but found guilty of Felony.

and though the king's counsel had, in their usual way of pleading, been very bitter against him—perhaps the rather that thereby they might recommend themselves to the duke of Northumberland—yet he never took notice of these reflections, nor seemed much affected with them. When sentence was given, he thanked the lords for their favour, and asked pardon of the duke of Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, for his ill intentions against them; and made suit for his life, and for his wife and children. From thence he was carried back to the Tower. Whether this asking the lords' pardon had in it a full confession of the crime charged on him, or was only a compliment to them, that they might not obstruct his pardon, is but a matter of conjecture. He confessed he had spoken of killing them, and this made it reasonable enough for him to ask their pardon; so that it does not imply a confession of the crime. All people thought that being acquitted of treason, and there being no felonious action done by him, but only an intention of one, and that only of imprisoning a peer, proved; that one so nearly joined to the king in blood would never be put to death on such an occasion. But to possess the king much against him, a story was brought him, and put by him in his Journal; that at the duke's coming to the Tower, he had confessed that he had hired one Bartuile to kill the lords, and that Bartuile himself acknowledged it; and that Hammond knew of it. But whether this was devised to alienate the king wholly from him, or whether it was true, I can give no assurance. But though it was true, it was felony in Bartuile, if he were the king's servant; but not in the duke, who was a peer. Yet no doubt this gave the king a very ill opinion of his uncle, and so made him more easily consent to his execution: since all such conspiracies are things of that inhuman and barbarous cruelty, that it is scarce possible to punish them too severely. But it is certain that there was no evidence at all of any design to kill the duke of Northumberland, otherwise the indictment had not been laid against him only for designing to seize on and imprison him, as it was; the conspiring to kill him not being so much as mentioned in the indictment; but it was maliciously given out to possess the world, and chiefly the king, against him.

The king also in his letter to Barnaby Fitz-Patrick, who was like to be his favourite, and was then sent over for his breeding into France, writ that the duke seemed to have acknowledged the felony, and that after sentence he had confessed it, though he had formerly vehemently sworn the contrary. From whence it is plain, that the king was persuaded of his being guilty. Sir Michael Stanhope, sir Tho. Arundel, sir Ralph Vane, and sir Miles Partridge, were next brought to their trials. The first and the last of these were little pitied. For as all great men have people about them who make use of their greatness only for their own ends, without regarding their master's honour or true interest; so they were the persons upon whom the ill things which had been done by the duke of Somerset were chiefly cast. But sir Tho. Arundel was much pitied, and had hard measure in his trial, which began at seven o'clock in the morning, and continued till noon. Then the jury went aside, and they did not agree on their verdict till next morning, when those who thought him not guilty, yet, for preserving their own lives, were willing to yield to the fierceness of those who were resolved to have him found guilty. Sir Ralph Vane was the most lamented of them all. He had done great services in the wars, and was esteemed one of the bravest gentlemen of the nation. He pleaded for himself, that he had done his country considerable service during the wars; though now in time of peace, the coward and the courageous were equally esteemed. He scorned to make any submissions for life. But this height of mind in him did certainly set forward his condemnation, and to add more infamy to him in the manner of his death, he and Partridge were hanged, whereas the other two were beheaded.

The duke of Somerset was using means to have the king better informed, and disposed towards him; and engaged the lord chancellor to be his friend: who thereupon sent him an advertisement of somewhat designed against him by the council, and being in haste, writ only on the back of his letter, "To the duke;" and bid one of his servants carry it to the Tower, without giving him particular directions to the duke of Somerset. But his servant having known of the familiarities between his master and the duke of Norfolk, who was still in the Tower, and knowing

See the Indictment.
Coke's Entries, fol. 482.

Some of his Friends also condemned.

The Seals are taken from the Lord Rich.

none between him and the other duke, carried the letter to the duke of Norfolk. When the lord chancellor found the mistake at night, he knew the duke of Norfolk, to make Northumberland his friend, would certainly discover him; so he went in all haste to the king, and desired to be discharged of his office, and thereby prevented the malice of his enemies: and upon this he fell* sick, either pretending he was ill, that it might raise the more pity for him, or perhaps the fright in which he was did really cast him into sickness. So the seal was sent for, by the marquis of Winchester, the duke of Northumberland, and the lord

And given to Darcy, on the 21st of December, and put into the hands of the bishop of Ely, the Bishop of who was made keeper during pleasure; and when the session of parliament came Ely.

on, he was made lord chancellor. But this was much censured. When the Reformation was first preached in England, Tindal, Barns, and Latimer took an occasion, from the great pomp and luxury of cardinal Wolsey, and the secular employments of the other bishops and clergymen, to represent them as, a sort of men that had wholly neglected the care of souls, and those spiritual studies and exercises that disposed men to such functions; and only carried the names of bishops and churchmen, to be a colour to serve their ambition and covetousness. And this had raised great prejudices in the minds of the people against those who were called their pastors, when they saw them fill their heads with cares, that were at least impertinent to their callings, if not inconsistent with the duties that belonged to them. So now upon Goodrick's being made lord chancellor, that was a reformed bishop, it was said by their adversaries, these men only condemned secular employments in the hands of churchmen, because their enemies had them, but changed their minds as soon as any of their own party came to be advanced to them. But as Goodrick was raised by the popish interest in opposition to the duke of Somerset, and to Cranmer, that was his firm friend: so it appeared in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, that he was ready to turn with every tide; and that whether he joined in the Reformation only in compliance to the time, or was persuaded in his mind concerning it; yet he had not that sense of it that became a bishop, and was one of those who resolved to make as much advantage by it as he could, but would suffer nothing for it. So his practice in this matter is neither a precedent to justify the like in others, nor can it cast a scandal on those to whom he joined himself. Christ being spoke to, to divide an inheritance between two brethren, said, "Who made me a judge, or a divider?" St. Paul, speaking of churchmen, says, "No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life:" which was understood by St. Cyprian as a perpetual rule against the secular employments of the clergy. There are three of the apostolical canons against it; and Cyprian, reckoning upon the sins of his time, that had provoked God to send a persecution on the church, names this, that many bishops forsaking their sees undertook secular cares. In which he was so strict, that he thought the being tutor to orphans was a distraction unsuitable to their character; so that one priest leaving another tutor to his children, because by the Roman law he to whom this was left was obliged to undergo it, the priest's name who made that testament was appointed to be struck out of the list of those churchmen who had died in the faith and were remembered in the daily offices. Samosatenus is represented as one of the first eminent churchmen that involved himself much in secular cares. Upon the emperor's turning Christian, it was a natural effect of their conversion for them to cherish the bishops much, and many of the bishops became so much in love with the court and public employments, that canons were made against their going to court, unless they were called, and the *canalis* or road to the court was kept by the bishop of Rome, so that none might go without his warrant. Their meddling in secular matters was also condemned in many provincial councils, but most copiously and amply by the general council at Chalcedon. It is true the bishops had their courts for the arbitration of civil differences; which were first begun upon St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, against their going to law before unbelievers, and for submitting their suits to some among themselves. The reasons of this ceased when the judges in the civil courts were become Christians; yet these episcopal audiences were still continued after Constantine's time, and their jurisdiction was sometimes enlarged, and some-

* He was sick before, for a commission was granted to some to do the business of the Chancery.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

times abridged, as there was occasion given. St. Austin, and many other holy bishops, grew weary even of that, and found that the hearing causes, as it took up much of their time, so filled their heads with thoughts of another nature than what properly belonged to them.

The bishops of Rome and Alexandria, taking advantage from the greatness and wealth of their sees, began first to establish a secular principality of the church; and the confusions that fell out in Italy after the fifth century, gave the bishops of Rome great opportunities for it, which they improved to the utmost advantage. The revolutions in Spain gave a rise to the Spanish bishops meddling much in all civil matters. And when Charles the Great and his son had given great territories and large jurisdictions to many sees and monasteries, bishops and abbots came after that not only to have a share in all the public councils of most of the states of Europe, to which their lands gave them a right, but to be chiefly employed in all affairs and offices of state. The ignorance of these ages made this in a manner necessary: and church-preferments were given as rewards to men who had served in the state in embassies, or in their prince's courts of justice. So that it was no wonder if men advanced upon that merit continued in their former method and course of life. Thus the bishops became for the greatest part only a sort of men who went in peculiar habits, and upon some high festivities performed a few offices; but for the pastoral care, and all the duties incumbent on them, they were universally neglected: and that seriousness, that abstraction from the world, that application to study and religious exercises, and chiefly the care of souls, which became their function, seemed inconsistent with that course of life which secular cares brought on men who pursued them. Nor was it easy to persuade the world that their pastors did very much aspire to heaven, when they were thrusting themselves so indecently into the courts of princes, or ambitiously pretending to the administration of matters of state; and it was always observed, that churchmen who assumed to themselves employments, and an authority that was eccentric to their callings, suffered so much in that esteem, and lost so much of that authority, which of right belonged to their character and office.

But to go on with the series of affairs. There was all possible care taken to divert and entertain the king's mind with pleasing sights, as will appear by his journal, which it seems had the effect that was desired, for he was not much concerned in his uncle's preservation.

An order was sent for beheading the duke of Somerset on the 22nd of January, on which day he was brought to the place of execution on Tower-hill. His whole deportment was very composed, and no way changed from what it had ordinarily been: 1552. he first kneeled down and prayed; and then he spake to the people in these words:—

“Dearly beloved friends, I am brought here to suffer death, albeit that I never offended against the king neither by word nor deed, and have been always as faithful and true to this realm as any man hath been. But, for so much as I am by law condemned to die, I do acknowledge myself, as well as others, to be subject thereto. Wherefore, to testify my obedience which I owe unto the laws, I am come hither to suffer death: whereunto I willingly offer myself with most hearty thanks to God, that hath given me this time of repentance; who might through sudden death have taken away my life, that neither I should have acknowledged him nor myself. Moreover, there is yet somewhat that I must put you in mind of, as touching Christian religion; which, so long as I was in authority, I always diligently set forth, and furthered to my power; neither repent I me of my doings, but rejoice therein, sith that now the state of Christian religion cometh most near unto the form and order of the primitive church: which thing I esteem as a great benefit given of God both to you and me; most heartily exhorting you all, that this which is most purely set forth to you, you will with like thankfulness accept and embrace, and set out the same in your living; which thing if you do not, without doubt greater mischief and calamity will follow.”

When he had gone so far, there was an extraordinary noise heard, as if some house had been blown up with gunpowder; which frightened all the people, so that many run away, they knew not for what: and the relator, who tarried still, says, it brought into his remembrance the astonishment that the band was in that came to take our Saviour, who thereupon fell backwards to the ground. At the same time sir Ant. Brown came riding towards the

The duke of
Somerset's
Speech at his
execution.



EDWARD SEYMOUR, DUKE OF SOMERSET.

OB. 1552

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF THE ENGRAVING IN THE COLLECTION OF THE

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF BATH

scaffold, and they all hoped he had brought a pardon; upon which there was a general shouting, "Pardon, pardon, God save the king!" many throwing up their caps; by which the duke might well perceive how dear he was to the people. But as soon as these disorders were over, he made a sign to them with his hand to compose themselves, and then went on in his speech thus:—

"Dearly beloved friends, there is no such matter here in hand as you vainly hope or believe. It seemeth thus good unto Almighty God, whose ordinance it is meet and necessary that we all be obedient to. Wherefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my death, which I am most willing to suffer. And let us now join in prayer to the Lord for the preservation of the king's majesty, unto whom hitherto I have always showed myself a most faithful and firm subject. I have always been most diligent about his majesty, in his affairs both at home and abroad; and no less diligent in seeking the common commodity of the whole realm (upon this the people cried out it was most true); unto whose majesty I wish continual health, with all felicity, and all prosperous success. Moreover, I do wish unto all his counsellors the grace and favour of God, whereby they may rule in all things uprightly with justice: unto whom I exhort you all in the Lord to show yourselves obedient, as it is your bounden duty, under the pain of condemnation, and also most profitable for the preservation and safeguard of the king's majesty. Moreover, forasmuch as heretofore I have had affairs with divers men, and hard it is to please every man, therefore if there have been any that have been offended or injured by me, I most humbly require and ask him forgiveness; but especially Almighty God, whom throughout all my life I have most grievously offended: and all other whatsoever they be that have offended me, I do with my whole heart forgive them." Then he desired them to be quiet, lest their tumults might trouble him; and said, "Albeit the spirit be willing and ready, the flesh is frail and wavering; and through your quietness I shall be much more quieter. Moreover, I desire you all to bear me witness, that I die here in the faith of Jesus Christ, desiring you to help me with your prayers, that I may persevere constant in the same to my life's end."

Then Dr. Cox, who was with him on the scaffold, put a paper in his hand, which was a prayer he had prepared for him. He read it on his knees, then he took leave
His Death; of all about him, and undressed himself to be fitted for the axe. In all which there appeared no change in him, only his face was a little ruddier than ordinary: he continued calling, "Lord Jesus, save me," till the executioner severed his head from his body.

Thus fell the duke of Somerset; a person of great virtues, eminent for piety, humble, and affable in his greatness, sincere and candid in all his transactions. He was a better captain than a counsellor: had been oft successful in his undertakings, was
And Character. always careful of the poor and the oppressed, and, in a word, had as many virtues and as few faults as most great men, especially when they were so unexpectedly advanced, have ever had. It was generally believed that all this pretended conspiracy, upon which he was condemned, was only a forgery. For both Palmer and Crane, the chief witnesses, were soon after discharged, as were also Bartuile and Hamond, with all the rest that had been made prisoners on the pretence of this plot. And the duke of Northumberland continued after that in so close a friendship with Palmer, that it was generally believed he had been corrupted to betray him. And, indeed, the not bringing the witnesses into the court, but only the depositions, and the parties sitting judges, gave great occasion to condemn the proceedings against him. For it was generally thought that all was an artifice of Palmer's, who had put the duke of Somerset in fears of his life, and so got him to gather men about him for his own preservation; and that he afterwards being taken with him, seemed through fear to acknowledge all that which he had before contrived. This was more confirmed by the death of the other four formerly mentioned, who were executed on the 26th of February, and did all protest they had never been guilty of any design, either against the king, or to kill the lords. Vane added, that his blood would make Northumberland's pillow uneasy to him. The people were generally much affected with this execution; and many threw handkerchiefs into the duke of Somerset's blood, to preserve it in remembrance of him. One lady that met the duke of Northumberland when he was led through the City in queen

Mary's reign, shaking one of these bloody handkerchiefs, said, "Behold, the blood of that worthy man, that good uncle of that excellent king, which was shed by thy malicious practice, doth now begin apparently to revenge itself on thee." Sure it is, that Northumberland, as having maliciously contrived this, was ever after hated by the people.

But, on the other hand, great notice was taken that the duke of Norfolk (who, with his son, the earl of Surrey, were believed to have fallen in all their misery by the duke of Somerset's means) did now outlive him, and saw him fall by a conspiracy of his own servants, as himself and his son had done. The proceeding against his brother was also remembered, for which many thought the judgments of God had overtaken him. Others blamed him for being too apt to convert things sacred to his own use, and because a great part of his estate was raised out of the spoils of many churches: and some late writers have made an inference from this, upon his not claiming the benefit of clergy, that he was thus left of God not to plead that benefit, since he had so much invaded the rights and revenues of the church. But in this they showed their ignorance. For by the statute, that felony of which he was found guilty was not to be purged by clergy. Those who pleased themselves in comparing the events in their own times with the transactions of the former ages, found out many things to make a parallel between the duke of Somerset and Humphrey the good duke of Gloucester in Henry the Sixth's time; but I shall leave the reader in that to his own observation.

Now was the duke of Northumberland absolute at court, all offices being filled with those that were his associates. But here I stop to give a general view of affairs beyond sea this year, though I have a little transgressed the bounds of it to give an account of the duke of Somerset's fall altogether. The siege of Magdeburg went on in Germany. But it was coldly followed by Maurice, who had now other designs. He had agreed with the French king, who was both to give him assistance, and to make war on the emperor, at the same time when he should begin. Ferdinand was also not unwilling to see his brother's greatness lessened; for he was pressing him, not without threatenings, to lay down his dignity as king of the Romans, and thought to have established it on his son. All the other princes of Germany were also oppressed by him, so that they were disposed to enter into any alliance for the shaking off of that yoke. Maurice did also send over to try the inclinations of England; if they would join with him, and contribute 400,000 dollars towards the expense of a war, for the preservation of the Protestant religion, and recovering the liberty of Germany. The ambassadors were only sent to try the king's mind, but were not empowered to conclude anything. They were sent back with a good answer, that the king would most willingly join in alliance with them that were of the same religion with himself; but he desired that the matter of religion might be plainly set down, lest under the pretence of that, war should be made for other quarrels. He desired them also to communicate their designs with the other princes, and then to send over others more fully empowered. Maurice seeing such assistances ready for him, resolved both to break the emperor's designs, and by leading on a new league against him, to make himself more acceptable to the empire, and thereby to secure the electoral dignity in his family. So after Magdeburg had endured a long siege, he, giving a secret intimation to some men in whom they confided, persuaded them about the end of November to surrender to him, and then broke up his army: but they fell into the dominions of several of the popish princes, and they put them under very heavy contributions. This alarmed all the empire; only the emperor himself, by a fatal security, did not apprehend it till it came so near him, that he was almost ruined before he dreamed of any danger.

This year the transactions of Trent were remarkable. The pope had called the council to meet there, and the 1st of May this year there was a session held. There was a war now broken out between the pope and the king of France on this occasion. The pope had a mind to have Parma in his own hands; but that prince, fearing that he would keep it, as the emperor did Placentia, and so he should be ruined between them, implored the protection of France, and received a French garrison for his safety. Upon this the pope cited him to Rome, declaring him a traitor if he appeared not: and this engaged the pope in a war with France. At first he sent a threatening mes-

The affairs of
Germany.

Proceedings
at Trent.

sage to that king, that if he would not restore Parma to him, he would take France from him. Upon this the king of France protested against the council of Trent, and threatened that he would call a national council in France. The council was adjourned to the 10th of September. In the mean while the emperor pressed the Germans to go to it. So Maurice, and the other princes of the Augsburg Confession, ordered their divines to consider of the matters which they would propose to the council. The electors of Mentz and Trier went to Trent. But the king of France sent the abbot of Bellosana thither, to make a protestation, that by reason of the war that the pope had raised, he could not send his bishops to the council; and that therefore he would not observe their decrees: (for they had declared in France that absent churches were not bound to obey the decrees of a council:—for which many authorities were cited from the primitive time). But at Trent they proceeded for all this, and appointed the articles about the Eucharist to be first examined; and the presidents recommended to the divines to handle them according to Scripture, tradition, and ancient authors, and to avoid unprofitable curiosities. The Italian divines did not like this. For they said, to argue so, was but an act of the memory, and was an old and insufficient way, and would give great advantage to the Lutherans, who were skilled in the tongues; but the school-learning was a mystical and sublime way, in which it was easier to set off or conceal matters as was expedient. But this was done to please the Germans; and, at the suit of the emperor, the matter of communicating in both kinds was postponed till the German divines could be heard. A safe-conduct was desired by the Germans, not only from the emperor, but from the council. For at Constance, John Huss and Jerome of Prague were burnt upon this pretence, that they had not the council's safe-conduct; and therefore when the council of Basil called for the Bohemians, they sent them a safe conduct, besides that which the emperor gave them. So the princes desired one in the same form that was granted by those of Basil. One was granted by the council, which in many things differed from that of Basil, particularly in one clause, that all things should be determined according to the Scriptures, which was in that safe-conduct of Basil, but was now left out. In October an ambassador from the elector of Brandenburg came to Trent, who was endeavouring to get his son settled in the archbishopric of Magdeburg, which made him more compliant. In his first address to the council, he spake of the respect his master had to the fathers in it, without a word of submitting to their decrees. But in the answer that was made in the name of the council, it was said, they were glad he did submit to them, and would obey their decrees. This being afterwards complained of, it was said, that they answered him according to what he should have said, and not according to what he had said. But in the mean while, the council published their decrees about the Eucharist; in the first part of which they defined that the way of the presence could hardly be expressed, and yet they called transubstantiation a fit term for it. But this might be well enough defended, since that was a thing as hard to be either expressed or understood as anything they could have thought on. They went on next to examine confession and penitence. And now, as the divines handled the matter, they found the gathering proofs out of Scripture grew endless and trifling; for there was not a place in Scripture where I confess was to be found, but they drew it in to prove auricular confession. From that they went on to extreme unction. But then came the ambassadors of the duke of Wittenberg, another prince of the Augsburg Confession, and showed their mandate to the emperor's ambassadors, who desired them to carry it to the presidents; but they refused to do that, since it was contrary to the protestation which the princes of their confession had made against a council in which the pope should preside. On the 25th of November they published the decree of the necessity of auricular confession, that so the priest might thereby know how to proportion the penance to the sin. It was much censured, to see it defined that Christ had instituted confession to a priest, and not showed where or how it was instituted. And the reason for it, about the proportioning the penance, was laughed at, since it was known what slight penances were universally enjoined to expiate the greatest sins. But the ambassadors of Wittenberg moving that they might have a safe-conduct for their divines to come and propose their doctrine, the legate answered, that they would not upon any terms enter into a disputation with them; but if their divines had any scruple in which they desired satisfaction

with a humble and obedient mind, they should be heard. And for a safe-conduct, he thought it was a distrusting the council, to ask any other than what was already granted. Soon after this, there arrived ambassadors from Strasburg and from other five cities, and those sent from the duke of Saxe were on their journey, so the emperor ordered his ambassadors to study to gain time till they came; and then an effectual course must be taken for compassing that about which he had laboured so long in vain to bring it to a happy conclusion. And thus this year ended.

The parliament was opened on the 23rd of January, and sate till the 15th of April. So I shall begin this year with the account of the proceedings in it. The first act that was put into the house of lords was for an order to bring men to divine service; which was agreed to on the 26th, and sent down to the commons, who kept it long before they sent it back. On the 6th of April, when it was agreed to, the earl of Derby, the bishops of Carlisle and Norwich, and the lords Sturton and Windsor, dissented. The lords afterwards brought in another bill, for authorizing a new Common-Prayer Book, according to the alterations which had been agreed on the former year. This the commons

joined to the former, and so put both in one act. By it was first set forth, "That an order of divine service being published, many did wilfully abstain from it, and refused to come to their parish churches; therefore all are required, after the feast of All-hallows next, to come every Sunday and holiday to common-prayers, under pain of the censures of the church. And the king, the lords temporal, and the commons, did, in God's name, require all archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries, to endeavour the due execution of that act, as they would answer before God for such evils and plagues with which he might justly punish them for neglecting that good and wholesome law: and they were fully authorized to execute the censures of the church on all that should offend against this law." To which is added, "That there had been divers doubts raised about the manner of the ministration of the service, rather by the curiosity of the ministers and mistakers than of any other worthy cause; and that for the better explanation of that, and for the greater perfection of the service in some places, where it was fit to make the prayer and fashion of service more earnest and fit, to stir Christian people to the true honouring of Almighty God, therefore it had been, by the command of the king and parliament, perused, explained, and made more perfect." They also annexed to it the "Form of making bishops, priests, and deacons; and so appointed this new book of service to be everywhere received after the feast of All-Saints next, under the same penalties that had been enacted three years before, when the former book was set out."

It was, upon this act, said by the papists, that the Reformation was like to change as oft as the fashion did; since they seemed never to be at a point in anything, but new models were thus continually framing. To which it was answered, that it was no wonder that the corruptions which they had been introducing for above a thousand years were not all discovered or thrown out at once; but now the business was brought to a fuller perfection, and they were not like to see any more material changes. Besides, any that would take the pains to compare the offices that had been among the papists, would clearly perceive, that in every age there was such an increase of additional rites and ceremonies, that though the old ones were still retained, yet it seemed there would be no end of new improvements and additions. Others wondered why the execution of this law was put off so long as till the end of the year. All the account I can give of this, is, that it was expected that by that time the new body of the ecclesiastical laws, which was now preparing, should be finished; and, therefore, since this act was to be executed by the clergy, the day in which it was to be in force was so long delayed, till that reformation of their laws were concluded.

On the 8th of February, a bill of treasons was put in, and agreed to by all the lords, except the lord Wentworth. It was sent down to the commons, where it was long disputed, and many sharp things were said of those who now bore the sway; that whereas they who governed in the beginning of this reign had put in a bill for lessening the number of such offences, now they saw the change of councils, when severer laws were proposed. The commons at last rejected the bill, and then drew a

1552.

A Session of Parliament.

An Act authorizing the new Common-Prayer Book.

Which was much censured.

An Act concerning Treasons.

new one, which was passed. By it they enacted, "That if any should call the king, or any of his heirs named in the statute of the 35th of his father's reign, heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper of the crown, for the first offence they should forfeit their goods and chattels, and be imprisoned during pleasure; for the second, should be in a *præmunire*; for the third, should be attainted of treason; but any who should advisedly set that out in printing or writing, was, for the first offence, to be held a traitor. And that those who should keep any of the king's castles, artillery, or ships, six days after they were lawfully required to deliver them up, should be guilty of treason; that men might be proceeded against for treasons committed out of the kingdom as well as in it." They added a proviso, "That none should be attainted of treason on this act, unless two witnesses should come, and to their face aver the fact for which they were to be tried, except such as, without any violence, should confess it; and that none should be questioned for anything said or written, but within three months after it was done."

This proviso seems clearly to have been made with relation to the proceeding against the duke of Somerset, in which the witnesses were not brought to aver the evidence to his face, and by that means he was deprived of all the benefit and advantage which he might have had by cross-examining them. It is certain that though some false witnesses have practised the trade so much that they seem to have laid off all shame, and have a brow that cannot be daunted; yet, for the greatest part, a bright serenity and cheerfulness attends innocence, and a lowering dejection betrays the guilty when the innocent and they are confronted together.

On the 3rd of March, a bill was brought in to the lords for holidays and fasting-days, and sent down to the commons on the 15th of March, by whom it was passed, and had the royal assent. In the preamble it is set forth, "That men are not at all times so set on the performance of religious duties as they ought to be; which made it necessary that there should be set times in which labour was to cease, that men might on these days wholly serve God; which days were not to be accounted holy of their own nature, but were so called because of the holy duties then to be set about; so that the sanctification of them (was not any magical virtue in that time, but) consisted in the dedicating them to God's service; that no day was dedicated to any saint, but only to God, in remembrance of such saints; that the Scripture had not determined the number of holidays, but that these were left to the liberty of the church. Therefore they enact, that all Sundays, with the days marked in the calendar and liturgy, should be kept as holidays: and the bishops were to proceed by the censures of the church against the disobedient. A proviso was added for the observation of St. George's feast by the knights of the Garter; and another, that labourers or fishermen might, if need so required, work on those days either in or out of harvest. The eves before holidays were to be kept as fasts; and in Lent, and on Fridays and Saturdays, abstinence from flesh was enacted; but if a holiday fell to be on a Monday, the eve for it was to be kept on Saturday, since Sunday was never to be a fasting-day. But it was generally observed, that in this and all such acts, the people were ready enough to lay hold on any relaxation made by it, but did very slightly observe the stricter parts of it; so that the liberty left to tradesmen to work in cases of necessity was carried further than it was intended, to a too public profanation of the time so sanctified, and the other parts of it, directing the people to a conscientious observing of such times, was little minded.

On the 5th of March, a bill concerning the relief of the poor was put into the house of lords. The form of passing it has given occasion to some to take notice, that though it is a bill for taxing the subjects, yet it had its first birth in the lords' house, and was agreed to by the commons. By it the churchwardens were empowered to gather charitable collections for the poor; and if any did refuse to contribute, or did dissuade others from it, the bishop of the diocese was to proceed against them. On the 9th of March, the bishops put in a bill for the security of the clergy from some ambiguous words that were in the submission which the convocation had made to king Henry in the 21st year of his reign, by which they were under a *præmunire* if they did any things in their courts contrary to the king's prerogative; which was thought hard, since some through ignorance might transgress. Therefore it was desired that no prelate should be brought under a *præmunire*, unless they had proceeded in

anything after they were prombited by the king's writ. To this the lords consented, but it was let fall by the commons.

There was another act brought in for the marriage of the clergy, which was agreed to by the lords; the earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Rutland, and Bath, and the lords the Marriage Abergaveny, Stourton, Mounteagle, Sands, Windsor, and Wharton, protesting of the Clergy. against it. The commons also passed it, and it was assented to by the king. By it was set forth, "That many took occasion, from words in the act formerly made about this matter, to say that it was only permitted, as usury and other unlawful things were, for the avoiding greater evils; who thereupon spake slanderously of such marriages, and accounted the children begotten in them to be bastards, to the high dishonour of the king and parliament, and the learned clergy of the realm, who had determined that the laws against priests' marriages were most unlawful by the law of God; to which they had not only given their assent in the convocation, but signed it with all their hands. These slanders did also occasion that the word of God was not heard with due reverence; whereupon it was enacted, that such marriages, made according to the rules prescribed in the book of service, should be esteemed good and valid, and that the children begot in them should be inheritable according to law."

The marquis of Northampton did also put in a bill for confirming his marriage, which was passed; only the earl of Derby, the bishops of Carlisle and Norwich, and the lord Stourton, dissented. By it "the marriage is declared lawful," as by the law of God indeed it was, "any decretal, canon, ecclesiastical law, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding." This occasioned another act, that no man might put away his wife and marry another, unless he were formerly divorced; to which the bishop of Norwich dissented, because he was of opinion that a divorce did not break the marriage-bond. But this bill fell in the house of commons, being thought not necessary; for the laws were already severe enough against such double marriages.

By another act, the bishopric of Westminster was quite suppressed, and re-united to the see of London; but the collegiate church, with its exempted jurisdiction, was still continued.

Another bill was put in against usury; which was sent from the lords to the commons, and passed by both, and assented to. By it an act passed in parliament, in the 37th year of the late king's reign, "that none might take above twenty per cent. for money lent, was repealed; which, they say, was not intended for the allowing of usury, but for preventing further inconveniences: and since usury was by the word of God forbidden, and set out in divers places of Scripture as a most odious and detestable vice, which yet many continued to practise for the filthy gain they made by it; therefore, from the 1st of May, all usury or gain for money lent was to cease; and whosoever continued to practise to the contrary, were to suffer imprisonment, and to be fined at the king's pleasure."

This act has been since repealed, and the gain for money lent has been at several times brought to several regulations. It was much questioned, whether these prohibitions of usury by Moses were not judicial laws, which did only bind the nation of the Jews; whose land being equally divided among the families by lot, the making gain by lending money was forbid to them of that nation—yet it did not seem to be a thing of its nature sinful, since they might take increase of a stranger. The not lending money on use was more convenient for that nation, which abounding in people, and being shut up in a narrow country, they were necessarily to apply themselves to all the ways of industry for their subsistence; so that every one was, by that law of not lending upon use, forced to employ his money in the way of trade or manufacture, for which they were sure to have vent, since they lay near Tyre and Sidon, that were then the chief places of traffic and navigation of the world: and without such industry the soil of Judea could not possibly have fed such vast numbers as lived on it. So that it seemed clear that this law in the Old Testament properly belonged to that policy; yet it came to be looked on by many Christians as a law of perpetual obligation. It came also to be made a part of the canon law; and absolution could not be given to the breakers of it without a special faculty from Rome. But for avoiding the severity of the law, the invention of mortgages was fallen on; which at first were only purchases made,

and let back to the owner for such rent as the use of the money came to : so that the use was taken as the rent of the land thus bought. And those who had no land to sell thus, fell upon another way : the borrower bought their goods, to be paid within a year (for instance, an hundred and ten pound), and sold them back for a sum to be presently laid down as they should agree (it may be an hundred pound) ; by this means the one had a hundred pound in hand, and the other was to have ten pound or more at a year's end. But this being in the way of sale was not called usury. This law was looked on as impossible to be observed in a country like England : and it could not easily appear where the immorality lay, of lending money upon moderate gain, such as held proportion to the value of land ; provided that the perpetual rule of Christian equity and charity were observed, which is, not to exact above the proportion duly limited by the law, and to be merciful in not exacting severely of persons who, by inevitable accidents, have been disabled from making payment. This digression I thought the more necessary, because of the scruples that many good and strict persons have still in that matter.

Another act passed both houses, against all simoniacal pactions, the reservation of pensions out of benefices, and the granting advowsons while the incumbent was yet alive. A Bill against Simony. It was agreed to by the lords ; the earls of Derby, Rutland, and Sussex, the viscount Hereford, and the lords Mounteagle, Sands, Wharton, and Evers, dissenting. But upon what reason I do not know, the bill was not assented to by the king, who being then sick, there was a collection made of the titles of the bills which were to have the royal assent, and those the king signed, and gave commission to some lords to pass them in his name. These abuses have been oft complained of, but there have been still new contrivances found out, to elude all laws against simony : either bargains being made by the friends of the parties concerned without their express knowledge ; or bonds of resignation given, by which incumbents lie at the mercy of their patrons, and in these, the faultiness of some clergymen is made the colour of imposing such hard terms upon others, and of robbing the church oftentimes by that means.

There was a private bill put in, about the duke of Somerset's estate, which had been by act of parliament entailed on his son in the 23d year of the last king's reign. A Repeal of the Entail of the Duke of Somerset's Estate. On the 3d of March it was sent to the house of commons, signed by the king : it was for the repeal of that act. Whether the king was so alienated from his uncle, that this extraordinary thing was done by him for the utter ruin of his family or not, I cannot determine ; but I rather incline to think it was done in hatred to the duchess of Somerset and her issue. For the estate was entailed on them by that act of parliament, in prejudice of the issue of the former marriage, of whom are descended the Seymours of Devonshire ; who were disinherited and excluded from the duke of Somerset's honours by his patents, and from his estate by act of parliament ; partly upon some jealousies he had of his former wife, but chiefly by the power his second wife had over him. This bill of repeal was much opposed in the house, though sent to them in so unusual a way, by the king himself. And though there was on the 8th of March a message sent from the lords, that they should make haste towards an end of the parliament, yet still they stuck long upon it ; looking on the breaking of entails that were made by act of parliament as a thing of such consequence, that it dissolved the greatest security that the law of England gives for property. It was long argued by the commons, and was fifteen several days brought in. At last a new bill was devised, and that was much altered too ; it was not quite ended till the day before the parliament was dissolved. But near the end of the session, a proviso was sent from the lords, to be added to the bill, confirming the attainder of the duke and his complices. It seems his enemies would not try this at first, till they had by other things measured their strength in that house ; and finding their interest grew there, they adventured on it ; but they mistook their measures, for the commons would not agree to it. In conclusion, the bill of repeal was agreed to. But whereas there had been some writings for a marriage between the earl of Oxford's daughter and the duke of Somerset's son, and a bill was put in for voiding these ; upon a division of the house the 28th of March there were sixty-eight that agreed, and sixty-nine that rejected it, so this bill was cast out. By this we see what a thin house of commons there was at that time,

the whole being but 137 members. But this was a natural effect of a long parliament ; many of those who were at first chosen, being infirm ; and others not willing to put themselves to the charge and trouble of such constant and long attendance. It is also from hence clear, how great an interest the duke of Somerset had in the affections of the parliament.

Another bill gave a more evident discovery how hateful the duke of Northumberland was to them. The bishop of Durham was, upon some complaint brought against him of misprision of treason, put into the Tower about the end of December last year. What the particulars were I do not find ; but it was visible that the secret reason was, that he being attainted, the duke of Northumberland intended to have had the dignities and jurisdiction of that principality conferred on himself ; so that he should have been made count palatine of Durham. Tonstall had in all points given obedience to every law, and to all the injunctions that had been made ; but had always in parliament protested against the changes in religion : which he thought he might with a good conscience submit to and obey ; though he could not consent to them. Only in the matter of the corporal presence, he was still of the old persuasion, and writ about it. But the Latin style of his book is much better than the divinity and reasonings in it. So what he would have done, if he had been required to subscribe the articles that were now agreed on, did not appear, for he was all this while prisoner. There was a constant good correspondence between Cranmer and him ; though in many things they differed in opinion ; yet Tonstall was both a man of candour and of great moderation, which agreed so well with Cranmer's temper, that no wonder they lived always on good terms. So when the bill for attainting him as guilty of misprision of treason was passed in the house of lords, on the 31st of March, being put in on the 28th, Cranmer spoke so freely against it, that the duke of Northumberland and he were never after that in friendship together. What his arguments were I could not recover ; but when he could do no more, he protested against it, being seconded only by the lord Stourton. How it came to pass that the other popish lords and bishops that protested against the other acts of this parliament did not join in this, I cannot imagine ; unless it was that they were the less concerned for Tonstall, because Cranmer had appeared to be so much his friend, or were awed by their fear of offending the duke of Northumberland. But when the bill was carried down to the commons, with the evidences against him, which were some depositions that had been taken, and brought to the lords ; they who were resolved to condemn that practice for the future, would not proceed upon it now. So on the 5th of April they ordered the privy-counsellors of their house to move the lords, that his accusers and he might be heard face to face : and that not being done, they went no further in the bill.

By these indications the duke of Northumberland saw how little kindness the house of commons had for him. The parliament had now sate almost five years, and being called by the duke of Somerset, his friends had been generally chose to be of it. So that it was no wonder, if upon his fall they were not easy to those who had destroyed him ; nor was there any motion made for their giving the king a supply. Therefore the duke of Northumberland thought it necessary for his interest to call a new parliament. And accordingly on the 15th of April the parliament was dissolved ; and it was resolved to spend this summer in making friends all over England, and to have a new parliament in the opening of the next year.

The convocation at this time agreed to the articles of religion that were prepared the last year ; which, though they have been often printed, yet since they are but short, and of so great consequence to this history, I have put them into the Collection, as was formerly told.

Thus the Reformation of doctrine and worship were brought to their perfection ; and were not after this in a little mended or altered in this reign, nor much afterwards ; only some of the articles were put in more general words under queen Elizabeth.

Another part of the Reformation was yet unfinished, and it was the chief work of this year : that was, the giving rules to the ecclesiastical courts, and for all things relating to the government of the church, and the exercise of the several functions in it. In the former volume it was told, that an act had passed for this effect ; yet it had not taken effect, but a commission was made upon it, and these

The Commons refuse to attain the Bishop of Durham by Bill.

The Parliament is dissolved.

A Reformation of Ecclesiastical Courts considered.

appointed by king Henry had met and consulted about it, and had made some progress in it, as appears by an original letter of Cranmer's to that king in the year 1545, in which he speaks of it as a thing then almost forgotten, and quite laid aside; for from the time of the six articles till then, the design of the Reformation had been going backward: at that time the king began to reassume the thoughts of it, and was resolved to remove some ceremonies, such as the creeping to the cross, the ringing of bells on St. Andrew's Eve, with other superstitious practices; for which Cranmer sent him the draught of a letter to be written in the king's name, to the two archbishops, and to be by them communicated to the rest of the clergy. In the postscript of his letter he complains much of the sacrilegious waste of the cathedral church of Canterbury, where the dean and prebendaries had been made to alienate many of their manors upon letters obtained by courtiers from the king, as if the lands had been desired for the king's use; upon which they had surrendered those lands, which were thereupon disposed of to the courtiers that had an eye upon them. This letter should have come in in the former volume, but I had not seen it then, so I took hold on this Number 61. occasion to direct the reader to it in the Collection.

It was also formerly told, that an act had passed in this reign, to empower thirty-two persons, who should be named by the king, to make a reformation of the ecclesiastical laws, which was to be finished within three years. But the revolutions of affairs, and the other more pressing things that were still uncompleted, had kept them hitherto from setting to that work. On the 11th of November last year, a commission was given to eight persons to prepare the matter for the review of the two and thirty, that so it might be more easily compiled, being in a few hands, than could well be done if so many had been to set about it. These eight were, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of Ely, Dr. Cox, and Peter Martyr, two divines; Dr. May and Dr. Taylor, two doctors of the law; and John Lucas and Richard Goodrick, two common lawyers. But on the 14th of November the commission was renewed, and the bishop of London was named in the room of the bishop of Ely; one Traheron* in the room of May; and Gosnald in Goodrick's room. These, it seems, desiring more time than one year to finish it in, for two of the years were now lapsed, in the last session of the parliament they had three years more time offered them. But it seems the work was believed to be in such a forwardness, that this continuation was not judged necessary, for the royal assent was not given to that act. After the parliament was ended, they made haste with it. But I find it said in the preface to the book, as it was printed in queen Elizabeth's reign, that Cranmer did the whole work almost himself†; which will justify the character some give of him, that he was the greatest canonist then in England. Dr. Haddon, who was the king's professor of civil law in the university of Cambridge, and sir Jo. Cheek, were employed to put it in Latin. And they did so imitate the style of the Roman laws, that any who reads the book, will fancy himself to be reading a work of the purer ages of that state, when their language was not yet corrupted with those barbarous terms which the mixture of other nations brought in, and made it nowhere more nauseously rude than in the canon law.

The work was digested and cast into fifty-one titles: to bring it near the number of the books of the Pandects, into which Justinian had digested the Roman law. It was prepared by February this year; and a commission was granted to thirty-two persons, of whom the former eight were a part—consisting of eight bishops, eight divines, among whom John à Lasco was one, eight civilians, and eight common lawyers. They were to revise, correct, and perfect the work, and so to present it to the king. They divided themselves into four classes, eight to a class; and every one of these were to prepare their corrections, and so to communicate them to the rest. And thus was the work carried on, and finished; but before it received the royal confirmation, the king died, and this fell with him: nor do I find it was ever since that time taken up, or prosecuted with the care that a thing of such conse-

* Bartholomew Traheron, afterwards made lecturer of divinity at Frankfort, on the new moulding of the congregation there in queen Mary's days; and dean of Chichester in queen Elizabeth's.—GRANGER'S CORRECT.

† All that I find in that preface is that these thirty-two

were divided into four classes; and that what was concluded in one class was to be communicated to the rest, and that "Summa negotii præfuit Tho. Cranmerus, Archiep. Cant.":—as it was fit he should preside.—ANON. CORRECT.

quence deserved : and therefore I shall not think it improper for me, having before showed what was done, in the next place to give an account of what was then intended to be done ; and is now very fit to be well considered.

The first title was of the Trinity and the catholic faith ; in which those who denied the Christian religion were to suffer death, and the loss of their goods. The books of Scripture were numbered, those called Apocryphal being left out of the canon ; which, though they were read in the church, it was only for the edification of the people, but not for the proof of the doctrine. The power of the church was subjected to the Scriptures : the four general councils were received ; but all councils were to be examined by the Scripture ; as were also the writings of the fathers, who were to be much revered ; but, according to what themselves have written, they were only to be submitted to when they agreed with the Scriptures.

The second title contains an enumeration of many heresies, viz. against the Trinity, Jesus Christ, the Scriptures, about original sin, justification, the mass, purgatory ; and censured those who denied magistracy to be lawful, or asserted the community of goods or wives ; or who denied the pastoral office, and thought any might assume it at pleasure ; or who thought the sacraments naked signs, who denied the baptism of infants, or thought none could possibly be saved that were not baptized ; or who asserted transubstantiation, or denied the lawfulness of marriage, particularly in the clergy ; or who asserted the pope's power ; or such as excused their ill lives by the pretence of predestination, as many wicked men did : from which and other heresies all are dissuaded, and earnestly exhorted to endeavour the extirpation of them.

The third was about the judgments of heresy before the bishop of the diocese, even in exempted places. They were to proceed by witnesses ; but the party, upon fame, might be required to purge himself : if he repented, he was to make public profession of it in those places where he had spread it, and to renounce his heresy, swearing never to return to it any more : but obstinate heretics were to be declared infamous, incapable of public trust, or to be witnesses in any court, or to have power to make a testament, and were not to have the benefit of the law : clergymen falling into heresy were not to return to their benefices, unless the circumstances were such that they required it ; and thus all capital proceedings for heresy were laid down.

The fourth was about blasphemy flowing from hatred or rage against God, which was to be punished as obstinate heresy was.

The fifth was about the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper. To which is added, that imposition of hands is to be retained in the ordination of pastors ; that marriages are to be solemnly made ; that those who renew their baptismal vow, be confirmed by the bishop ; and that the sick should be visited by their pastors.

The sixth was about idolatry, magic, witchcraft, or consulting with conjurers ; who were to be arbitrarily punished, if they submitted ; otherwise to be excommunicated.

The seventh was about preachers ; whom the bishops were to examine carefully, before they licensed them ; and were once a year to gather together all those who were licensed in their dioceses, to know of them the true state of their flock ; what vices abounded, and what remedies were most proper. Those who refused to hear sermons, or did make disturbance in them, were to be separated from the communion. It seems it was designed, that there should be in every diocese some who should go round a precinct and preach like Evangelists, as some then called them.

The eighth was about marriage ; which was to be after asking bans, three Sundays or holidays. Those who were married in any other form than that in the book of service were not to be esteemed lawfully married : those who corrupted virgins were to be excommunicated if they did not marry them ; or if that could not be done, they were to give them the third part of their goods, besides other arbitrary punishments. Marriages made without the consent of parents or guardians were declared null. Then follow the things that may void marriages ; they are left free to all : polygamy is forbid, marriages made by force are declared void, mothers are required to suckle their children.

The ninth is about the degrees of marriage. All these in the Levitical law, or those that

are reciprocal to them, are forbidden: but spiritual kindred was not to hinder marriage, since there was nothing in Scripture about it, nor was there any good reason for it

The tenth was about adultery. A clergyman guilty of it was to forfeit all his goods and estate to his wife and children; or if he had none, to the poor, or some pious use; and to lose his benefice, and be either banished or imprisoned during life. A layman was to restore his wife's portion, and to give her the half of his goods, and be imprisoned or banished during life. Wives that were guilty, were to be in like manner punished. But the innocent party might marry again; yet such were rather exhorted, if they saw hope of amendment, to be reconciled to the offending party. No marriage was to be dissolved without a sentence of divorce. Desertion, long absence, capital enmities where either party was in hazard of their life, or the constant perverseness or fierceness of a husband against his wife, might induce a divorce: but little quarrels might not do it; nor a perpetual disease, relief in such a misery being one of the ends of marriage. But all separation from bed and board, except during a trial, was to be taken away.

The 11th was about admission to ecclesiastical benefices. Patrons were to consider the choice of the person was trusted to them, but was not to be abused to any sacrilegious or base ends: if they did otherwise, they were to lose their right for that time. Benefices were not to be given or promised before they were void; nor let lie destitute above six months, otherwise they were to devolve to the bishop. Clergymen before their ordination were to be examined by the archdeacons, with such other triers as the bishop should appoint to be assistant to them; and the bishop himself was to try them, since this was one of the chief things upon which the happiness of the church depended. The candidate was to give an oath to answer sincerely, upon which he was to be examined about his doctrine, chiefly of the whole points of the catechism, if he understood them aright: and what knowledge he had of the Scriptures; they were to search him well whether he held heretical opinions: none was to be admitted to more cures than one; and all privileges for pluralities were for ever to cease: nor was any to be absent from his cure, except for a time and a just cause, of which he was to satisfy his ordinary. The bishops were to take great care to allow no absence longer than was necessary: every one was to enter upon his cure within two months after he was instituted by the bishop. Prebendaries who had no particular cure were to preach in the churches adjacent to them. Bastards might not be admitted to orders, unless they had eminent qualities. But the bastards of patrons were upon no account to be received, if presented by them. Other bodily defects, unless such as did much disable them, or made them very contemptible, were not to be a bar to any. Beside the sponsions in the office of ordination, they were to swear that they had made no agreement to obtain the benefice to which they were presented, and that if they come to know of any made by others on their account, they should signify it to the bishop; and that they should not do anything to the prejudice of their church.

The 12th and 13th were about the renouncing or changing of benefices.

The 14th was about purgation upon common fame, or when one was accused for any crime which was proved incompletely, and only by presumptions. The ecclesiastical courts might not re-examine anything that was proved in any civil court; but upon a high scandal a bishop might require a man to purge himself, otherwise to separate him from holy things. The form of a purgation was, to swear himself innocent; and he was also to have four compurgators of his own rank, who were to swear that they believed he swore true: upon which the judge was to restore him to his fame. Any that were under suspicion of a crime might by the judge be required to avoid all the occasions from which the suspicion had risen: but all superstitious purgations were to be rejected.

The 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th, were about dilapidations, the letting of the goods of the church, the confirming the former rules of election in cathedrals or colleges, and the collation of benefices. And there was to be a purgation of simony, as there should be occasion for it.

The 19th was about divine offices. In the morning on holidays, the Common-prayer was to be used with the communion-service joined to it. In cathedrals there was to be

communion every Sunday and holiday ; where the bishop, the dean, and the prebendaries, and all maintained by that church, were to be present. There was no sermon to be in cathedrals in the morning, lest that might draw any from the parish churches ; but only in the afternoons. In the anthems, all figured music, by which the hearers could not understand what they sung, was to be taken away. In parish churches, there were only to be sermons in the morning, but none in the afternoon, except in great parishes. All who were to receive the sacrament, were to come the day before and inform the minister of it, who was to examine their consciences and their belief. On holidays in the afternoon, the catechism was to be explained for an hour. After the evening prayers, the poor were to be looked to, and such as had given open scandal were to be examined, and public penitence was to be enjoined them ; and the minister, with some of the ancients of the parish, were to commune together about the state of the people in it : that if any carried themselves indecently, they might be first charitably admonished ; and if that did not prevail, subjected to severer censures ; but none were to be excommunicated without the bishop were first informed, and had consented to it. Divine offices were not to be performed in chapels or private houses, lest the churches should under that pretence be neglected, and errors more easily disseminated, excepting only the houses of peers and persons of great quality, who had numerous families ; but in these, all things were to be done according to the book of Common-prayer.

The 20th was about those that bore office in the church ; sextons, churchwardens, deacons, priests, and rural deans. This last was to be a yearly office : he that was named to it by the bishop, being to watch over the manners of the clergy and people in his precinct, was to signify the bishop's pleasure to them, and to give the bishop an account of his precinct every sixth month. The archdeacons were to be general visitors over the rural deans. In every cathedral, one of the prebendaries, or one procured by them, was thrice a week to expound some part of the Scriptures. The bishops were to be over all, and to remember that their authority was given to them for that end, that many might be brought to Christ, and that such as had gone astray might be restored by repentance. To the bishop all were to give obedience according to the word of God. The bishop was to preach often in his church ; was to ordain none for rewards, or rashly ; was to provide good pastors, and to deprive bad ones : he was to visit his diocese every third year, or oftener as he saw cause ; but then he was to do it at his own charge : he was to have yearly synods, and to confirm such as were well instructed. His family was to consist of clergymen, whom he should bring up to the service of the church (so was St. Austin's and other ancient bishops' families constituted). This being a great means to supply the great want of good and faithful ministers. Their wives and children were also to avoid all levity or vain dressing. They were never to be absent from their dioceses, but upon a public and urgent cause : and when they grew sick or infirm, they were to have coadjutors. If they became scandalous or heretical, they were to be deprived by the king's authority. The archbishops were to exercise the episcopal function in their diocese ; and were once to visit their whole province, and to oversee the bishops, to admonish them for what was amiss, and to receive and judge appeals, to call provincial synods upon any great occasion, having obtained warrant from the king for it. Every bishop was to have a synod of his clergy some time in Lent, so that they might all return home before Palm-Sunday. They were to begin with the Litany, a sermon, and a communion ; then all were to withdraw into some private place, where they were to give the bishop an account of the state of the diocese, and to consult of what required advice ; every priest was to deliver his opinion, and the bishop was to deliver his sentence, and to bring matters to as speedy a conclusion as might be ; and all were to submit to him, or to appeal to the archbishop.

The 21st, 22d, 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th titles are about churchwardens, universities, tithes, visitations, testaments, ecclesiastical censures, suspension, sequestration, deprivation.

The 30th is about excommunication, of which, as being the chief ecclesiastical censure, I shall set down their scheme the more fully

Excommunication they reckon an authority given of God to the church, for removing scandalous or corrupt persons from the use of the sacraments, or fellowship of Christians, till they give clear signs of their repentance, and submit to such spiritual punishments, by which the flesh may be subdued, and the spirit saved. This was trusted to churchmen, but chiefly to archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, deans, and any other appointed for it by the church. None ought to be excommunicated but for their obstinacy in great faults; but it was never to be gone about rashly: and therefore the judge who was to give it, was to have a justice of peace with him, and the minister of the parish where the party lived, with two or three learned presbyters, in whose presence the matter was to be examined, and sentence pronounced, which was to be put in writing. It was to be intimated in the parish where the party lived, and in the neighbouring parishes, that all persons might be warned to avoid the company of him that was under excommunication; and the minister was to declare what the nature and consequences of excommunication were, the person so censured being cut off from the body of Christ: after that, none was to eat, or drink, or keep company with him, but those of his own family; whosoever did otherwise, if being admonished they continued in it, were also to be excommunicated. If the person censured continued forty days without expressing any repentance, it was to be certified into the chancery, and a writ was to issue for taking and keeping him in prison, till he should become sensible of his offences; and when he did confess these, and submitted to such punishments as should be enjoined, the sentence was to be taken off, and the person publicly reconciled to the church. And this was to take place against those who, being condemned for capital offences, obtained the king's pardon, but were notwithstanding to be subject to church-censures. Then follows the office of receiving penitents. They were first to stand without the church, and desire to be again received into it, and so to be brought in: the minister was to declare to the people the heinousness of sin, and the mercies of God in the gospel, in a long discourse, of which the form is there prescribed: then he was to show the people, that as they were to abhor hardened sinners, so they were to receive with the bowels of true charity all sincere penitents: he was next to warn the person, not to mock God, and deceive the people, by a feigned confession; he was thereupon to repeat, first a general confession, and then more particularly to name his sin, and to pray to God for mercy to himself, and that none by his ill example might be defiled; and finally, to beseech them all to forgive him, and to receive him again into their fellowship: then the minister was to ask the people, whether they would grant his desires, who were to answer they would: then the pastor was to lay his hand on his head, and to absolve him from the punishment of his offences, and the bond of excommunication; and so to restore him to his place in the church of God. Then he was to lead him to the communion-table, and there to offer up a prayer of thanksgiving to God for reclaiming that sinner. For the other titles, they relate to the other parts of the law of those courts, for which I refer the reader to the book itself.

How far any of those things, chiefly the last about excommunication, may be yet brought into the church, I leave to the consultations of the governors of it, and of the two houses of parliament. It cannot be denied, that vice and immorality, together with much impiety, have overrun the nation; and though the charge of this is commonly cast on the clergy, who certainly have been in too many places wanting to their duty, yet, on the other hand, they have so little power, or none at all, by law, to censure even the most public sins, that the blame of this great defect ought to lie more universally on the whole body of the nation, that have not made effectual provision for the restraining of vice, the making ill men ashamed of their ways, and the driving them from the holy mysteries till they change their course of life.

There was another thing proposed this year for the correcting the great disorders of clergymen, which were occasioned by the extreme misery and poverty to which they were reduced. There were some motions made about it in parliament, but they took not effect: so one writ a book concerning it, which he dedicated to the lord chancellor, then the bishop of Ely. He showed, that without rewards or encouragements few would apply themselves to the pastoral function, and

A Project for
relieving the
Clergy reduced to great
Poverty.

that those in it, if they could not subsist by it, must turn to other employments; so that at that time many clergymen were carpenters and tailors, and some kept ale-houses. It was a reproach on the nation, that there had been so profuse a zeal for superstition, and so much coldness in true religion. He complains of many of the clergy who did not maintain students at the universities according to the king's injunctions; and that in schools and colleges, the poor scholars' places were generally filled with the sons of the rich, and that livings were most scandalously sold, and the greatest part of the country-clergy were so ignorant, that they could do little more than read. But there was no hope of doing anything effectually for redressing so great a calamity, till the king should be of age himself to set forward such laws as might again recover a competent maintenance for the clergy.

This year, both Heath of Worcester and Day bishop of Chichester were put out of their bishoprics. For Heath, it has been already said, that he was put in prison for refusing to consent to the book of ordinations. But for Day, whether he refused to submit to the new book, or fell into other transgressions, I do not know.

Both these were afterwards deprived, not by any court consisting of churchmen, but by secular delegates, of whom three were civilians, and three common lawyers, as king Edward's Journal informs us. Day's sentence is something ambiguously expressed in the patent that Scory bishop of Rochester had to succeed him; which bears date the 24th of May, and mentions his being put there in the room of George late bishop of that see, who had been deprived or removed from it: in June following, upon Holbeach bishop of Lincoln's death, Taylor, that had been dean of Lincoln, was made bishop. This year the bishopric of Gloucester was quite suppressed and converted into an exempted archdeaconry, and Hooper was made bishop of Worcester. In the December before, Worcester and Gloucester had been united, by reason of their voisinage and their great poverty, and that they were not very populous; so they were to be for ever after one bishopric with two titles, as Coventry and Litchfield, and Bath and Wells were; and Hooper was made bishop of Worcester and Gloucester. But now they were put into another method, and the bishop was to be called only bishop of Worcester. In all the vacancies of sees, there were a great many of their best lands taken from them; and the sees that before had been profusely enriched, were now brought to so low a condition, that it was scarce possible for the bishops to subsist; and yet, if what was so taken from them had been converted to good uses, to the bettering the condition of the poor clergy over England, it had been some mitigation of so heinous a robbery; but these lands were snatched up by every hungry courtier, who found this to be the easiest way to be satisfied in their pretensions; and the world had been so possessed with the opinion of their excessive wealth, that it was thought they never could be made poor enough.

This year a passage fell out, relating to Ireland, which will give me occasion to look over to the affairs of that kingdom. The kings of England had formerly contented themselves with the title of lords of Ireland; which king Henry VIII., in the 33d year of his reign, had in a parliament there changed into the title of a kingdom. But no special crown or coronation was appointed, since it was to follow the crown of England. The popes and the emperors have pretended that the conferring titles of sovereign dignity belonged to them. The pope derived his claim from what our Saviour said, "That all power in heaven and in earth was given to him," and by consequence to his vicar. The emperors, as being a dead shadow of the Roman empire, which title, with the designation of Cæsar, they still continued to use, and pretended, that as the Roman emperors did anciently make kings, so they had still the same right; though because those emperors made kings in the countries which were theirs by conquest, it was an odd stretch to infer, that those who retained nothing of their empire, but the name, should therefore make kings in countries that belonged not to them; and it is certain, that every entire or independent crown or state may make for or within itself what titles they please. But the authority the crown of England had in Ireland was not then so entire as, by the many rebellions that have fallen out since, it is now become. The heads of the clans and names had the conduct of all their several tribes, who were led on by them to what designs they pleased; and though within the English pale the king was obeyed, and his laws executed almost as in

Heath and
Day turned
out of their
Bishoprics.

The Affairs of
Ireland.

England, yet the native Irish were an uncivilised and barbarous nation, and not yet brought under the yoke; and for the greatest part of Ulster, they were united to the Scots, and followed their interests.

There had been a rebellion in the second year of this reign. But sir Anthony St. Leiger, then deputy, being recalled, and sir Edw. Bellinghame sent in his room, he subdued O'Canor, and O'More, that were the chief authors of it; and not being willing to put things to extremities, when England was otherwise distracted with wars, he persuaded them to accept of pensions of 100*l.* a-piece, and so they came in and lived in the English pale. But the winter after, there was another rebellion designed in Ulster, by O'Neal, O'Donnel, O'Docart, and the heads of some other tribes; who sent to the queen dowager of Scotland, to procure them assistance from France, and they would keep up the disorders in Ireland. The bishop of Valence, being then in Scotland, was sent by her to observe their strength, that he might accordingly persuade the king of France to assist them. He crossed the seas and met with them, and with Wauchop, a Scotchman, who was the bishop of Armagh of the pope's making, and who, though he was blind*, was yet esteemed one of the best at riding post in the world. They set out all their greatness to the French bishop to engage him to be their friend at the court of France; but he seemed not so well satisfied of their ability to do any great matter, and so nothing followed on this. One passage fell out here which will a little discover the temper of that bishop. When he was in O'Docart's house, he saw a fair daughter of his, whom he endeavoured to have corrupted, but she avoided him carefully. Two English gray-friars, that had fled out of England for their religion, and were there at that time, observing the bishop's inclinations, brought him an English whore, whom he kept for some time. She one night looking among his things, found a glass full of somewhat that was very odorous, and poured it all down her throat; which the bishop perceiving too late, fell into a most violent passion; for it had been presented to him by Soliman the Magnificent, at his leaving that court, as the richest balm in Egypt, and was valued at 2000 crowns. The bishop was in such a rage, that all the house was disturbed with it; whereby he discovered both his lewdness and passion at once. This is related by one that was then with him, and was carried over by him to be a page to the Scotch queen, sir James Melvil, who lived long in that court under the constable of France, and was afterwards much employed by the prince elector Palatine in many negotiations; and coming home to his own country, was sent on many occasions to the court of England, where he lived in great esteem. He in his old age writ a narrative of all the affairs that himself had been concerned in, which is one of the best and perfectest pieces of that nature that I have seen. The original is yet extant under his own hand in Scotland: a copy of it was showed me by one descended from him, from which I shall discover many considerable passages, though the affairs in which he was most employed were something later than the time of which I am to write. But to return to Ireland. Upon the peace made with France and Scotland, things were quieted there: and sir Ant. St. Leiger was in August 1550 again sent over to be deputy there. For the Reformation, it made but a small progress in that kingdom. It was received among the English, but I do not find any endeavours were used to bring it in among the Irish. This year Bale was sent into Ireland. He had been a busy writer upon all occasions, and had a great deal of learning, but wanted temper, and did not write with the decency that became a divine, or was suitable to such matters; which it seems made those who recommended men to preferment in this church, not think him so fit a person to be employed here in England. But the bishopric of Ossery being void, the king proposed him to be sent thither. So in August this year Dr. Goodaker was sent over to be bishop of Armagh, and Bale to be bishop of Ossery. There were also two others who were Irishmen, to be promoted. When they came thither, the archbishop of Dublin intended to have consecrated them according to the old pontifical; for the new book of ordination had not been yet used among them. Goodaker and the two others were easily persuaded to it, but Bale absolutely refused to consent to it; who being assisted by the lord chancellor, it was carried that they should be ordained according to the new book. When Bale went into his diocese,

* He was not blind, only short-sighted: "Il quale correr alla posta meglio d'huomo del mondo."—*Hist. del*
Uomo di brevissima vista era commendato di questa, di Conc. Trid. l. 2. p. 144.—ANON. CORRECT.

he found all things there in dark popery ; but before he could make any reformation there, king Edward's death put an end to his and all such designs.

In England, nothing else that had any relation to the Reformation passed this year, unless what belongs to the change made in the order of the Garter may be thought to relate to it. On the 23rd of April, the former year, being St. George's Day, a proposition was made to consider the order and statutes, since there was thought to be a great deal of superstition in them ; and the story upon which the order was founded, concerning St. George's fighting with the dragon, looked like a legend formed in the darker ages to support the humour of chivalry, that was then very high in the world. And as the story had no great credibility in itself, so it was delivered by no ancient author. Nor was it found that there had been any such saint : there being among ancient writers none mentioned of that name, but George of Alexandria, the Arian bishop, that was put in when Athanasius was banished. Upon this motion in the former year, the duke of Somerset, the marquis of Northampton, and the earls of Wiltshire and Warwick, were appointed to review the statutes of the order. So this year the whole order was changed ; and the earl of Westmorland and sir Andrew Dudley, who were now to be installed, were the first that were received according to the new model (which the reader will find in the King Edward's Re- Collection, as it was translated into Latin out of the English by the king himself, mains, Number 3. written all with his own hand, and it is the third paper after his Journal). The preamble of it sets forth the noble design of the order, to animate great men to gallant actions, and to associate them into a fraternity, for their better encouragement and assistance ; but says, it had been much corrupted by superstition, therefore the statutes of it were hereafter to be these :

It was no more to be called the order of St. George, nor was he to be esteemed the patron of it ; but it was to be called the order of the Garter. The knights of this order were to wear the blue riband or garter as formerly ; but at the collar, instead of a George, there was to be, on one side of the jewel, a knight carrying a book upon a sword-point ; on the sword to be written *Protectio*, on the book *Verbum Dei* ; on the reverse, a shield, on which should be written *Fides*—to express their resolution, both with offensive and defensive weapons, to maintain the Word of God. For the rest of the statutes, I shall refer the reader to the paper I mentioned. But this was repealed by queen Mary ; and so the old rules took place again, and do so still. This design seems to have been chiefly intended, that none but those of the reformed religion might be capable of it ; since the adhering to and standing for the Scriptures was then taken to be the distinguishing character between the papists and the reformers.

This is the sum of what was either done or designed this year with relation to religion. As for the state, there was a strict inquiry made of all who had cheated the king in the suppression of chantries, or in any other thing that related to churches ; from which the visitors were believed to have embezzled much to their own uses, and there were many suits in the Star-chamber about it. Most of all these persons had been the friends or creatures of the duke of Somerset : and the inquiry after these things seems to have been more out of hatred to him than out of any design to make the king the richer by what should be recovered for his use. But on none did the storm break more severely than on the lord

Paget. He had been chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and was charged with many misdemeanours in that office, for which he was fined in 6000*l*. But that which was most severe, was, that on St. George's Eve he was degraded from the order of the Garter, for divers offences, but chiefly because he was no gentleman, neither by father's side nor mother's side. His chief offence was his greatest virtue. He had been on all occasions a constant friend to the duke of Somerset : for which the duke of Northumberland hated him mortally, and so got him to be degraded to make way for his own son. This was much censured, as a barbarous action ; that a man, who had so long served the crown in such public negotiations, and was now of no meaner blood than he was when king Henry first gave him the order, should be so dishonoured, being guilty of no other fault but what is common to most courtiers, of enriching himself at his master's cost ; for which his fine was severe enough for the expiation. But the duke of Northumberland was



WILLIAM, FIRST LORD PAGET.

OB. 1563.

FROM THE ORIGINAL ENGRAVING IN THE COLLECTION.

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF ANGLESEA.

a person so given up to violence and revenge, that an ordinary disgrace did not satisfy his hatred.

Sir Ant. St. Leiger, another knight of the order, was at the same time accused, upon complaint sent from the archbishop of Dublin, in Ireland, for some high words that he had used. But these being examined, he was cleared, and admitted to his place among the knights of the Garter. Many others that were obnoxious came in, upon this violent prosecution, to purchase the favour of Northumberland, who was much set on framing a parliament to his mind, and so took those methods which he thought likeliest to work his ends. It being ordinary for men of insolent and boisterous tempers, who are generally as abject when they are low as they are puffed up with prosperity, to measure other people by themselves; therefore, knowing that the methods of reason and kindness would have no operation on themselves, and that height and severity are the only ways to subdue them, they use that same way of gaining others which they find most effectual with themselves.

This year, the king went on in paying his debts, reforming the coin, and other ways that might make the nation great and wealthy. And one great project was undertaken, which has been the chief beginning and foundation of the great riches and strength of shipping to which this nation has attained since that time. From the days of king Henry III. the free towns of Germany, who had assisted him in his wars, obtained great privileges in England: they were made a corporation, and lived together in the Still-yard near the Bridge. They had, in Edward IV.'s time, been brought into some trouble for carrying their privileges further than their charter allowed them; and so judgment was given that they had forfeited it, but they redeemed themselves out of that by a great present which they made to the king. That which chiefly supported them at court was, that they, trading in a body, were not only able to take the trade out of all other persons' hands by underselling them, but they had always a great stock of money; and so, when the government was in a strait, they were ready, upon a good security, to lend great sums; and on lesser occasions could obtain the favour of a statesman by the presents they made him. But now trade was raised much above what it had been, and courts becoming more magnificent than formerly, there was a greater consumption, particularly of cloth, than had ever been known. The discovery of the Indies had raised both trade and navigation, so that there was a quicker circulation of the wealth of the world than had been in former ages.

Antwerp and Hamburgh lying both conveniently, the one in the mouth of the Elbe, and the other near the mouth of the Rhine, which were the two greatest rivers that fell into those seas, the merchants of those two cities at that time had the chief trade of the world. The English began to look on those Easterlings with envy. All that was imported or exported came for most part in their bottoms: all markets were in their hands, so that commodities of foreign growth were vented by them in England, and the product of the kingdom was bought up by them. And all the nation being then set much on pasture, they had much advanced their manufacture, insomuch that their own wool, which had been formerly wrought at Antwerp, was now made into cloth in England, which the Still-yard men obtained leave to carry away. At first they shipped not above eight cloths in a year; after that, an hundred, then a thousand, then six thousand; but this last year there was shipped in their name forty-four thousand cloths, and not above eleven hundred by all others that traded within England.

The merchant adventurers found they could not hold out unless this company was broke. So they put in their complaint against them in the beginning of this year, to which the Still-yard men made answer, and they replied. Upon this, the council made a decree that the charter was broken, and so dissolved the company. Those of Hamburgh and Lubeck, and the regent of Flanders, solicited the council to have this redressed, but in vain: for the advantage the nation was to have by it was too visible to admit of any interposition. But the design of trade being thus set on foot, another project of a higher nature followed it. The war was now begun between the emperor and the king of France; and that, with the persecution raised in Flanders against all that leaned to the doctrine of the Protestants, made many there think of changing their seats. It was therefore proposed, here in England, to

open a free trade, and to appoint some mart towns, that should have greater privileges and securities for encouraging merchants to live in them, and should be easier in their customs than they were anywhere else. Southampton for the cloth trade, and Hull for the northern trade, were thought the two fittest places. And for the advantages and disadvantages of this design, I find the young king had balanced the matter exactly; for there is a large paper, all written with his own hand, containing what was to be said on both sides. But his death, and queen Mary's marrying the prince of Spain, put an end to this project; though all the addresses her husband made, seconding the desires of the Easterlings, could never prevail to the setting up of that company again. If the reader would understand this matter more perfectly, he may find a great deal of it in the king's Journal, and in the fourth paper that follows it, where the whole affair seems to be considered on all hands: but men that know merchandise more perfectly will judge better of these things.

King Edward's Remains, Number 4.

This summer, Cardan, the great philosopher of that age, passed through England. He was brought from Italy on the account of Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, who was then desperately sick of a dropsy. Cardan cured him of his disease; but being a man much conversant both in astrology and magic, as himself professed, he told the archbishop, that though he had at present saved his life, yet he could not change his fate, for he was to die on a gallows. In his going through England, he waited on king Edward, where he was so entertained by him, and observed his extraordinary parts and virtues so narrowly, that on many occasions he writ afterwards of him with great astonishment, as being the most wonderful person he had ever seen.

Cardan in England.

But the mention of the Scotch archbishop's sickness leads me now to the affairs of Scotland. The queen had passed through England from France to Scotland last year. In her passage she was treated by the king with all that respect that one crowned head could pay to another. The particulars are in his Journal, and need not be recited here. When she came home, she set herself much to persuade the governor to lay down the government, that it might be put in her hands; to which he, being a soft man, was the more easily induced, because his brother, who had great power over him, and was a violent and ambitious man, was then so sick that there was no hope of his life. He had also received letters from France, in such a style that he saw he must either lay down the government, or not only lose the honour and pension he had there, but be forced to struggle for what he had in his own country. Whether the French understood anything by their spies in the court of England, that it had been proposed there to persuade him to pretend to the crown, and were therefore the more earnest to have the government out of his hands, I do not know: but though I have seen many hundreds of letters that passed in those times between England and Scotland, I could not find by any of them that he ever entered into any treaty about it.

The Affairs of Scotland.

It seems his base brother had some thoughts of it. For when he was so far recovered that he could inquire after news, and heard what his brother had done, he flew out in a passion, and called him "a beast for parting with the government, since there was none but a lass between him and the crown." I set down his own words, leaving a space void for an epithet he used of the young queen, scarce decent enough to be mentioned. There had been a great consultation in France what to do with the queen of Scotland. Her uncles pressed the king to marry her to the dauphin; for thereby another kingdom would be added to France, which would be a perpetual thorn in the side of England; she had also some prospect of succeeding to the crown of England; so that on all accounts it seemed the best match in Europe for the dauphin. But the wise constable had observed, that the Spaniards lost by their dominions that lay so remote from the chief seat of their government; though these were the richest countries in Europe; namely, Sicily, Naples, Milan, and the Netherlands; and wisely apprehended that France might suffer much more by the accession of such a crown, which not only was remote, but where also the country was poor, and the people not easily governed. It would be a vast charge to them to send navies and to pay armies there: the nobility might when they would, by confederating with England, either shake off the French government, or put them to a great expense to keep it: so that whereas

Scotland had been hitherto by a pension, and sometimes by a little assistance, kept in a perpetual alliance with France, he apprehended by such a union it might become their enemy, and a great weight on their government. This the constable pressed much, both out of his care of his master's interest, and in opposition to the house of Guise. He advised the king rather to marry her to some of his subjects, of whom he was well assured, and to send her and her husband home into Scotland, by which means the perpetual amity of that kingdom might be preserved on easy terms. But the king was so possessed with the notion of the union of that crown to France, that he gave no ear to this wise advice; thinking it flowed chiefly from the hatred and enmity which he knew the constable bore the family of Guise. This the constable himself told Melvil, from whose narrative I have it. The queen mother of Scotland being possessed of the government, found two great factions in it. The head of the one was the archbishop, who now recovering, and finding himself neglected, and the queen governed by other councils, set himself much against her, and drew the clergy for the most part into his interests. The other faction was of those who hated him, and them both, and inclined to the Reformation. They set up the prior of St. Andrew's, who was their young queen's natural brother, as their head, and by his means offered their service to the queen, now made regent: they offered that they would agree with her to send the matrimonial crown to the dauphin, and consent to the union of both kingdoms: only they desired her protection from the violence of the clergy, and that they might have secretly preachers in their houses to instruct them in the points of religion. This offer the queen readily accepted of, and so by their assistance carried things till near the end of her regency with great moderation and discretion. And now the affairs of Scotland were put in a channel, in which they held long steady and quiet, till about six years after this, that upon the peace with the king of Spain there were cruel councils laid down in France, and from thence sent over into Scotland, for extirpating heresy. But of that we shall discourse in its proper place.

As for the affairs of Germany, there was this year a great and sudden turn of things there; with which the emperor was surprised by a strange supineness that proved as fatal to him as it was happy to the empire; though all the world besides saw it coming on him. Upon the delivery of Magdeburg, Maurice of Saxe's army, pretending there was an arrear due to them, took up their winter-quarters near Saxe, in the dominions of some popish princes; where they were very unwelcome guests. The sons of the Landgrave being required by their father, pressed the duke of Saxe on his honour, to free their father, or to become their prisoner in his room, since they had his faith for his liberty: so he went to them, and offered them his person; but though he did not trust them with his whole design, yet he told them so much, that they were willing to let him go back. The emperor's counsellors were alarmed with what they heard from all hands. And the duke of Alva (well known afterwards by his cruelties in the Netherlands) advised him to send for Maurice to come and give an account of all those suspicious passages, to take the army out of his hands, and to take such securities from him as might clear all the jealousies for which his carriage had given great cause. But the bishop of Arras was, on the other hand, so assured of him, that he said, the giving him any suspicion of the emperor's distrust might really engage him into such designs; and that such deep projects as they heard he was in, were too fine conceits for Dutch drunken heads. He also assured them he had two of his secretaries in pension, so that he was advertised of all his motions. But the duke of Saxe came to know that those his secretaries were the emperor's pensioners; and dissembled it so well, that he used them in all appearance with more confidence than formerly: he held all his consultations in their presence, and seemed to open his heart so to them, that they possessed the bishop with a firm confidence of his sincerity and steadiness to the emperor's interests. Yet his lingering so at the town of Magdeburg, with the other dark passages concerning him, made the emperor conceive at last a jealousy of him, and he writ for him to come and clear himself: then he refined it higher; for having left orders with the officers whom he had made sure to him to follow with the army in all the haste they could, he himself took post with as small a train as his dignity could admit of, and carried one of those corrupted secretaries with him; but on the way he complained of pains

in his side, so that he could not hold on his journey; but sent forward his secretary, who gave such an account of him, that it, together with his coming so readily a great part of his way in so secure a manner, made the emperor now lay down all his former distrusts. The emperor writ to Trent and to many other places, that there was no cause of fear from Maurice. And Maurice, to colour the matter more completely, had sent his ambassadors to Trent, and had ordered Melancthon, and his other divines, to follow them slowly, that as soon as the safe-conduct was obtained, they might go on and defend their doctrine.

Upon their coming to Trent, and proposing their desires, that all might be again considered, the legates rejected the proposition with much scorn. The emperor's ambassadors and prelates pressed that they might be well received. The archbishop of Toledo showed how much Christ had borne with the scribes and pharisees; and that in imitation of him, they ought to leave nothing undone that might gain upon them. So it was resolved, that the council should make a protestation, that the usage they gave them was out of charity, which is above all law; since it was against the decretals to have any treaty with professed heretics. At the same time the imperialists dealt no less earnestly with the ambassadors from the Protestant princes, not to ask too much at once, but to go on by degrees; and assured them they had a mind to lessen the pope's greatness as much as they had. The ambassadors' first step was to be for obtaining a safe-conduct. They excepted to that which the council had given, as different from that the council of Basil had sent to the Bohemians, in four material points. The first was, that their divines should have a decisive voice. 2. That all points should be determined according to the Scriptures; and according to the fathers, as they were conformable to those. The third, that they should have the exercise of their religion within their own houses. 4. That nothing should be done in contempt of their doctrine. So they desired that the safe-conduct might be word for word the same with that of Basil.

But the legates abhorred the name of that council, that had endeavoured so much to break the power of the popedom, and had consented to that extraordinary safe-conduct, only to unite Germany, and to gain them by such compliance to be of their side against the pope. Yet the legates promised to consider of it. The ambassadors were received in a congregation, which differed from a session of the council, just as a committee of a whole house of parliament differs from the house, when set according to its forms. They began their speech with this salutation, "Most reverend and most mighty fathers and lords;" they added a cold compliment, and desired a safe-conduct. At this time the pope hearing that the emperor was resolved to bring on the old designs of some councils for lessening his greatness, and that the Spanish bishops were much set on it, united himself to France, and resolved to break the council as soon as it was possible; and therefore he ordered the legates to proceed in the decision of the doctrine, hoping that the Protestants would despair of obtaining anything, and so go away. So the safe-conduct they had desired was not granted them, and another was offered in its room, containing only full security for their persons. Upon this security, such as it was, divines came both from Wirtemberg and the town of Strasburg. But as they were going on to treat of matrimony, the war of Germany broke out, and the bishops of the empire, with the other ambassadors, immediately went home. The legates laid hold on this so readily, that though the session was to have been held on the 2nd of May, they called an extraordinary one on the 28th of April, and suspended the council for two years.

And being to have no other occasion to say anything more of this council, I shall only add, that there had been a great expectation over Christendom of some considerable event of a general council for many years. The bishops and princes had much desired it, hoping it might have brought the differences among divines to a happy composure; and have settled a reformation of those abuses, which had been long complained of, and were still kept up by the court of Rome, for the ends of that principality that they had assumed in sacred things. The popes for the same reasons were very apprehensive of it, fearing that it might have lessened their prerogatives, and by cutting off abuses, that brought in a great revenue to them, have abridged their profits. But it was, by the cunning of the legates, the dissensions of princes, the great number of poor Italian

Proceedings
at Trent.

An Account
of the Council
of Trent.

bishops, and the ignorance of the greatest part of the other, so managed, that instead of composing differences in religion, things were so nicely defined, that they were made irreconcilable. All those abuses, for which there had been nothing but practice, and that much questioned before, were now by the provisos and reservations, excepted for the privileges of the Roman see, made warrantable. So that it had in all particulars an issue quite contrary to what the several parties concerned had expected from it, and has put the world ever since out of the humour of desiring any more general councils, as they are accustomed to call them. The history of that council was writ with as much life, and beauty, and authority, as had been ever seen in any human writing, by friar Paul of Venice, within half an age of the time in which it was ended; when the thing was yet fresh in men's memories, and many were alive who had been present: and there was not one in that age that engaged to write against it. But about forty years after, when father Paul and all his friends who knew from what vouchers he writ were dead, Pallavicini, a jesuit, who was made a cardinal for this service, undertook to answer him, by another history of that council, which, in many matters of fact, contradicts father Paul; upon the credit (as he tells us) of some journals and memorials of such as were present, which he perused, and cites upon all occasions. We see that Rome hath been in all ages so good at forging those things which might be of use to its interests, that we know not how to trust that shop of false wares in any one thing that comes out of it. And therefore it is not easy to be assured of the truth and genuineness of any of the materials out of which the jesuit composed his work. But as for the main thread of the story, both his and father Paul's accounts do so agree, that whosoever compares them, will clearly see that all things were managed by intrigues and secret practices; so that it will not be easy for a man of common sense, after he has read over Pallavicini's history, to fancy that there was any extraordinary influence of the Holy Ghost hovering over and directing their councils. And the care they took for palliating all the corruptions then complained of was so apparent, that their historian had no other way by which to excuse it, but to set up a new hypothesis, which a French writer since has wittily called "the Cardinal's New Gospel;"—"That there must be a temporal principality in the church, that all things which support that principality are to be at least tolerated, though they be far contrary to the primitive patterns, and to the first delivery of the gospel by Christ and his apostles. That which was then set up, he accounts a state of infancy, to which milk was proper; but the church being since grown to its full state and strength, other things are now necessary for the maintaining and preserving of it."

But to return to Maurice, he having possessed the emperor with an entire confidence in him, gathered his army together, took Augsbourg, with many other imperial cities; and displaced the magistrates which the emperor had put in them, and restored their old ones, with the banished ministers; so that everything began to put on a new face. Ferdinand, king of the Romans, did mediate; both on his own account, for the Turks were falling into Hungary, and on the empire's, for the king of France was come with a great army to the confines of the empire: and the constable, pretending that he only desired passage through the town of Metz, entered it, and possessed himself of it. Toul and Verdun fell also into his hands; and the French were endeavouring to be admitted into Strasburg. The emperor was now in great disorder; he had no army about him; those he had confided in were declared against him: his own brother was not ill pleased at his misfortune; the French were like to gain ground on his hereditary dominions. Being thus perplexed and irresolved, he did not send a speedy answer to Maurice's demands, which he had sent by his brother; for the setting of the landgrave at liberty, restoring the freedoms of the empire, and particularly in matters of religion. But to lose no time the mean while, Maurice marched on to Inspruck, where the emperor lay, and surprised a pass to which he had trusted; so that he was within two miles of him before he was aware of it. Upon this the emperor rose from supper in great haste, and by torch-light fled away to make his escape into Italy. He gave the duke of Saxe his liberty; but he generously resolved to follow him in this his calamity; and perhaps he was not willing to owe his liberty to his cousin Maurice. Thus all that design which the emperor had been laying so many years was now broken off on a sudden: he lost all the advantages

he had of his former victories, and was forced to set the prisoners at liberty, and to call in the proscriptions; and in conclusion, the edict of Passau was made, by which the several princes and towns were secured in the free exercise of their religion.

I have made this digression, which I thought not disagreeable to the matter of my history, to give account of the extreme danger in which religion was in Germany, and how strangely it was recovered; in which he, who had been the chief instrument of the miseries it had groaned under, was now become its unlooked-for deliverer. I have enlarged on some passages that are in none of the printed histories, which I draw from Melvil's Memoirs, who says he had them from the elector palatine's own mouth.

But the emperor's misfortunes redoubled on him: for having made peace in the empire, he would, against all reason or probability of success, sit down before Metz. But the duke of Guise defended the place so against him, and the time of the year was so unseasonable, being in December, that after a great loss of men, and vast expense of treasure, he was forced to raise his siege. From thence he retired into Flanders, where his afflictions seized so violently on him, that for some time he admitted none to come near him: some said he was frantic, others that he was sullen and melancholy. The English ambassadors at Brussels, for many weeks, could learn nothing certain concerning him. Here, it is said, he began to reflect on the vanity of the world; when he, who had but a year before given law to Christendom, was now driven to so low an ebb, that as he had irrecoverably lost all his footing in Germany, so in all other things his councils were unlucky. It was one of the notablest turns of fortune that had been in many ages; and gave a great demonstration both of an overruling Providence that disposes of all human affairs at pleasure, and of a particular care that God had of the Reformation, in thus recovering it when it seemed gone without hope in Germany.

These reflections made deep impressions on his mind, and were believed to have first possessed him with the design, which not long after he put in execution, of laying down his crowns, and retiring to a private course of life. In his retirement, having time to consider things more impartially, he was so much changed in his opinion of the Protestant religion, that he, who hitherto had been a most violent opposer of it, was suspected of being turned to it before he died.

Thus ended this year; and now I come to the last and fatal year of this young king's life and reign. The first thing done in it was a regulation of the privy-council, which was divided into so many committees, and every one of these had its proper work, and days appointed for the receiving and despatching of all affairs. In all these things a method was prescribed to them, of which the reader will see a full account in the sixth paper of those that follow king Edward's Journal; which paper, though it is not all written with his hand, as the others be, yet it is in so many places interlined by him, that he seems to have considered it much, and been well pleased with it. His second parliament was opened on the 1st of March. On the 6th of March, it was moved in the house of commons to give the king two-tenths and two-fifteenths, with a subsidy, for two years. It was long argued at first; and at the passing the bill, it was again argued, but at last the commons agreed to it. The preamble of it is a long accusation of the duke of Somerset for involving the king in wars, wasting his treasure, engaging him in much debt, embasing the coin, and having given occasion to a most terrible rebellion. In fine, considering the great debt the king was left in by his father, the loss he put himself to in the reforming the coin, and they finding his temper to be set wholly on the good of his subjects, and not on enriching himself; therefore they give him two-tenths and two-fifteenths, with one subsidy, for two years. Whether the debate in the house of commons was against the subsidies in this act, or against the preamble, cannot be certainly known: but it is probable the debate, at the engrossing the bill, was about the preamble, which the duke of Northumberland and his party were the more earnestly set on to let the king see how acceptable they were, and how hateful the duke of Somerset had been. The clergy did also, for an expression of their affection and duty, give the king six shillings in the pound of their benefices. There was also a bill sent down from the lords, that none might hold any spiritual promotion unless he were either

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A Regulation
of the Privy-
Council.

King Ed-
ward's Re-
mains, Num-
ber 6.

A new Parlia-
ment.

priest or deacon: but after the third reading it was cast out. The reason of it was, because many noblemen and gentlemen's sons had prebends given them on this pretence, that they intended to fit themselves by study for entering into orders; but they kept these, and never advanced in their studies: upon which the bishops prevailed to have the bill agreed to by the lords, but could carry it no further.

Another act passed for the suppressing the bishopric of Durham, which is so strangely misrepresented by those who never read more than the title of it, that I shall therefore give a more full account of it. It is set forth in the preamble, "that that bishopric being then void of a prelate, so that the gift thereof was in the king's pleasure; and the compass of it being so large, extending to so many shires so far distant, that it could not be sufficiently served by one bishop; and since the king, according to his godly disposition, was desirous to have God's holy word preached in these parts, which were wild and barbarous for lack of good preaching and good learning; therefore he intended to have two bishoprics for that diocese: the one at Durham, which should have 2000 marks revenue; and another at Newcastle, which should have 1000 marks revenue: and also to found a cathedral church at Newcastle, with a deanery and chapter, out of the revenues of the bishopric: therefore the bishopric of Durham is utterly extinguished and dissolved, and authority is given for letters patents to erect the two new bishoprics, together with the deanery and chapter at Newcastle; with a proviso that the rights of the deanery, chapter, and cathedral of Durham should suffer nothing by this act."

When this bill is considered, that dissolution that was designed by it will not appear to be so sacrilegious a thing as some writers have represented it. For whosoever understands the value of old rents, especially such as these were near the marches of an enemy, where the service of the tenants in the war made their lands be set at very low rates, will know that 3000 marks of rent being reserved, besides the endowing of the cathedral, which could hardly be done under another 1000 marks, there could not be so great a prey of that bishopric as has been imagined. Ridley, as himself writes in one of his letters, was named to be bishop of Durham, being one of the natives of that country; but the thing never took effect. For in May, and no sooner, was the temporality of the bishopric turned into a county palatine, and given to the duke of Northumberland: but the king's sickness, and soon after his death, made that and all the rest of these designs prove abortive.

How Tonstall was deprived, I cannot understand. It was for misprision of treason, and done by secular men; for Cranmer refused to meddle in it. I have seen the commission given by queen Mary to some delegates to examine it, in which it is said, that the sentence was given only by laymen; and that Tonstall, being kept prisoner long in the Tower, was brought to his trial, in which he had neither counsel assigned him, nor convenient time given him for clearing himself; and that after divers protestations, they had, notwithstanding his appeal, deprived him of his bishopric. He was not only turned out, but kept prisoner till queen Mary set him at liberty.

At the end of this parliament the king granted a free pardon, concerning which this is only remarkable, that whereas it goes for a maxim, that the acts of pardon must be passed without changing anything in them, the commons, when they sent up this act of pardon to the lords, desired that some words might be amended in it; but it is not clear what was done, for that same day the acts were passed, and the parliament was dissolved.

In it the duke of Northumberland had carried this point, that the nation made a public declaration of their dislike of the duke of Somerset's proceedings; which was the more necessary, because the king had let fall words concerning his death, by which he seemed to reflect on it with some concern, and looked on it as Northumberland's deed. But the act had passed with such difficulty, that either the duke did not think the parliament well enough disposed for him, or else he resolved totally to vary from the measures of the duke of Somerset, who continued the same parliament long, whereas this that was opened on the 1st, was dissolved on the last day of March.

Visitors were soon after appointed to examine what church-plate, jewels, and other furniture, was in all cathedrals and churches, and to compare their account with the inventories made in former visitations; and to see what was embezzled, and how it was done. And because the king was resolved to have churches and chapels furnished with that that was comely and convenient for the administration of the sacraments, they were to give one or two chalices of silver, or more, to every church, chapel, or cathedral, as their discretions should direct them; and to distribute comely furniture for the communion-table, and for surplices; and to sell the rest of the linen, and give it to the poor: and to sell copes and altar-cloths, and deliver all the rest of the plate and jewels to the king's treasurer, sir Edm. Pecham. This is spitefully urged by one of our writers, who would have his reader infer from it that the king was ill-principled as to the matters of the church, because, when this order was given by him, he was now in the sixteenth year of his age. But if all princes should be thus judged by all instructions that pass under their hands, they would be more severely censured than there is cause. And for the particular matter that is charged on the memory of this young prince, which, as it was represented to him, was only a calling for the superfluous plate and other goods that lay in churches more for pomp than for use; though the applying of it to common uses, except upon extreme necessities, is not a thing that can be justified; yet it deserved not so severe a censure, especially the instructions being signed by the king in his sickness; in which it is not likely that he minded affairs of that kind much, but set his hand easily to such papers as the council prepared for him.

These instructions were directed, in the copy that I have perused, to the earl of Shrewsbury lord president of the North: upon which occasion, I shall here make mention of that which I know not certainly in what year to place, namely, the instructions that were given to that earl when he was made president of the North. And I mention them the rather because there have been since that time some contests about that office, and the court belonging to it. There was by his instructions a council to be assistant to him; whereof some of the members were at large, and not bound to attendance, others were not to leave him without licence from him; and he was in all things to have a negative voice in it. For the other particulars, I refer the reader to the copy, which he will find in the Collection. One instruction among them belongs to religion; that he and the other councillors, when there was at any time assemblies of people before them, should persuade them to be obedient chiefly to the laws about religion, and especially concerning the service set forth in their own mother-tongue. There was also a particular charge given them concerning the abolished power of the bishop of Rome; whose abuses they were by continual inculcation so to beat into the minds of the people, that they might well apprehend them, and might see that those things were said to them from their hearts, and not from their tongues only for form's sake. They were also to satisfy them about the abrogation of many holidays appointed by the same bishop, who endeavoured to persuade the world that he could make saints at his pleasure; which by leading the people to idleness, gave occasion to many vices and inconveniences. These instructions were given after the peace was made with Scotland; otherwise there must have been a great deal in them relating to that war; but the critical time of them I do not know.

This year Harley was made bishop of Hereford, instead of Skip, who died the last year. And he being the last of those who were made so by letters patents, I shall give the reader some satisfaction concerning that way of making bishops. The patents began with the mention of the vacancy of the see, by death or removal; upon which the king being informed of the good qualifications of such a one, appoints him to be bishop during his natural life, or so long as he shall behave himself well, giving him power to ordain and deprive ministers, to confer benefices, judge about wills, name officials and commissaries, exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, visit the clergy, inflict censures, and punish scandalous persons, and to do all the other parts of the episcopal function that were found by the word of God to be committed to bishops; all which they

A Visitation
for the Plate
in the Churches.

Instructions
for the President
of the North.

Collection,
Number 56.

The Form of
the Bishops'
Letters Patents.

were to execute and do in the king's name and authority. After that in the same patent follows the restitution of the temporalities. The day after, a certificate in a writ called a *significavit* was to be made of this, under the great seal, to the archbishop, with a charge to consecrate him.

The first that had his bishopric by the king's patents was Barlow, that was removed from St. David's to Bath and Wells. They bear date the 3d of February, in the second year of the king's reign: and so Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was not the first, as some have imagined, for he was made bishop the 1st of August that year. This Ferrar was a rash, indiscreet man, and drew upon himself the dislike of the prebendaries of St. David's. He was made bishop upon the duke of Somerset's favour to him. But last year many articles were objected to him: some, as if he had incurred a *premunire* for acting in his courts not in the king's, but his own name; and some for neglecting his charge; and some little indecencies were objected to him, as going strangely habited, travelling on foot, whistling impertinently, with many other things, which, if true, showed in him much weakness and folly. The heaviest articles he denied; yet he was kept in prison, and commissioners were sent into Wales to examine witnesses, who took many depositions against him. He lay in prison till queen Mary's time; and then he was kept in on the account of his belief. But his suffering afterwards for his conscience, when Morgan, who had been his chief accuser before on those other articles, being then made his judge, condemned him for heresy, and made room for himself to be bishop by burning him, did much turn the people's censures from him upon his successor.

By these letters patents it is clear that the episcopal function was acknowledged to be of divine appointment, and that the person was no other way named by the king than as lay-patrons present to livings; only the bishop was legally authorised, in such a part of the king's dominions, to execute that function which was to be derived to him by imposition of hands. Therefore here was no pretence for denying that such persons were true bishops, and for saying, as some have done, that they were not from Christ, but from the king.

Upon this occasion it will not be improper to represent to the reader how this matter stands according to the law at this day: which is the more necessary, because some superficial writers have either misunderstood or misrepresented it. The act that authorised those letters patents, and required the bishops to hold their courts in the king's name, was repealed both by the 1 Mar. chap. 2, and 1 and 2 Phil. and Mary, chap. 8. The latter of these, that repealed only a part of it, was repealed by the 1 Eliz. chap. 1, and the former by the 1 Jac. chap. 25. So some have argued, that since those statutes which repealed this act of Edward VI. 1 Par. chap. 2, are since repealed, that it stands now in full force. This seems to have some colour in it, and so it was brought in question in parliament in the fourth year of king James; and great debate being made about it, the king appointed the two chief justices to search into the matter. They, upon a slight inquiry, agreed that the statute of Edw. VI. was in force by that repeal: but the chief baron and the other judges searching the matter more carefully, found that the statute had been in effect repealed by the first of Eliz. ch. 1, where the act of the 25 Hen. VIII., concerning the election and jurisdiction of bishops, as formerly they had exercised it, was revived; so that being in full force, the act of Edw. VI. that repealed it was thereby repealed. To this all the learned men of the law did then agree; so that it was not thought so much as necessary to make an explanatory law about it; the thing being indeed so clear, that it did not admit of any ambiguity.

In May this year the king by his letters patents authorised all schoolmasters to teach a new and fuller catechism, compiled by Alexander Noel.

These are all the passages in which the church is concerned this year. The foreign negotiations were important. For now the balance began to turn to the French side; therefore the council resolved to mediate a peace between the French and the emperor. The emperor had sent over an ambassador in September last year, to desire the king would consider the danger in which Flanders was now, by the French king's having Metz, with the other towns in Lorraine, which did in a great measure divide it from the assistance of the empire; and therefore moved, that according to the ancient league between England and

the house of Burgundy, they would enter into a new league with him. Upon this occasion the reader will find how the secretaries of state bred the king to the understanding of

King Edward's Re-
mains, Num-
ber 5.

business, with relation to the studies he was then about; for secretary Cecil set down all the arguments for and against that league, with little notes on the margin relating to such topics from whence he brought them; by which it seems the king was then learning logic. It is the fifth of those papers after his journal.

It was resolved on to send sir Richard Morison with instructions to compliment the emperor upon his coming into Flanders, and to make an offer of the king's assistance against the Turks, who had made great depredations that year both in Hungary, Italy, and Sicily. If the emperor should upon that complain of the

A Treaty with
the Emperor.

French king, and say that he had brought in the Turks, and should have asked assistance against him, he was to move the emperor to send over an ambassador to treat about it, since he that was then resident in England was not very acceptable. These instructions

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(which are in the Collection) were signed in September, but not made use of till January this year. And then new orders were sent to propose the king to be a mediator between France and the emperor. Upon which the bishop of Norwich

and sir Phil. Hobbey were sent over to join with sir Richard Morison; and sir William Pickering, and sir Tho. Chaloner were sent into France. In May the emperor fell sick, and the English ambassadors could learn nothing certainly concerning him; but then the queen of Hungary and the bishop of Arras treated with them. The bishop of Arras complained that the French had begun the war, had taken the emperor's ship at Barcelona, had robbed his subjects at sea, had stirred up the princes of Germany against him, had taken some of the towns of the empire from him; while the French ambassadors were all the while swearing to the emperor, that their master intended nothing so much as to preserve the peace: so that now, although the French were making several overtures for peace, they could give no credit to anything that came from them. In fine, the queen and bishop of Arras promised the English ambassadors to let the emperor know of the king's offering himself to mediate, and afterwards told them that the emperor delayed giving answer till he were well enough to do it himself.

On the 26th of May, the ambassadors writ over that there was a project sent them out of Germany, of an alliance between the emperor, Ferdinand king of the Romans, the king of England, and the princes of the empire. They did not desire that the king should offer to come into it of his own accord; but John Frederick of Saxe would move Ferdinand to invite the king into it. This way they thought would give least jealousy. They hoped the emperor would easily agree to the conditions that related to the peace of Germany, since he was now out of all hopes of making himself master of it. The princes neither loved nor trusted him; but loved his brother, and relied much on England. But the emperor having proposed that the Netherlands should be included in the perpetual league of the empire, they would not agree to that, unless the quotas of their contribution were much changed; for these provinces were like to be the seats of wars, therefore they would not engage for their defence but upon reciprocal advantages and easy terms.

When the English ambassadors in the court of France desired to know on what terms a peace might be mediated, they found they were much exalted with their success; so that (as they writ over on the 1st of May) they demanded the restitution of Milan, and the kingdoms of Sicily, Naples, and Navarre, the sovereignty of Flanders, Artois, and the town of Tournay; they would also have Siena to be restored to its liberty, and Metz, Toul, and Verdun, to continue under the protection of France. These terms the council thought so unreasonable, that though they writ them over as news to their ambassadors in Flanders, yet they charged them not to propose them. But the queen of Hungary asked them what propositions they had for a peace, knowing already what they were; and from thence studied to inflame the ambassadors, since it appeared how little the French regarded their mediation, or the peace of Christendom, when they asked such high and extravagant things upon a little success.

On the 9th of June, the emperor ordered the ambassadors to be brought into his bed-chamber, whither they were carried by the queen of Hungary. He looked pale and

lean ; but his eyes were lively, and his speech clear. They made him a compliment upon his sickness, which he returned with another for their long attendance. Upon the matter of their embassy he said, the king of France had begun the war, and must likewise begin the propositions of peace. But he accepted of the king's offer very kindly, and said they should always find in him great inclinations to a just peace. On the 1st of July, the council writ to their ambassadors, first assuring them that the king was still alive, and they hoped he should recover ; they told them they did not find that the French would offer any other terms than those formerly made, and they continued still in that mind, that they could not be offered by them as mediators ; yet they ordered them to impart them unto the emperor as news, and carefully to observe his looks and behaviour upon their opening of every one of them.

But now the king's death broke off this negotiation, together with all his other affairs. He had last year, first the measles, and then the small-pox, of which he was perfectly recovered. In his progress, he had been sometimes violent in his exercises, which had cast him into great colds ; but these went off, and he seemed to be well after it. But in the beginning of January this year, he was seized with a deep cough, and all medicines that were used did rather increase than lessen it ; upon which a suspicion was taken up, and spread over all the world (so that it is mentioned by most of the historians of that age), that some lingering poison had been given him ; but more than rumours, and some ill-favoured circumstances, I could never discover concerning this. He was so ill when the parliament met, that he was not able to go to Westminster, but ordered their first meeting and the sermon to be at Whitehall. In the time of his sickness, bishop Ridley preached before him, and took occasion to run out much on works of charity, and the obligation that lay on men of high condition to be eminent in good works. This touched the king to the quick, so that presently after sermon he sent for the bishop ; and after he had commanded him to sit down by him, and be covered, he resumed most of the heads of the sermon, and said he looked on himself as chiefly touched by it : he desired him, as he had already given him the exhortation in general, so to direct him how to do his duty in that particular. The bishop, astonished at this tenderness in so young a prince, burst forth in tears, expressing how much he was overjoyed to see such inclinations in him ; but told him he must take time to think on it, and craved leave to consult with the lord mayor and court of aldermen. So the king writ by him to them to consult speedily how the poor should be relieved. They considered there were three sorts of poor : such as were so by natural infirmity or folly, as impotent persons and madmen, or idiots ; such as were so by accident, as sick or maimed persons ; and such as by their idleness did cast themselves into poverty. So the king ordered the Gray-friars' church, near Newgate, with the revenues belonging to it, to be a house for orphans ; St. Bartholomew's, near Smithfield, to be an hospital ; and gave his own house of Bridewell to be a place of correction and work for such as were wilfully idle. He also confirmed and enlarged the grant for the hospital of St. Thomas, in Southwark, which he had erected and endowed in August last. And when he set his hand to these foundations, which was not done before the 26th of June this year, he thanked God that had prolonged his life till he had finished that design. So he was the first founder of those houses which, by many great additions since that time, have risen to be among the noblest in Europe.

He expressed, in the whole course of his sickness, great submission to the will of God, and seemed glad at the approaches of death ; only the consideration of religion and the church touched him much, and upon that account he said he was desirous of life. About the end of May or beginning of June, the duke of Suffolk's three daughters were married : the eldest, lady Jane, to the lord Guilford Dudley, the fourth son of the duke of Northumberland (who was the only son whom he had yet unmarried) ; the second, the lady Katharine, to the earl of Pembroke's eldest son, the lord Herbert ; the third, the lady Mary, who was crooked, to the king's groom-porter, Martin Keys. The duke of Northumberland married his two daughters ; the eldest to sir Henry Sidney, son to sir William Sidney, that had been steward to the king when he was prince ; the other was married to the lord Hastings, son to the earl of Huntington. The people were mightily

The King's
Sickness.

His care of
the Relief of
the Poor.

Several Mar-
riages.

inflamed against this insolent duke ; for it was generally given out that he was sacrificing the king to his own extravagant ambition. He seemed little to regard their censures, but attended on the king most constantly, and expressed all the care and concern about him that was possible. And finding that nothing went so near his heart as the ruin of religion, which he apprehended would follow upon his death, when his sister Mary should come to the crown : upon that, he and his party took advantage to propose to him to settle the crown by his letters-patents on the lady Jane Gray. How they prevailed with him to pass by his sister Elizabeth, who had been always much in his favour, I do not so well understand. But the king being wrought over to this, the duchess of Suffolk, who was next in king Henry's will, was ready to devolve her right on her daughter, even though she should come afterwards to have sons : so, on the 11th of June, Montague, that was chief justice of the common-pleas, and Baker and Bromley, two judges, with the king's attorney and solicitor, were commanded to come to council. There they found the king, with some privy-councillors about him. The king told them, he did now apprehend the danger the kingdom might be in if, upon his death, his sister Mary should succeed, who might marry a stranger, and so change the laws and the religion of the realm. So he ordered some articles to be read to them of the way in which he would have the crown to descend. They objected, that the act of succession, being an act of parliament, could not be taken away by any such device ; yet the king required them to take the articles, and draw a book according to them : they asked a little time to consider of it. So having examined the statute of the first year of this reign concerning treasons, they found that it was treason, not only after the king's death, but even in his life, to change the succession. Secretary Petre in the mean while pressed them to make haste. When they came again to the council, they declared they could not do any such thing, for it was treason ; and all the lords should be guilty of treason if they went on in it. Upon which the duke of Northumberland, who was not then in the council-chamber, being advertised of this, came in great fury, calling Montague a traitor, and threatened all the judges ; so that they thought he would have beaten them : but the judges stood to their opinion. They were again sent for, and came, with Gosnald added to them, on the 15th of June. The king was present, and he somewhat sharply asked them, why they had not prepared the book as he had ordered them. They answered, that whatever they did would be of no force without a parliament. The king said, he intended to have one shortly. Then Montague proposed that it might be delayed till the parliament met : but the king said, he would have it first done, and then ratified in parliament ; and therefore he required them on their allegiance to go about it ; and some councillors told them, if they refused to obey that, they were traitors. This put them in a great consternation ; and old Montague, thinking it could not be treason whatever they did in this matter while the king lived, and at worst that a pardon under the great seal would secure him, consented to set about it, if he might have a commission requiring him to do it, and a pardon under the great seal when it was done. Both these being granted him, he was satisfied. The other judges being asked if they would concur, did all agree, being overcome with fear, except Gosnald, who still refused to do it : but he also, being sorely threatened, both by the duke of Northumberland and the earl of Shrewsbury, consented to it the next day. So they put the entail of the crown in form of law, and brought it to the lord chancellor to put the seal to it. They were all required to set their hands to it, but both Gosnald and Hales refused : yet the former was wrought on to do it ; but the latter, though a most steady and zealous man for the Reformation, would upon no consideration yield to it. After that, the lord chancellor, for his security, desired that all the councillors might set their hands to it ; which was done on the 21st of June by thirty-three of them—it is like, including the judges in the number. But Cranmer, as he came seldom to council after the duke of Somerset's fall, so he was that day absent on design. Cecil, in a relation which he made one write of this transaction, for clearing himself afterwards, says, that when he had heard Gosnald and Hales declare how much it was against law, he refused to set his hand to it as a councillor, and that he only signed as a witness to the king's subscription. But Cranmer still refused to do it, after they had all signed it, and said he

He is persuaded to leave the Crown to the lady Jane.

Which the judges at first opposed.

But through fear all yielded except Judge Hales.

would never consent to the disinheriting of the daughters of his late master. Many consultations were had to persuade him to it ; but he could not be prevailed on till the king himself set on him, who used many arguments from the danger religion would otherwise be in, together with other persuasions ; so that by his reasons, or rather importunities, at last he brought him to it. But whether he also used that distinction of Cecil's, that he did it as a witness and not as a councillor, I do not know : but it seems probable that if that liberty was allowed the one, it would not be denied the other.

But though the settling this business gave the king great content in his mind, yet his distemper rather increased than abated, so that the physicians had no hope of his recovery : upon which a confident woman came and undertook his cure, if he might be put into her hands. This was done, and the physicians were put from him upon this pretence, that they having no hopes of his recovery in a desperate cause, desperate remedies were to be used. This was said to be the duke of Northumberland's advice in particular ; and it increased the people's jealousy of him, when they saw the king grow very sensibly worse every day after he came under the woman's care ; which becoming so plain, she was put from him, and the physicians were again sent for, and took him into their charge : but if they had small hopes before, they had none at all now. Death thus hastening on him, the duke of Northumberland, who knew he had done but half his work except he had the king's sisters in his hands, got the council to write to them in the king's name, inviting them to come and keep him company in his sickness. But as they were on the way, on the 6th of July, his spirits and body were so sunk, that he found death approaching ; and so he composed himself to die in a most devout manner. His whole

His last
Prayer.

exercise was in short prayers and ejaculations. The last that he was heard to use was in these words : " Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen ; howbeit not my will but thine be done. Lord, I commit my spirit to thee. O Lord, thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee ; yet, for thy chosen's sake, send me life and health that I may truly serve thee. O my Lord God, bless my people, and save thine inheritance. O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England. O Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy Holy Name, for Jesus Christ his sake." Seeing some about him, he seemed troubled that they were so near, and had heard him ; but, with a pleasant countenance, he said he had been praying to God : and soon after, the pangs of death coming on him, he said to sir Henry Sidney, who was holding him in his arms, " I am faint ; Lord have mercy on me, and receive my spirit ;" and so he breathed out his innocent soul. The duke of Northumberland, according to Cecil's relation, intended to have concealed his death for a fortnight, but it could not be done.

Thus died king Edward VI., that incomparable young prince. He was then in the sixteenth year of his age, and was counted the wonder of that time. He was not only learned in the tongues and other liberal sciences, but knew well the state of his kingdom. He kept a book, in which he writ the characters that were given him of all the chief men of the nation, all the judges, lord-lieutenants, and justices of the peace, over England : in it he had marked down their way of living, and their zeal for religion. He had studied the matter of the Mint, with the exchange and value of money ; so that he understood it well, as appears by his Journal. He also understood fortification, and designed well. He knew all the harbours and ports, both of his own dominions and of France and Scotland ; and how much water they had, and what was the way of coming into them. He had acquired great knowledge in foreign affairs ; so that he talked with the ambassadors about them in such a manner that they filled all the world with the highest opinion of him that was possible ; which appears in most of the histories of that age. He had great quickness of apprehension ; and being mistrustful of his memory, used to take notes of almost everything he heard : he writ these first in Greek characters, that those about him might not understand them, and afterwards writ them out in his Journal. He had a copy brought him of everything that passed in council, which he put in a chest, and kept the key of that always himself.

His Death
and Character.

In a word, the natural and acquired perfections of his mind were wonderful; but his virtues and true piety were yet more extraordinary. He was such a friend to justice, that though he loved his uncle the duke of Somerset much, yet when he was possessed of a belief of his designing to murder his fellow-councillors, he was alienated from him: and being then but fourteen, it was no wonder if that was too easily infused in him. His chief favourite was Barnaby Fitzpatrick, to whom he writ many letters and instructions when he sent him to be bred in France. In one of his letters to him, he writ, that he must not think to live like an ambassador, but like a private gentleman, who was to be advanced as he should deserve it. He allowed him to keep but four servants: he charged him to follow the company of gentlemen rather than of ladies; that he should not be superfluous in his apparel; that he should go to the campaign, and observe well the conduct of armies and the fortification of strong places; and let the king know always when he needed money, and he would supply him. All these with many other directions the king writ with his own hand: and at his return, to let him see he intended to raise him by degrees, he gave him a pension only of 150*l*. This Fitzpatrick did afterwards fully answer the opinion this young king had of him. He was bred up with him in his learning, and, as it is said, had been his whipping-boy, who, according to the rule of educating our princes, was always to be whipt for the king's faults. He was afterwards made by queen Elizabeth baron of Upper Ossory in Ireland, which was his native country.

King Edward was tender and compassionate in a high measure, so that he was much against the taking away the lives of heretics; and therefore said to Cranmer, when he persuaded him to sign the warrant for the burning of Joan of Kent, that he was not willing to do it, because he thought that was to send her quick to hell. He expressed great tenderness to the miseries of the poor in his sickness, as hath been already shown. He took particular care of the suits of all poor persons; and gave Dr. Cox special charge to see that their petitions were speedily answered, and used oft to consult with him how to get their matters set forward. He was an exact keeper of his word; and therefore, as appears by his Journal, was most careful to pay his debts, and to keep his credit: knowing that to be the chief nerve of government; since a prince that breaks his faith, and loses his credit, has thrown up that which he can never recover, and made himself liable to perpetual distrusts, and extreme contempt.

He had above all things a great regard to religion. He took notes of such things as he heard in sermons which more specially concerned himself; and made his measures of all men by their zeal in that matter. This made him so set on bringing over his sister Mary to the same persuasions with himself, that when he was pressed to give way to her having mass, he said, that he would not only hazard the loss of the emperor's friendship, but of his life, and all he had in the world, rather than consent to what he knew was a sin: and he cited some passages of Scripture that obliged kings to root out idolatry; by which he said he was bound in conscience not to consent to her mass, since he believed it was idolatry; and did argue the matter so learnedly with the bishops, that they left him, being amazed at his knowledge in divinity. So that Cranmer took Cheke by the hand upon it, and said, he had reason all the days of his life to rejoice that God had honoured him to breed such a scholar. All men who saw and observed these qualities in him, looked on him as one raised by God for most extraordinary ends; and when he died, concluded that the sins of England must needs be very great, that had provoked God to take from them a prince under whose government they were like to have seen such blessed times. He was so affable and sweet-natured, that all had free access to him at all times, by which he came to be most universally beloved, and all the high things that could be devised were said by the people to express their esteem of him. The fable of the Phoenix pleased most; so they made his mother one phoenix, and him another, rising out of her ashes. But graver men compared him to Josiah; and long after his death I find both in letters and printed books they commonly named him Our Josias: others called him Edward the Saint.

A prince of such qualities, so much esteemed and loved, could not but be much lamented at his death; and this made those of the Reformation abhor the duke of Northumberland, who they suspected had hastened him to such an untimely end; which contributed as much

as anything to the establishing of queen Mary on the throne; for the people reckoned none could be so unworthy to govern as those who had poisoned so worthy a prince and so kind a master. I find nothing of opening his body for giving satisfaction about that which brought him to his end; though his lying unburied till the 8th of August makes it probable that he was opened.

But, indeed, the sins of England did at this time call down from Heaven heavy curses on the land. They are sadly expressed in a discourse that Ridley writ soon after, under the title of the Lamentation of England: he says lechery, oppression, pride, covetousness, and a hatred and scorn of religion, were generally spread among all people, chiefly those of the higher rank. Cranmer and he had been much disliked; the former for delivering his conscience so freely on the duke of Somerset's death, and both of them for opposing so much the rapine and spoil of the goods of the church, which was done without law or order. Nor could they engage any to take care of relieving the poor, except only Dobbs, who was then lord mayor of London. These sins were openly preached against by Latimer, Lever, Bradford, and Knox, who did it more severely, and by others who did it plainly, though more softly. One of the main causes Ridley gives of all these evils was, that many of the bishops, and most of the clergy, being all the while papists in heart, who had only complied to preserve their benefices, took no care of their parishes, and were rather well pleased that things were ill managed. And of this that good bishop had been long very apprehensive when he considered the sins then prevailing, and the judgments which they had reason to look for; as will appear by an excellent letter which he sent about to his clergy to set them on

to such duties as so sad a prospect required: it will be found in the Collection; and though it belongs to the former year, yet I choose rather to bring it in on this occasion. These things having been fully laid open in the former parts of this work, I shall not insist on them here, having mentioned them only for this cause, that the reader may from hence gather what we may still expect, if we continue guilty of the same or worse sins, after all that illumination and knowledge with which we have been so long blest in these kingdoms.

PART II.—BOOK II.

THE LIFE AND REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

UPON the death of king Edward, the crown devolved, according to king Henry's will, and the act of parliament, made in the 35th year of his reign, on his eldest sister, the now queen Mary. She was on her way to London, in obedience to the letters that had been writ to her, to come and comfort her brother in his sickness; and was come within half a day's journey of the court, when she received an advertisement from the earl of Arundel that her brother was dead, together with an account of what was done about the succession. The earl also informed her, that the king's death was concealed, on design to entrap her before she knew of it; and therefore he advised her to retire. Upon this, she knowing that the duke of Northumberland was much hated in Norfolk, for the great slaughter he had made of the rebels, when he subdued them in the third year of the last reign, therefore chose to go that way to the castle of Framlingham in Suffolk; which place being near the sea, she might, if her designs should miscarry, have an opportunity from thence to fly over to the emperor, that was then in Flanders.

At London, it seems, the whole business of setting up the lady Jane had been carried very secretly; since if queen Mary had heard any hint of it, she had certainly kept out of the way, and not adventured to have come so near the town. It was an unaccountable error in the party for the lady Jane, that they had not immediately after the seal was put to the letters patents, or at furthest presently after the king's death, sent some to make sure of the king's sisters; instead of which, they thus lingered, hoping they would have come into their toils in an easier and less violent way. On the 8th of July*, they writ to the English ambassadors at Brussels the news of the king's death, but said nothing of the succession.

On the 9th of July, they perceived the king's death was known; for queen Mary writ to them, from Kenning-hall, that she understood the king her brother was dead; which how sorrowful it was to her, God only knew, to whose will she did humbly submit her will. The provision of the crown to her, after his death, she said, was well known to them all; but she thought it strange, that he being three days dead, she had not been advertised of it by them. She knew what consultations were against her, and what engagements they had entered into; but was willing to take all their doings in good part, and therefore she was ready to remit and pardon all that was past, to such as would accept of it; that she could take their doings in good part; and required them to proclaim her title to the crown in London.

Upon this letter they saw the death of the king could no longer be concealed; so the duke of Suffolk and the duke of Northumberland went to Durham-house, where the lady Jane lay, to give her notice of her being to succeed to the crown, in the room of the deceased king. She received the news with great sorrow for king Edward's death; which for the lady Jane, was not at all lessened but rather increased by that other part of their message, concerning her being to succeed him.

She was a lady that seemed indeed born for a great fortune; for as she was a beautiful and graceful person, so she had great parts, and greater virtues. Her tutor was Dr. Elmer, believed to be the same that was afterwards made bishop of London by queen Elizabeth. She had learned from him the Latin and Greek tongues to great perfection; so that being of the same age with the late king, she seemed superior to him in those languages. And having acquired the helps of knowledge, she spent her time

* On the 8th of July also they sent for the mayor and the succession; but bade them keep it secret.—STRYPE'S
certain aldermen, and told them of the king's death and of CORRECT.

much in the study of it. Roger Ascham, tutor to the lady Elizabeth, coming once to wait on her at her father's house in Leicestershire, found her reading Plato's works in Greek, when all the rest of the family were hunting in the park: he asked her how she could be absent from such pleasant diversions; she answered, the pastimes in the park were but a shadow to the delight she had in reading Plato's Phædon, which then lay open before her; and added, that she esteemed it one of the greatest blessings that God ever gave her, that she had sharp parents, and a gentle schoolmaster, which made her take delight in nothing so much as in her study. She read the Scriptures much, and had attained great knowledge in divinity. But with all these advantages of birth and parts, she was so humble, so gentle, and pious, that all people both admired and loved her, and none more than the late king. She had a mind wonderfully raised above the world, and at the age wherein others are but imbibing the notions of philosophy, she had attained to the practice of the highest precepts of it. She was neither lifted up with the hope of a crown, nor cast down when she saw her palace made afterwards her prison; but carried herself with an equal temper of mind in those great inequalities of fortune that so suddenly exalted and depressed her. All the passion she expressed in it was, that which is of the noblest sort, and is the indication of tender and generous natures, being much affected with the troubles her father and husband fell in on her account.

The mention of the crown when her father with her father-in-law saluted her queen, did rather heighten her disorder upon the king's death. She said, she knew by the laws of the kingdom, and by natural right, the crown was to go to the king's sisters;

Her unwillingness to accept of the Crown. so that she was afraid of burdening her conscience by assuming that which belonged to them; and that she was unwilling to enrich herself by the spoils of others. But they told her all that had been done was according to the law to

which all the judges and counsellors had set their hands. This, joined with their persuasions, and the importunities of her husband, who had more of his father's temper than of her philosophy in him, at length prevailed with her to submit to it; of which her father-in-law did afterwards say in council, she was rather, by enticement of the councillors, and force, made to accept of the crown, than came to it by her own seeking and request.

Upon this, order was given for proclaiming her queen the next day. And an answer was writ to queen Mary, signed by the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, the dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, the marquesses of Winchester and Northampton; the earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Huntington, Bedford, and Pembroke; the lords Cobham and Darcy; sir Thomas Cheyney, sir Richard Cotton, sir William Petre, sir William Cecil, sir

Council John Cheke, sir John Mason, sir Edward North, and sir Robert Bowes, in writes to Q. all one-and-twenty; letting her know, "that queen Jane was now their Mary.

sovereign, according to the ancient laws of the land, and the late king's letters patents, to whom they were now bound by their allegiance. They told her, that the marriage between her father and mother was dissolved by the ecclesiastical courts, according to the laws of God and of the land; that many noble universities in Christendom had consented to it; that the sentence had been confirmed in parliaments, and she had been declared illegitimate, and uninheritable to the crown. They therefore required her to give over her pretences, and not to disturb the government; and promised, that if she showed herself obedient, she should find them all ready to do her any service which in duty they could."

The day following they proclaimed queen Jane. The proclamation will be found in the

Lady Jane proclaimed Queen. Collection, Number 1. Collection. It sets forth "that the late king had by his letters patents limited the crown; that it should not descend to his two sisters, since they were both illegitimated by sentences in the spiritual courts and acts of parliament, and were only his sisters by the half-blood, who (though it were granted they had been legitimate) are not inheritable by the law of England. It was added, that there was also great cause to fear that the king's sisters might marry strangers, and so change the laws of the kingdom, and subject it to the tyranny of the bishops of Rome, and other foreign laws. For these reasons they were excluded from the succession; and the lady Frances, duchess of Suffolk, being next the crown, it was provided that if she had no sons at the death of the king, the crown should devolve immediately on her eldest daughter

Jane, and after her and her issue to her sisters ; since she was born within the kingdom, and already married in it. Therefore she was proclaimed queen, promising to be most benign and gracious to all her people, to maintain God's holy word and the laws of the land, requiring all the subjects to obey and acknowledge her." When this was proclaimed, great multitudes were gathered to hear it ; but there were very few that shouted with the acclamations ordinary on such occasions. And whereas a vintner's boy did somehow express his scorn at that which was done, it was ordered that he should be made an example the next day by being set on a pillory, and having his ears nailed to it, and cut off from his head ; which was accordingly done, a herald in his coat reading to the multitude that was called together, by sound of trumpet, the nature of his offence.

Upon this all people were in great distraction ; the proclamation, opening the new queen's title, came to be variously descanted on. Some who thought the crown descended by right of blood, and that it could not be limited by parliament, argued that the king having his power from God, it was only to descend in the natural way of inheritance ; therefore they thought the next heir was to succeed. And whereas the king's two sisters were both by several sentences and acts of parliament declared bastards ; and whether that was well judged or not, they were to be reputed such as the law declared them to be, so long as it stood in force ; therefore they held that the queen of Scotland was to succeed ; who, though she pretended this upon queen Mary's death, yet did not claim now, because by the papal law the sentence against queen Mary was declared null. Others argued, that though a prince were named by an immediate appointment from heaven, yet he might change the course of succession, as David did, preferring Solomon before Adonijah ; but this, it was said, did not belong to the kings of England, whose right to the crown with the extent of their prerogative did not come from any divine designation, but from a long possession, and the laws of the land ; and that therefore the king might by law limit the succession, as well as he and other kings had in some points limited the prerogative (which was clearly sir Thomas More's opinion) ; and that therefore the act of parliament for the succession of the king's sisters was still strong in law. It was also said, that if the king's sisters were to be excluded for bastardy, all Charles Brandon's issue were in the same predicament ; since he was not lawfully married to the French queen, his former wife Mortimer being then alive, and his marriage with her was never dissolved (for though some English writers say they were divorced, yet those who wrote for the queen of Scots' title in the next reign denied it) ; but in this the difference was great between them ; since the king's sisters were declared bastards in law, whereas this against Charles Brandon's issue was only a surmise. Others objected, that if the blood gave an indefeasible title, how came it that the lady Jane's mother did not reign ? It is true, Maud the empress, and Margaret countess of Richmond, were satisfied that their sons, Henry II. and Henry VII., should reign in their rights ; but it had never been heard of, that a mother had resigned to her daughter, especially when she was yet under age. But this was imputed to the duke of Suffolk's weakness, and the ambition of the duke of Northumberland. That objection concerning the half-blood, being a rule of common law in the families of subjects, to cut off from step-mothers the inclinations and advantages of destroying their husbands' children, was not thought applicable to the crown ; nor was that of one's being born out of the kingdom, which was hinted at to exclude the queen of Scotland, though pertinent to this case ; since there was an exception made in the law for the king's children, which was thought to extend to all their issue. But all people agreed in this, that though, by act of parliament, king Henry was empowered to provide or limit the crown, by his letters patents ; yet that was a grant particularly to him, and did not descend to his heirs ; so that the letters patents made by king Edward could have no force to settle the crown, and much less when they did expressly contradict an act of parliament. The proceeding so severely against the vintner's boy was imputed to the violent temper of the duke of Northumberland. And though when a government is firm, and factions are weak, the making some public examples may intimidate a faction otherwise disheartened ; yet severities, in such a juncture as this, when the council had no other support but the assistance of the people, seemed very unadvised, and all thought it was a great error to punish him in that manner.

This made them reflect on the rest of Northumberland's cruelties ; his bringing the duke of Somerset with those gentlemen that suffered with him to their end, by a foul conspiracy ; but, above all things, the suspicions that lay on him of being the author of the late king's untimely death, enraged the people so much against him, that without considering what they might suffer under queen Mary, they generally inclined to set her up.

The lady Jane was proclaimed in many towns near London, yet the people were generally running to queen Mary : many from Norfolk came to her, and a great body of Suffolk men gathered about her, who were all for the Reformation. They desired to know of her, whether she would alter the religion set up in king Edward's days ; to whom she gave full assurances, that she would never make any innovation or change, but be contented with the private exercise of her own religion. Upon this they were all possessed with such a belief of her sincerity, that it made them resolve to hazard their lives and estates in her quarrel. The earls of Bath and Sussex raised forces and joined with her ; so did the sons of the lord Wharton and Mordant, with many more.

Upon this the council resolved to gather forces for the dispersing of theirs, and sent the earl of Huntington's brother to raise Buckinghamshire, and others to other parts, ordering them to meet the forces that should come from London, at Newmarket. It was at first proposed to send the duke of Suffolk to command them ; but the lady Jane was so much concerned in her father's preservation, that she urged he might not be sent ; and he being but a soft man, was easily excused. So it fell next on the duke of Northumberland, who was now much distracted in his mind. He was afraid if he went way, the city might declare for queen Mary ; nor was he well assured of the council, who seemed all to comply with him, rather out of fear than good-will. Cecil would not officiate as secretary, as himself relates ; the judges would do nothing ; and the duke plainly saw, that if he had not (according to the custom of our princes on their first coming to the crown) gone with the lady Jane and the council into the Tower, whereby he kept them as prisoners, the council were inclined to desert him. This divided him much in his thoughts. The whole success of his design depended on the dispersing of the queen's forces ; and it was no less necessary to have a man of courage continue still in the Tower. There was none there whom he could entirely trust but the duke of Suffolk, and he was so mean-spirited that he did not depend much on him. But the progress the queen's forces made, pressed him to go, and make head against her. So he laid all the heavy charges he could on the council, to look to queen Jane, and to stand firmly to her interests ; and left London on the 14th of July, marching out with two thousand horse and six thousand foot. But as he rode through Bishopsgate-street and Shoreditch, though there were great crowds looking on, none cried out to wish him success, which gave a sad indication how ill they were affected to him.

The council writ to the emperor by one Shelley, whom they sent to give notice of the lady Jane's succession, complaining that the lady Mary was making stirs, and that his ambassador had officiously meddled in their affairs ; but that they had given orders for reducing the lady Mary to her duty. They also desired the continuance of his friendship, and that he would command his resident to carry himself as became an ambassador. Sir Philip Hobbey was continued ambassador there ; the others were ordered to stay and prosecute the mediation of the peace ; but the emperor would not receive those letters ; and in a few days there went over others from queen Mary.

Ridley was appointed to set out queen Jane's title in a sermon at Paul's, and to warn the people of the dangers they would be in if queen Mary should reign : which he did, and gave an account in his sermon of what had passed between him and her, when he went and offered to preach to her. At the same time the duke of Northumberland, at Cambridge, where himself was both chancellor of the university and steward of the town, made the vice-chancellor preach to the same purpose. But he held in more general terms, and managed it so that there was no great offence taken on either hand.

But now the queen had made her title be proclaimed at Norwich ; and sent letters all

over England, requiring the peers and others of great quality to come to her assistance. Some ships had been sent about to lie on that coast for intercepting her if she should fly away; but those who commanded them were so dealt with, that instead of acting against her, they declared for her. Sir Edward Hastings having raised four thousand men in Buckinghamshire, instead of joining with the duke of Northumberland, went over with them into her service. Many were also from all places every day running to her; and in several counties of England she was proclaimed queen. But none came in to the duke of Northumberland, so he writ earnestly to the lords at London to send him more supplies.

They understanding from all the corners of England that the tide grew everywhere strong for the queen, entered into consultations how to redeem their past faults, and to reconcile themselves to her. The earl of Arundel hated Northumberland to her. on many accounts. The marquis of Winchester was famous for his dexterity in shifting sides, always to his own advantage. To them joined the earl of Pembroke, the more closely linked to the interests of the lady Jane, since his son had married her sister, which made him the more careful to disentangle himself in time. To those, sir Thomas Cheney, warden of the Cinque-ports, and sir John Mason, with the two secretaries, came over. It was said that the French and Spanish ambassadors had desired an audience in some place in the city; and it was proposed to give it in the earl of Pembroke's house, who being the least suspected, it was agreed to by the duke of Suffolk that they should be suffered to go from the Tower thither. They also pretended, that since the duke of Northumberland had writ so earnestly for new forces, they must go and treat with my lord mayor and the city of London about it. But as soon as they were got out, the earl of Arundel pressed them to declare for queen Mary: and to persuade them to it, he laid open all the cruelty of Northumberland, under whose tyranny they must resolve to be enslaved if they would not now shake it off. The other consenting readily to it, they sent for the lord mayor, with the recorder and the aldermen; and having declared their resolutions to them,

they rode together into Cheapside, and there proclaimed queen Mary, on the 19th of July: from thence they went to Saint Paul's, where *Te Deum* was sung. An order was sent to the Tower to require the duke of Suffolk to deliver up that place, and to acknowledge queen Mary, and that the lady Jane should lay down the title of Queen. To this, as her father submitted tamely, so she expressed no sort of concern in losing that imaginary glory, which now had for nine days been rather a burden than any matter of joy to her. They also sent orders to the duke of Northumberland to disband his forces, and to carry himself as became an obedient subject to the queen. And the earl of Arundel, with the lord Paget, were sent to give her an account of it, who continued still at Framlingham in Suffolk.

The duke of Northumberland had retired back to Cambridge to stay for new men from London; but hearing how matters went there before ever the council's orders came to him, he dismissed his forces, and went to the market-place and proclaimed the queen, flinging up his own hat for joy, and crying, "God save Queen Mary!" But the earl of Arundel being sent by the queen to apprehend him, it is said, that when he saw him, he fell abjectly at his feet to beg his favour.

This was like him, it being not more unusual for such insolent persons to be most basely sunk with their misfortunes, than to be out of measure blown up with success. He was, on the 25th of July, sent to the Tower with the earl of Warwick, his eldest son, Ambrose and Henry, two of his other sons. Some other of his friends were made prisoners, among whom was sir Thomas Palmer, the wicked instrument of the duke of Somerset's fall, who was become his most intimate confidant, and

Dr. Sands, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge. With many more Prisoners, who were sent to the Tower of London.

Now did all people go to the queen to implore her mercy. She received them all very favourably, except the marquis of Northampton, Dr. Ridley, and lord Robert Dudley. The first of these had been a submissive fawner on the duke of Northumberland; the second had incurred her displeasure by his sermon, and she gladly laid hold on any colour to be more severe to him, that way might be made for bringing Bonner to London again; the

third had followed his father's fortunes. On the 27th, the lords chief justices, Cholmley and Montague, were sent to the Tower; and the day after, the duke of Suffolk and sir John Cheke went after them; the lady Jane and her husband being still detained in the Tower. Three days after an order came to set the duke of Suffolk at liberty, upon engagement to return to prison when the queen required it, for it was generally known that he had been driven on by Dudley; and as it was believed that he had not been faulty out of malice, so his great weakness made them little apprehensive of any dangers from him; and therefore the queen being willing to express a signal act of clemency at her first coming to the crown, it was thought best to let it fall on him.

Now did the queen come towards London, being met on the way by her sister Elizabeth with a thousand horse, who had gathered about her, to show their zeal to maintain both their titles, which in this late contest had been linked together. She made her entry to London on the 3rd of August with great solemnity and pomp.

When she came to the Tower, the duke of Norfolk, who had been almost seven years in it; Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, that had been five years there; the duchess of Somerset, that had been kept there near two years; and the lord Courtney (whom she made afterwards earl of Devonshire), that was son to the marquis of Exeter, and had been kept there ever since his father was attainted, had their liberty granted them. So now she was peaceably settled in the throne without any effusion of blood, having broke through a confederacy against her, which seemed to be so strong, that if he that was the head of it had not been universally odious to the nation, it could not have been so easily dissipated. She was naturally pious and devout, even to superstition; had a generous disposition of mind, but much corrupted by melancholy, which was partly natural in her, but much increased by the cross accidents of her life, both before and after her advancement; so that she was very peevish and splenetic towards the end of her life. When the differences became irreconcilable between her father and mother, she followed her

She had been in danger in her Father's time.

mother's interests, they being indeed her own; and for a great while could not be persuaded to submit to the king; who being impatient of contradiction from any, but especially from his own child, was resolved to strike a terror in all his

people, by putting her openly to death; which her mother coming to know, writ her a letter of a very devout strain, which will be found in the Collection. In which

Collection, Number 2.

she encouraged her to suffer cheerfully, to trust to God, and keep her heart clean. She charged her in all things to obey the king's commands, except in the matters of religion. She sent her two Latin books, the one of the Life of Christ (which was perhaps the famous book of Thomas à Kempis), and the other St. Jerome's Letter. She bid her divert herself at the virginals or lute, but above all things to keep herself pure, and to enter into no treaty of marriage till these ill times should pass over; of which her mother seemed to retain still good hopes." This letter should have been in my former volume if I had then seen it, but it is no improper place to mention it here. At court, many were afraid to

And was preserved by Cranmer's means.

move the king for her; both the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner looked on, and were unwilling to hazard their own interests to preserve her. But (as it was now printed, and both these appealed to) Cranmer was the only person that would adventure on it. In his gentle way, he told the king, that she was young and indiscreet, and therefore it was no wonder if she obstinately adhered to that

which her mother and all about her had been infusing into her for many years: but that it would appear strange if he should for this cause so far forget he was a father, as to proceed to extremities with his own child: that if she were separated from her mother and her people, in a little time there might be ground gained on her; but to take away her life, would raise horror through all Europe against him. By these means he preserved her at that time.

After her mother's death, in June following, she changed her note; for besides the declaration she then signed, which was inserted in the former part of this work, she writ letters of such submission as show how expert she was in dissembling. Three of these to her father, and one to Cromwell, I have put in the Collection; "in which she, with the most studied expressions, declaring her sorrow for her

She submitted to her Father. Collect. Num. 3, 4, 5, 6.

past stubbornness, and disobedience to his most just and virtuous laws, implores his pardon, as lying prostrate at his feet: and considering his great learning and knowledge, she puts her soul in his hand, resolving that he should for ever thereafter direct her conscience, from which she vows she would never vary." This she repeats in such tender words, that it shows she could command herself to say anything that she thought fit for her ends. And when Cromwell writ to her, to know "what her opinion was about pilgrimages, purgatory, and relics, she assures him she had no opinion at all but such as she should receive from the king, who had her whole heart in his keeping; and he should imprint upon it, in these and all other matters, whatever his inestimable virtue, high wisdom, and excellent learning should think convenient for her." So perfectly had she learned that style that she knew was most acceptable to him. Having copied these from the originals, I thought it not unfit to insert them, that it may appear how far those of that religion can comply when their interest leads them to it.

From that time, this princess had been in all points most exactly compliant to everything her father did. And after his death, she never pretended to be of any other religion than that which was established by him: so that all that she pleaded for, in her brother's reign, was only the continuance of that way of worship that was in use at her father's death. But now, being come to the crown, that would not content her; yet when she thought where to fix, she was distracted between two different schemes that were presented to her.

On the one hand, Gardiner and all that party were for bringing religion back to what it had been at king Henry's death; and afterward, by slow degrees, to raise it up to what it had been before his breach with the papacy. On the other hand, the queen, of her own inclination, was much disposed to return immediately to the union of the catholic church, as she called it: and it was necessary for her to do it, since it was only by the papal authority that her illegitimation was removed. To this it was answered, that all these acts and sentences that had passed against her might be annulled without taking any notice of the pope. Gardiner finding these things had not such weight with her as he desired, for she looked on him as a crafty temporizing man, sent over to the emperor, on whom she depended much, to assure him, that if he would persuade her to make him chancellor, and to put affairs into his hands, he should order them so that everything she had a mind to should be carried in time. But Gardiner understood she had sent for cardinal Pole; so he writ to the emperor, that he knew *his zeal* for the exaltation of the popedom would undo all; therefore he pressed him to write to the queen for moderating her heat, and to stop the cardinal's coming over. He said, that Pole stood attainted by law, so that his coming into England would alarm the nation. He observed, that upon a double account they were averse to the papacy: the one was, for the church lands, which they had generally bought from the crown on very easy terms, and they would not easily part with them. The other was, the fear they had of papal dominion and power, which had been now for about twenty-five years set out to the people as the most intolerable tyranny that ever was: therefore, he said, it was necessary to give them some time to wear out these prejudices; and the precipitating of councils might ruin all. He gave the emperor also secret assurances of serving him in all his interests. All this Gardiner did the more warily, because he understood that cardinal Pole hated him as a false and deceitful man. Upon this the emperor writ to the queen several letters with his own hand, which is so hardly legible that it was not possible for me, or some others to whom I showed them, to read them so well as to copy them out; and one that was written by his sister, the queen of Hungary, and signed by him, is no better; but from many half sentences, I find that all was with a design to temper her, that she should not make too much haste, nor be too much led by Italian counsels. Upon the return of this message, the seal, which had been taken from Goodrick, bishop of Ely, and put for some days in the keeping of Hare, master of the rolls, was, on the 13th of August, given to Gardiner, who was declared lord chancellor of England, and the conduct of affairs was chiefly put in his hands. So that now the measure of the queen's councils was to do everything slowly, and by such sure steps as might put them less in hazard.

The Designs
for changing
Religion.

Gardiner's
Policy.

He is made
Chancellor.



Engraved by J. Agnew.

JOHN DUDLEY, DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

OB. 1553.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

SIR JOHN SHELLEY SIDNEY, BART

The first thing that was done, was the bringing the duke of Northumberland to his trial. The old duke of Norfolk was made lord high steward; the queen thinking it fit to put the first character of honour on him, who had suffered so much for being the head of the popish party. And here a subtle thing was started, which had been kept a great secret hitherto. It was said, the duke of Norfolk had never been truly attainted, and that the act against him was not a true act of parliament; so that without any pardon, or restitution in blood, he was still duke of Norfolk*. This he had never mentioned all the last reign, lest that should have procured an act to confirm his attainder. So he came now in upon his former right, by which all the grants that had been given of his estate were to be declared void by common law. The duke of Northumberland, with the marquis of Northampton and the earl of Warwick, were brought to their trials. The duke desired two points might be first answered by the judges in matter of law. The one, whether a man, acting by the authority of the great seal and the order of the privy-council, could become thereby guilty of treason? The other was, whether those who had been equally guilty with him, and by whose direction and commands he had acted, could sit his judges? To these the judges made answer, that the great seal of one that was not lawful queen could give no authority nor indemnity to those that acted on such a warrant; and that any peer that was not, by an attainder upon record, convicted of such accession to his crime, might sit his judge, and was not to be challenged upon a surmise or report. So these points, by which only he could hope to have defended himself, being thus determined against him, he confessed he was guilty, and submitted to the queen's mercy. So did the marquis of Northampton and the duke's son, the earl of Warwick, who (it seems by this trial) had a writ for sitting in the house of peers: they were all three found guilty. Judgment also passed next day, in a jury of commoners, against sir John Gates and his brother, sir Henry; sir Andrew Dudley and sir Thomas Palmer confessing their indictments. But of all these it was resolved that only the duke of Northumberland, and sir John Gates and sir Thomas Palmer, should be made examples: Heath, bishop of Worcester, was employed to instruct the duke, and to prepare him for his death. Whether he had been always in heart what he then professed, or whether he only pretended it, hoping that it might procure him favour, is variously reported: but certain it is that he said he had been always a catholic in his heart; yet this could not save him. He was known to be a man of that temper, so given both to revenge and dissimulation, that his enemies saw it was necessary to put him out of the way, lest, if he had lived, he might have insinuated himself into the queen's favour, and then turned the danger upon them. So the earl of Arundel, now made lord steward of the household, with others, easily obtained that his head should be cut off, together with sir John Gates's and sir Thomas Palmer's.

On the 22d of August, he was carried to the place of execution. On the way, there was some expostulation between Gates and him; they, as is ordinary for complices in ill actions, laying the blame of their miseries on one another: yet they professed they did mutually forgive, and so died in charity together. It is said that he made a long speech, accusing his former ill life, and confessing his treasons: but that part of it which concerned religion is only preserved. In it he exhorted the people to stand to the religion of their ancestors, and to reject that of latter date, which had occasioned all the misery of the foregoing thirty years; and desired, as they would prevent the like for the future, that they would drive out of the nation these trumpets of sedition, the new preachers; that for himself, whatever he had otherwise pretended, he believed no other religion than that of his forefathers; in which he appealed to his ghostly father, the bishop of Worcester, then present with him; but being blinded with ambition, he had made wreck of his conscience by temporising, for which he professed himself sincerely penitent. So did he, and the other two, end their days. Palmer was little pitied, as being believed a treacherous conspirator against his former master and friend, the duke of Somerset.

* Yet in the second session of this parliament, a private act passed to make void the duke of Norfolk's attainder.—
STRYPE'S CORRECT.

Thus died the ambitious duke of Northumberland. He had been, in the former parts of his life, a great captain, and had the reputation of a wise man : he was generally successful ; and they that are so, are always esteemed wise. He was an extraordinary man in a lower size, but had forgot himself much when he was raised higher, in which his mind seemed more exalted than his fortunes. But as he was transported by his rage and revenge out of measure, so he was as servile and mean in his submissions. Fox, it seems, was informed that he had hopes given him of his life, if he should declare himself to be of the popish religion, even though his head were laid on the block : but which way soever he made that declaration, either to get his life by it, or that he had really been always what he now professed, it argued that he regarded religion very little either in his life or at his death. But whether he did anything to hasten the late king's death, I do not find it was at all inquired after : only those who considered how much guilt disorders all people, and that they have a black cloud over their minds, which appears either in the violence of rage or the abjectness of fear, did find so great a change in his deportment in these last passages of his life, from what was in the former parts of it, that they could not but think there was some extraordinary thing within him from whence it flowed.

And for king Edward's death, those who had affairs now in their hands were so little careful of his memory, and indeed so glad of his death, that it is no wonder they made little search about it. It is rather strange that they allowed him such funeral rites : for the queen kept a solemn exequy, with all the other remembrances of the dead, and masses for him, used in the Roman church, at the Tower, on the 8th of August, the same day that he was buried at Westminster ; the lord treasurer (who was the marquis of Winchester, still continued in that trust), the earls of Shrewsbury and Pembroke, being the principal mourners. Day, that was now to be restored to his see of Chichester, was appointed to preach the funeral sermon : in which he commended and excused the king, but loaded his government severely, and extolled the queen much, under whom he promised the people happy days. It was intended that all the burial rites should have been according to the old forms that were before the Reformation ; but Cranmer opposed this vigorously, and insisted upon it, that as the king himself had been a zealous promoter of that Reformation, so the English service was then established by law. Upon this he stoutly hindered any other way of officiating, and himself performed all the offices of the burial ; to which he joined the solemnity of a communion *. In these, it may be easily imagined, he did everything with a very lively sorrow ; since, as he had loved the king beyond expression, so he could not but look on his funeral as the burial of the Reformation, and in particular as a step to his own.

On the 12th of August, the queen made an open declaration in council, that although her conscience was staid in the matters of religion, yet she was resolved not to compel or strain others, otherwise than as God should put into their hearts a persuasion of that truth she was in ; and this she hoped should be done by the opening his word to them, by godly, virtuous, and learned preachers. Now all the deprived bishops looked to be quickly placed in their sees again. Bonner went to St. Paul's on the 13th of August, being Sunday, where Bourn, that was his chaplain, preached before him. He spake honourably of Bonner, with sharp reflections on the proceedings against him in the time of king Edward. This did much provoke the whole audience, who as they hated Bonner, so could not hear anything said that seemed to detract from that king. Hereupon there was a great tumult in the church ; some called A Tumult at Paul's Cross. to pull him down, others flung stones, and one threw a dagger towards the

* It is highly improbable that he, who was now under displeasure, about this time confined to his house, and soon after to the Tower, should be allowed to perform these offices in such a manner. *Godwin* [anno 1553] *Annal.* says, "Concionem habente Daio, Cicestr. Episcopo, qui etiam sacrum peregit vernacula usus Anglicana et Eucharistiam presentibus exhibuit," &c. To the same purport, *Holinshed*, vol. ii. p. 1089.—ANON. CORRECT. [The bishop's statement is confirmed by Strype in his *Ecclesi-*

astical Memoirs ; although it is remarkable that he omits mention of the fact in his *Life of Cranmer*. Its truth has been acknowledged by writers on both sides ; and the circumstance is accounted for, when the danger of exciting popular feeling too highly at such a critical moment is considered ; and Mary is supposed to have acted under the advice of the emperor's agents in giving way on the occasion.—ED.]

pulpit with that force, that it stuck fast in the timber of it; Bourn, by stooping, saved himself from that danger; and Rogers and Bradford, two eminent preachers, and of great credit with the people, stood up, and gently quieted the heat; and they, to deliver Bourn out of their hands, conveyed him from the pulpit to a house near the church.

This was such an accident as the papists would have desired; for it gave them a colour to proceed more severely, and to prohibit preaching, which was the first step they intended to make. There was a message sent to the lord mayor, to give a strict charge that every citizen should take care of all that belonged to him, and see that they went to their own parish church, and kept the peace; as also to acquaint them with what the queen had declared in council on the 13th of August. And on the 18th there was published an

An Inhibition of all Preaching.
ing. in the queen's name, to this effect: "that she, considering the great danger that had come to the realm, by the differences in religion, did declare for herself, that she was of that religion that she had professed from her infancy, and

that she would maintain it during her time, and be glad that all her subjects would charitably receive it; yet she did not intend to compel any of her subjects to it, till public order should be taken in it by common assent; requiring all, in the mean while, not to move sedition or unquietness, till such order should be settled, and not to use the names of Papist or Heretic, but to live together in love, and in the fear of God: but if any made assemblies of the people, she would take care they should be severely punished; and she straitly charged them, that none should preach or expound Scripture, or print any books or plays, without her special license. And required her subjects, that none of them should presume to punish any on pretence of the late rebellion, but as they should be authorised by her; yet she did not thereby restrain any from informing against such offenders: she would be most sorry to have cause to execute the severity of the law, but she was resolved not to suffer such rebellious doings to go unpunished, but hoped her subjects would not drive her to the extreme execution of the laws."

When this was published, it was much descanted on. The profession she made of her religion to be the same it had been from her infancy, showed it was not her father's religion, but entire popery that she intended to restore. It was also observed that whereas before she had said plainly she would compel none to be of it; now that was qualified with this, till public order should be taken in it; which was, till they could so frame a parliament, that it should concur with the queen's design. The equal forbidding of assemblies, or ill names, on both sides, was thought intended to be a trap for the reformed, that they should be punished if they offended, but the others were sure to be rather encouraged. The restraint of preaching without license, was pretended to be copied from what had been done in king Edward's time; yet then there was a liberty left for a long time to all to preach in their own churches, only they might preach nowhere else without a license; and the power of licensing was also lodged at first with the bishops in their several dioceses, and at last with the archbishop of Canterbury, as well as with the king; whereas now, at one stroke, all the pulpits of England that were in the hands of the reformed, were brought under an interdict; for they were sure to obtain no licenses. But the cunningest part of these inhibitions was, the declaring that the queen would proceed with rigour against all that were guilty of the late rebellion, if they should provoke her; many about London had some way or other expressed themselves for it, and these were the hottest among the reformed; so that here was a sharp threatening hanging over them, if they should express any more zeal about religion.

When this was put out, the queen understanding that in Suffolk those of that profession took a little more liberty than their neighbours, presuming on their great merit, and She requites the Service of the Men of Suffolk ill. the queen's promises to them; there was a special letter sent to the bishop of Norwich's vicar, himself being at Brussels, to see to the execution of these injunctions against any that should preach without license. Upon this some came from Suffolk to put the queen in mind of her promise. This was thought insolent; and she returned them no other answer, but that they being members, thought to rule her that was their head; but they should learn that the members ought to obey the head, and not to think to bear rule over it. One of these had spoken of her promise with more confidence

than the rest ; his name was Dobbe ; so he was ordered to stand three days in the pillory, as having said that which tended to the defamation of the queen. And from hence all saw what a severe government they were to come under, in which the claiming of former promises that had been made by the queen when she needed their assistance, was to be accounted a crime. But there was yet a more unreasonable severity showed to Bradford and Rogers, who had appeased the tumult the Sunday before, and rescued the preacher from the rage of the people. It was said that their appeasing it so easily, showed what interest they had with the people, and was a presumption that they had set it on ; so without any further proof, the one was put in the Tower, and the other confined to his house.

But now the deprived bishops, who were Bonner of London, Gardiner of Winchester, The Popish Bishops restored. Tonstall of Durham, Heath of Worcester, and Day of Chichester, were to be restored to their sees. I have only seen the commission for restoring Bonner and Tonstall ; but the rest were no doubt in the same strain, with a little variation. The commission for Bonner, bearing date the 22d of August, was directed to some civilians, setting forth that he had petitioned the queen to examine the appeal he had made from the delegates that had deprived him ; and that therefore the sentence against him being unjust and illegal, he desired it might be declared to be of no effect. Upon which these did, without any great hesitation, return the sentences void and the appeals good. So thus they were restored to their sees. But because the bishopric of Durham was by act of parliament dissolved, and the regalities of it, which had been given to the duke of Northumberland, were now by his attainder fallen into the queen's hand, she granted Tonstall letters patents, erecting that bishopric again of new ; making mention that some wicked men, to enrich themselves by it, had procured it to be dissolved.

On the 29th of August commission was granted to Gardiner to give licenses under the great seal to such grave, learned, and discreet persons, as he should think meet and able to preach God's word. All who were so licensed, were qualified to preach in any cathedral or parochial church, to which he should think it convenient to send them. The Consultations among the Reformed Doctors. By this the reformers were not only out of hope to obtain any licenses, but likewise saw a way laid down for sending such men as Gardiner pleased into all their pulpits, to infect their people. Upon this they considered what to do. If there had been only a particular interdiction of some private persons, the considerations of peace and order being of a more public nature than the consequence of any one man's open preaching could be, they judged it was to be submitted to ; but in such a case, when they saw this interdiction was general, and on design to stop their mouths till their enemies should seduce the people, they did not think they were bound in conscience to give obedience. Many of them therefore continued to preach openly ; others, instead of preaching in churches, were contented to have only the prayers and other service there ; but for instructing their people, had private conferences with them. The council hearing that their orders had been disobeyed by some in London, two in Coventry, and one in Amersham, they were sent for, and put in prison. And Coverdale bishop of Exeter, and Hooper of Gloucester, being cited to appear before the council, they came and presented themselves on the 29th and 30th of August ; and on the 1st of September, Hooper was sent to the Fleet, and Coverdale appointed to wait their pleasure.

At this time the popish party, growing now insolent over England, began to be as forward in making changes before the laws warranted them, as those of the Reformation had been in king Edward's time ; so that in many places they set up images, and the Latin service, with the old rites again. This was plainly against law, but the council had no mind to hinder it ; but on the other hand encouraged it all they could. Upon which judge

The barbarous usage of Judge Hales. Hales, who thought he might with the more assurance speak his mind, having appeared so steadily for the queen, did at the quarter sessions in Kent, give a charge to the justices to see to the execution of king Edward's laws, which were still in force and unrepealed. Upon this he was, without any regard to his former zeal, put first into the King's Bench ; from thence he was removed to the Counter, and after that to the Fleet ; where the good old man was so disordered with the cruelties that the warden told him

were contriving against all that would not change their religion*, that it turned his brain, so that he endeavoured to have killed himself with a penknife. He was after that, upon his submission, set at liberty; but never came to himself again: so he not being well looked to, drowned himself. This, with the usage of the Suffolk men, was much censured; and from thence it was said, that no merits or services could secure any from the cruelties of that religion. And it appeared in another signal instance, how the actions of men were not so much considered as their religion. The lord chief justice Montague, who had very unwillingly drawn the letters patents for the lady Jane's succession, was turned out of his place, kept six weeks in prison, fined in a thousand pounds, and some lands that had been given him by king Edward were taken from him; though he had sent his son with twenty men to declare for the queen, and had a great family of seventeen children, six sons and eleven daughters: whereas judge Bromley that had concurred in framing the letters patents without any reluctance, was made lord chief justice: the true reason was, Bromley was a papist in his heart, and Montague was for the Reformation.

In many other places where the people were popishly affected, they drove away their pastors. At Oxford, Peter Martyr was so ill used, that he was forced to fly for his safety

Cranmer declared openly against the Mass.

to Lambeth, where he could not look for any long protection, since Cranmer himself was every day in expectation of being sent to prison. He kept himself quiet,

and was contriving how to give some public and noble testimonies to the doctrine that he had so long professed, and indeed had been the chief promoter of in this church. But his quiet behaviour was laid hold on by his enemies, and it was given out that he was resolved to comply with everything the queen had a mind to. So I find

Bonner's Insolence, Collection, Number 7.

Bonner wrote to his friend Mr. Lechmore on the 6th of September, in that letter which is in the Collection. "He gives him notice that the day before he had been restored to his bishopric, and Ridley repulsed; for which he is very witty.

Ridley had a steward for two manors of his, whose name was Shipside, his brother-in-law; upon which he plays as if he had been sheep's-head. He orders Lechmore to look to his estate, and he should take care at the next parliament that both the sheep's-heads and the calves' heads should be used as they deserved. He adds that Cranmer, whom in scorn he calls Mr. Canterbury, was become very humble, and ready to submit himself in all things; but that would not serve his turn: and it was expected that he should be sent to the Tower that very day." These reports being brought to Cranmer, some advised him to fly beyond seas: he said he would not dissuade others from that course, now that they saw a persecution rising; but considering the station he was in, and the hand he had in all the changes that were made, he thought it so indecent a thing for him to fly, that no

Cranmer's Declaration, Collection, Number 8.

entreaties should ever persuade him to it. So he by Peter Martyr's advice, drew up a writing, that I have put in the Collection (in Latin, as it was at that time translated). The substance of it was to this effect; "that as the devil had at

all times set on his instruments by lies to defame the servants of God, so he was now more than ordinarily busy. For whereas king Henry had begun the correcting of the abuses of the mass, which his son had brought to a further perfection; and so the Lord's supper was restored to its first institution, and was celebrated according to the pattern of the primitive church; now the devil intending to bring the mass again into its room, as being his own invention, had stirred up some to give out that it had been set up in Canterbury by his the said Cranmer's order; and it was said that he had undertaken to sing mass to the queen's majesty, both at king Edward's funeral, at Paul's, and other places; and though for these twenty years he had despised all such vain and false reports as were spread of him, yet now he thought it not fit to lie under such misrepresentations. Therefore he protested to ail the world, that the mass was not set up at Canterbury by his order; but

* Judge Hales changed his religion: so Fox, vol. iii. p. 597. "Judge Hales never fell into that inconvenience before he had consented to papistry." This, probably, was one great occasion of his melancholy. So Fox, more expressly, in the first edition of his book, p. 1116: "He was cast forthwith into a great repentance of the deed, and into a terror of conscience." And Bradford [Letters of

the Martyrs, p. 384] proposes him as an example of one, "that was fearfully left of God to our admonition."—ANON. CORRECT. The reason of the wounding himself was the trouble of mind that he felt for his compliance, upon bishop Day's communication with him the day before.—STURGE'S CORRECT.

that a fawning hypocritical monk (this was Thornton, suffragan of Dover), had done it without his knowledge; and for what he was said to have undertaken to the queen, her majesty knew well how false that was; offering, if he might obtain her leave for it, to maintain, that everything in the communion service that was set out by their most innocent and good king Edward, was according to Christ's institution, and the practice of the apostles, and the ancient church for many ages; to which the mass was contrary, being full of errors and abuses; and although Peter Martyr was by some called an ignorant man, he with him, or other four or five, such as he should choose, would be ready to defend not only their book of Common-prayer, and the other rites of their service, but the whole doctrine and order of religion, set forth by the late king, as more pure, and more agreeable to the word of God, than any sort of religion that had been in England for a thousand years before it; provided that all things should be judged by the Scriptures, and that the reasonings on both sides should be faithfully written down."

This he had drawn, with a resolution to have made a public use of it; but Scory, who had been bishop of Chichester, coming to him, he showed him the paper, and Published without his knowledge. bade him consider of it. Scory indiscreetly gave copies of it; and one of these was publicly read in Cheapside on the 5th of September. So on the 8th of that month he was called before the Star Chamber, and asked whether he was the author of that seditious bill that was given out in his name; and if so, whether he was sorry for it. He answered, that the bill was truly his; but he was very sorry it had gone from him in such a manner, for he had resolved to have enlarged it in many things, and to have But owned by him before the Council. ordered it to be affixed to the doors of Paul's, and of the other churches in London, with his hand and seal to it. He was at that time, contrary to all men's expectation, dismissed. Gardiner plainly saw he could not expect to succeed him, and that the queen had designed that see for cardinal Pole; so he resolved to protect and preserve Cranmer all he could. Some moved that he should be only put from his bishopric, and have a small pension assigned him, with a charge to keep within a confinement, and not to meddle with matters of religion. He was generally beloved for the gentleness of his temper; so it was thought that proceeding severely with him might alienate some from them, and embroil their affairs in the next parliament. Others objected, that if he, who had been the chief promoter of heresy, was used with such tenderness, it would encourage the rest to be more obstinate. And the queen, who had forgot the services he did her in her father's time, remembering rather that he had pronounced the sentence of divorce against her mother, was easily induced to proceed severely. So on the 13th of September, both he and Latimer were called before the council. Latimer was that day committed; but Cranmer was respited till next day, and then he was sent to the Tower, both for matters of treason against the queen, and for dispersing of seditious bills. Tylor, of Hadlee, and several other preachers, were also put in prison; and upon an information brought against Horn, dean of Durham, he was sent for.

The foreigners that were come over upon public faith and encouragement, were better used: for Peter Martyr was preserved from the rage of his enemies, and suffered to go beyond sea. There was also an order sent to John à Lasco and his congregation to be gone; their church being taken from them, and their corporation dissolved. And a hundred and seventy-five of them went away in two ships to Denmark, on the 17th of September, with all their preachers, except two, who were left to look to those few which staid behind, and being engaged in trade resolved to live in England, and follow their consciences in the matters of religion in private, with the assistance of those teachers. But à Lasco, after a long and hard passage, arriving at Denmark, was as ill received there as if it had been a popish country, when they understood that he and his company were of the Helvetian confession: so that, though it was December, and a very severe winter, they were required to be gone within two days, and could not obtain so much as liberty to leave their wives or children behind them, till they could provide a place for them. From thence they went, first to Lubeck, then to Wismar and Hamburg, where they found the disputes about the manner of Christ's presence in the Sacrament had raised such violent animosities, that after much barbarous usage, they were banished out of all those

The Foreigners sent out of England.

towns, and could find no place to settle in till about the end of March, that they came to Friesland, where they were suffered to plant themselves.

Many in England, seeing the government was set on severe courses so early, did infer that this would soon grow up to an extreme persecution; so that above a thousand persons fled beyond seas: most of them went in the company, and as the servants of French protestants, who having come over in king Edward's time, were now required, as the Germans had been, to return into their own country. The council understanding this, took care that no Englishman should escape out of their hands; and therefore sent an order to the ports, that none should be suffered to go over as Frenchmen, but those who brought certificates from the French ambassador. Among those that had got over, some eminent divines went, who, either having no cures, or being turned out of their benefices, were not under such ties to any flock, so that they judged themselves disengaged, and therefore did not, as hirelings, leave their flock to the persecution then imminent, but rather went to look after those who had now left England. The chief of these that went at first were Cox, Sands, Grindal, and Horn. Cox was, without any good colour, turned out both of his deanery of Christ Church and his prebendary at Westminster. He was put into the Marshalsea, but on the 19th of August was discharged. Sands was turned out for his sermon before the duke of Northumberland at Cambridge: on what account Grindal was turned out I know not; Horn, soon after he got beyond sea, printed an apology for his leaving his country: he tells that he heard there was some crimes against the state objected to him, which made him come up from Durham to clear himself; it was said that three letters had been written to him in the queen's name, requiring him to come up, and intimating that they were resolved to charge him with contempt, and other points of state. He protests that he had never received but one, which was given him on the road; but seeing how he was like to be used, he withdrew out of England: upon which he takes occasion in that discourse to vindicate the preachers in king Edward's time, against whom it was now objected, that they had neglected fasting and prayer, and had allowed the people all sorts of liberty: this he said was so false, that the ruling men in that time were much offended at the great freedom which the preachers then took, so that many of them would hear no more sermons; and he says for himself, that though Tonstall was now his great enemy, he had refused to accept of his bishopric, and was ill-used and threatened for denying to take it.

All these things tended much to inflame the people. Therefore great care was taken, first, to oblige all those noblemen who had assisted the queen at her coming to the crown; since a grateful acknowledgment of past services is the greatest encouragement, both to the same persons to renew them, and to others to undertake the like upon new occasions. The earl of Arundel was made lord steward; sir Edward Hastings was made master of the horse, and afterwards lord Hastings; sir John Gage, lord chamberlain; sir John Williams, who had proclaimed the queen in Oxfordshire, was made lord Williams; and sir Henry Jerningham, that first gathered the men of Norfolk about her, was made captain of her guard: but Ratcliff, earl of Sussex, had done the most considerable service of them all; for to him she had given the chief command of her army, and he had managed it with that prudence, that others were thereby encouraged to come in to her assistance; so an unusual honour was contrived for him, that he might cover his head in her presence: which passed under the great seal the 2nd of October; he being the only peer of England on whom this honour was ever conferred, as far as I know*. The like was granted to the lord Courcy, baron of Kingsale in Ireland, whose posterity enjoy it to this day: but I am not so well informed of that family as to know by which of our kings it was first granted. The queen having summoned a parliament to the 5th of October, was crowned on the 1st of that month by Gardiner, who with ten other bishops, all in their mitres, copes, and crosiers, performed that ceremony with great solemnity; Day preaching the coronation

* Dr. Fuller assures us, in his Church History, book ix. p. 167. that he had seen a charter granted by king Henry VIII. the 16th of July, in the eighteenth of his reign, and confirmed by act of parliament, to Francis Brown, a

commoner, giving him leave to put on his cap in the presence of the king and his heirs, and not to put it off but for his own ease and pleasure.—GRANGER'S CORRECT.

sermon, who, it seems, was accounted the best preacher among them, since he was ordered to preach both at the late king's funeral, and now again at the coronation.

But Gardiner had prepared a largess of an extraordinary nature for the queen to distribute that day among her people, besides her general pardon; he caused a proclamation to be published, which did set forth, "That whereas the good subjects of England had always exhibited aid to their princes when the good of the public and honour of the realm required it; and though the queen, since her coming to the crown, found the treasury was marvellously exhausted by the evil government of late years, especially since the duke of Northumberland bare rule; though she found herself charged with divers great sums of her father and brother's debts, which for her own honour and the honour of the realm she determined to pay in times convenient and reasonable; yet having a special regard to the welfare of her subjects, and accounting their loving hearts and prosperity the chiefest treasure which she desired, next to the favour and grace of God; therefore, since in her brother's last parliament, two-tenths, two-fifteenths, and a subsidy both out of lands and goods, were given to him for paying his debts, which were now due to her; she of her great clemency did fully pardon and discharge these subsidies; trusting her said good subjects will have loving consideration thereof for their parts, whom she heartily requires to bend themselves wholly to God, to serve him sincerely, and with continual prayer, for the honour and advancement of the queen and the commonwealth."

And thus matters were prepared for the parliament, which was opened the 5th of October. In the writ of summons, and all other writs, the queen retained still the title of Supreme Head. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, and Harley, bishop of Hereford, came thither, resolving to justify their doctrine. Most of the other reformed bishops were now in prison: for besides those formerly mentioned, on the 4th of

A Parliament summoned.

Bishops violently thrust out for not worshipping the Mass.

Great disorder in Elections.

October the archbishop of York was put in the Tower, no cause being given, but heinous offences only named in general. When the mass began, it is said that those two bishops withdrew, and were upon that never suffered to come to their places again. But one Hales, the clerk of the council in queen Elizabeth's time, reports this otherwise, and more probably; that bishop Taylor took his place in his robes, but refusing to give any reverence to the mass, was violently thrust out of the house. He says nothing of Harley, so it is probable that he followed the other. The

same writer also informs us, that in many places of the country, men were chosen by force and threats; in other places those employed by the court did by violence hinder the commons from coming to choose; in many places false returns were made; and that some were violently turned out of the house of commons: upon which

reasons he concludes that it was no parliament, since it was under a force; and so might be annulled, as the parliament held at Coventry in the thirty-eighth year of king Henry the Sixth was, upon evidence of the like force, declared afterwards to be no parliament. The Journals of the house of lords in this parliament are lost; so there is no light to be had of their proceedings, but from the imperfect Journals of the house of commons.

On the second day of the session, one moved in the house of commons for a review of king Edward's laws. But that being a while argued, was at this time laid aside, and the bill for tonnage and poundage was put in. Then followed a debate upon Dr. Nowell's being returned from Loo in Cornwall, whether he being a prebendary of Westminster could sit in that house? and the committee being appointed to search for precedents, it was reported, that he being represented in the convocation-house, could not be a member of that house; so he was cast out*. The bill of tonnage and poundage was sent up to the lords, who sent it down to the commons to be reformed in two provisos that were not according to former precedents. How far this was contrary to the rights of the commons, who now say that the lords cannot alter a bill of money, I am not able to determine. The

An Act for moderating some severe Laws.

only public bill that passed in this short session was for a declaration of treasons and felonies: by which it was ordained that nothing should be judged treason but what was within the statute of treasons in the twenty-fifth of Edward the Third; and nothing should be so judged felony that was not so before the first

* Yet Tregonnell, a prebendary of Westminster, sat in the house in the second sessions of this parliament.—
STRYPE'S CORRECT.

year of king Henry the Eighth, excepting from any benefit of this act all such as had been in prison for treason, petty-treason, or misprision of treason: such were also excepted who stood attainted or imprisoned the last day of September; who were also excepted out of the queen's pardon at her coronation. Two private bills also passed; the one for the restoring of the wife of the late marquis of Exeter, who had been attainted in the thirty-second year of king Henry's reign; and the other for her son Edward Courtney, earl of Devonshire. And so the parliament was prorogued from the 21st to the 24th of October, that there might be a session of parliament consisting only of acts of mercy; though this repeal of additional treasons and felonies was not more than what had passed in the beginning of king Edward's reign, without the clog of so severe a proviso, by which many were cut off from the favour designed by it.

Some have thought, that since treasons had been reduced by the second act of Edward VI. to the standard of the 25th of Edward III., that therefore there was somewhat else designed by this act than barely the repealing some late severe acts; which being done, the 1st of Edward VI. needed not be now repealed, if it imported no more. And since this act, as it is worded, mentions, or rather excepts, those treasons that are declared and expressed in the 25th of Edward III., they have inferred that the power of parliaments, declaring of treasons *ex post facto*, which was reserved by that statute, is hereby taken away, and that nothing is now to be held treason but what is enumerated in that statute. Yet this is still liable to debate, since the one may be thought to be declared and expressed in general words, as well as the other specialties are in more particular words, and is also still in force. So nothing seems comprehended within this repeal but the acts passed in king Edward's reign, declaring other crimes to be treason: some are added in the same act, and others in that of the 3rd and 4th of his reign, chap. 5. Nor is it likely, that if the parliament had intended to have delivered the subjects from the apprehensions of all acts of attainder upon a declaration of new treasons, they would not have expressed it more plainly; since it must have been very grateful to the nation, which had groaned heavily under arbitrary attainders of late years.

When the parliament met again, the first bill the commons entered on was that of tonnage and poundage, which they passed in two days. Then was the bill about king Henry's marriage with the queen's mother sent down on the 26th by the lords, and the commons passed it on the 28th; so strangely was the stream turned, that a divorce, that had been for seven years much desired by the nation, was now repealed upon fewer days' consultation. In the preamble it was said, "That truth, how much soever obscured and borne down, will in the end break out; and that therefore they declared that king Henry VIII., being lawfully married to queen Katherine by the consent of both their parents, and the advice of the wisest men in the realm, and of the best and notablest men for learning in Christendom, did continue that state twenty years, in which God blessed them with her majesty and other issue, and a course of great happiness; but then a very few malicious persons did endeavour to break that happy agreement between them, and studied to possess the king with a scruple in his conscience about it; and to support that, caused the seals of some universities to be got against it, a few persons being corrupted with money for that end. They had also, by sinister ways and secret threatenings, procured the seals of the universities of this kingdom; and finally, Thomas Cranmer did most ungoddily and against law judge the divorce upon his own unadvised understanding of the Scriptures, upon the testimonies of the universities, and some bare and most untrue conjectures; and that was afterwards confirmed by two acts of parliament, in which was contained the illegitimacy of her majesty: but that marriage not being prohibited by the law of God, and lawfully made, could not be so broken; since what God hath joined together no man could put asunder: all which they considering, together with the many miseries that had fallen on the kingdom since that time, which they did esteem plagues sent from God for it; therefore they declare that sentence given by Cranmer to be unlawful, and of no force from the beginning: and do also repeal the acts of parliament that had confirmed it."

By this act, Gardiner had performed his promise to the queen, of getting her illegitima-

tion taken off without any relation to the pope's authority. But in the drawing of it, he showed that he was past all shame; when he could frame such an act of a business which himself had so violently and servilely promoted. The falsehood of that pretence of corrupting universities has been shown in the former volume: but it was all they had now to say. The laying it all upon Cranmer was as high a pitch of malice and impudence as could be devised: for as Gardiner had been setting it on long before Cranmer was known to king Henry, so he had been joined with him in the commission, and had given his assent to the sentence which Cranmer gave. Nor was the divorce grounded merely upon Cranmer's understanding of the Scriptures, but upon the fullest and most studied arguments that had perhaps been in any age brought together in one particular case: and both houses of convocation had condemned the marriage before his sentence; but because in the right of his see he was legate to the pope, therefore, to make the sentence stronger, it went only in his name, though he had but a small share in it compared to what Gardiner had.

By this act, there was also a second illegitimation brought on the lady Elizabeth, to whom hitherto the queen had been very kind, using her on all occasions with the tenderness of a sister; but from this time forwards she handled her more severely. It was perhaps occasioned by this act, since before they stood both equally illegitimated; but now the act that legitimated the queen making her most certainly a bastard in law, the queen might think it now too much to use her as she had done formerly. Others suggest a more secret reason of this distaste. The new earl of Devonshire was much in the queen's favour, so that it was thought she had some inclinations to marry him; but he, either not presuming so high, or really having an aversion to her, and an inclination to her sister, who, of that moderate share of beauty that was between them, had much the better of her, and was nineteen years younger, made his addresses with more than ordinary concern to the lady Elizabeth; and this did bring them both in trouble, as shall be afterwards shown.

The next bill that was sent from the lords to the commons was for the repealing king Edward's laws about religion. It was sent down on the 31st of October, and argued six days in the house of commons; but in the end it was carried, and sent back to the lords. The preamble of it sets forth the great disorders that had fallen out in the nation by the changes that had been made in religion from that which their forefathers had left them by the authority of the catholic church: thereupon all the laws that had been made in king Edward's time about religion were now repealed; and it was enacted, that from the 20th of December next there should be no other form of divine service but what had been used in the last year of king Henry VIII., leaving it free to all till that day, to use either the books appointed by king Edward, or the old ones, at their pleasure.

Another act was passed, which the commons sent up to the lords, against all those who by any overt act should molest or disquiet any preacher because of his office, or for any sermon that he might have preached; or should any way disturb them when they were in any part of the divine offices, that either had been in the last year of king Henry, or should be afterwards set forth by the queen; or should break or abuse the holy sacrament, or break altars, crucifixes, or crosses: those that did any of these things should be presented to the justices of peace, and be by them put in prison, where they should lie three months, or till they were penitent for their offences; and if any rescued them, they should be liable to the same punishment. But to this a proviso was added by the lords, that this act should no way derogate from the authority of the ecclesiastical laws and courts, who might likewise proceed upon such offences: and a certificate from the ordinaries, that such offenders were punished by them, being brought to the justices of peace, they were to proceed no further: or if the justices made a certificate that they had punished them according to law, the ordinary might not punish them a second time. But the commons were now so heated, that they sent up another bill to the lords against those who came not to church, nor to sacraments, after the old service should be again set up; the inflicting of the punishments in these cases being left to the ecclesiastical courts. This fell

Which was much censured.

The Queen carries it severely to the Lady Elizabeth.

The Laws made by King Edward repealed.

An Act against the affronting Priests.

in the house of lords, not so much from any opposition that was made, as that they were afraid of alarming the nation too much by many severe laws at once.

Another law was made for securing the public peace against unlawful and rebellious assemblies: that if any, to the number of twelve or above, should meet to alter anything of religion established by law, and being required by any, having the queen's authority, to disperse themselves, should continue after that an hour together, it should be felony: or if that number met to break hedges or parks, to destroy deer or fish, &c., and did not disperse upon proclamation, it should be felony: or if any, by ringing of bells, drums, or firing of beacons, gathered the people together, and did the things before mentioned, it was felony: if the wives or servants of persons so gathered, carried meat, money, or weapons to them, it should be felony: and if any above the number of two, and within twelve, should meet for these ends, they should suffer a year's imprisonment; empowering the sheriffs or justices to gather the country for the resistance of persons so offending, with penalties on all, between eighteen and sixty, that, being required to come out against them, should refuse to do it. When this act was known, the people then saw clearly how they had been deceived by the former act, that seemed so favourable, repealing all acts of new treasons and felonies; since there was so soon after it an act passed that renewed one of the severest laws of the last reign, in which so many things that might flow from sudden heats were made felonies, and a great many new and severe provisos were added to it. The queen's discharge of the subsidy was confirmed by another act.

There followed two private acts, which occasioned more debate than the public ones had done. The one was, the repeal of the act that had confirmed the marquis of Northampton's marriage: it was much argued in the house of commons, and on the 28th of November it was agreed to. It contains, that the act of confirming the divorce and the second marriage was procured more upon untrue surmises and private respects than for any public good and increase of virtue; and that it was an encouragement for sensual persons to practise by false allegations that they might be separated from their wives, rather than a precedent to induce people to live with their wives in a godly sort: thereupon the act was repealed, and declared void and of no effect. In this, it seems, the arguments that were against it in the house of commons had so moderated the style of it, that it was not repealed as an act sinful in itself, but it was only declared that in that particular case the divorce was unlawfully made: for it is reasonable to believe that the bishops had put in the first draught of the bill a simple repeal of it, and of all such divorces, founded on the indissolubleness of the marriage bond.

The other act was about the duke of Norfolk, for declaring his attainder void. The patentees that had purchased some parts of his estate from the crown, desired to be heard to plead against it: but the session of the parliament being near at an end, the duke came down himself to the house of commons on the 4th of December, and desired them earnestly to pass his bill; and said that the difference between him and the patentees was referred to arbiters, and if they could not agree it, he would refer it to the queen. It was long argued after that, but in the end it was agreed to. It sets forth, that the act by which he was attainted had no special matter in it, but only treasons in general, and a pretence that out of the parliament's care for the king, and his son the prince, it was necessary to attain him: that the reasons they pretended, were his using coats-of-arms, which he and his ancestors had and might lawfully use. It further says, that the king died the next night after the commission was given for passing the bill; and that it did not appear that the king had given his assent to it. That the commission was not signed by the king's hand, but only by his stamp; and that was put to the nether end, and not to the upper part of the bill, which showed it was done in disorder; and that it did not appear that those commissioned for it had given the royal assent to it. Upon which considerations that pretended act is declared void and null by the common laws of the land. And it is further declared, that the law was, and ever hath been, that the royal assent should be given either by the king being present, or, in his absence, by a commission under the great seal, signed with his hand, and publicly notified to the lords and commons.

The last act of which I shall give an account, was the confirmation of the attainders that

had been made. On the 13th of November, archbishop Cranmer, the lord Guilford Dudley, Cranmer and the lady Jane his wife, with two other sons of the duke of Northumberland, (which were all, except the lord Robert, who was reserved for greater fortunes,) were brought to their trial. These all confessed their indictments. Only Cranmer appealed to those that judged him, how unwillingly he had consented to the exclusion of the queen; that he had not done it, till those whose profession it was to know the law had signed it: upon which he submitted himself to the queen's mercy. But they were all attainted of high treason, for levying war against the queen, and conspiring to set up another in her room. So these judgments, with those that had passed before, were now confirmed by act of parliament.

And now Cranmer was legally divested of his archbishopric, which was hereupon void in law, since a man that is attainted can have no right to any church benefice; his life was also at the queen's mercy. But it being now designed to restore the ecclesiastical exemption and dignity to what it had been anciently, it was resolved, that he should be still esteemed archbishop, till he were solemnly degraded according to the canon law. The queen was also inclined to give him his life at this time, reckoning, that thereby she was acquitted of all the obligations she had to him; and was resolved to have him proceeded against for heresy, that so it might appear she did not act out of revenge, or on any personal account. So all that followed on this against Cranmer, was a sequestration of all the fruits of his archbishopric; himself was still kept in prison: nor were the other prisoners proceeded against at this time. The queen was desirous to seem willing to pardon injuries done against herself, but was so heated in the matters of religion, that she was always inexorable on that head.

Having given this account of public transactions, I must relate next what were more secretly carried on, but breaking out at this time, occasioned the sudden dissolution of the parliament.

Cardinal Dandino, that was then the pope's legate at the emperor's court, sent over Commendone (afterwards a cardinal) to bring him a certain account of the queen's intentions concerning religion; he gave him in charge, to endeavour to speak with her in private, and to persuade her to reconcile her kingdom to the apostolic see. This was to be managed with great secrecy, for they did not know whom to trust in so important a negotiation: it seems, they neither confided in Gardiner, nor in any of the other bishops. Commendone, being thus instructed, went to Newport, where he gave himself out to be the nephew of a merchant that was lately dead at London, and hired two servants to whom he was unknown, and so he came over unsuspected to London. There he was so much a stranger, that he did not know to whom he should address himself. By accident he met with one Lee, a servant of the queen's, that had fled beyond sea during the former reign, and had been then known to him; so he trusted him with the secret of his business in England. He procured him a secret audience of the queen, in which she freely owned to him her resolution of reconciling her kingdom to the see of Rome, and so of bringing all things back to the state in which they had been before the breach made by her father: but she said it was absolutely necessary to manage that design with great prudence and secrecy, lest in that confusion of affairs, the discovery of it might much disturb her government, and obstruct her design. She writ by him to the pope, giving him assurance of her filial obedience, and so sent Commendone to Rome. She also writ by him to cardinal Pole, and ordered Commendone to move the pope, that he might be sent over with a legatine power. Yet he that writ that cardinal's life insinuates, that the queen had another design in desiring that Pole might be sent over; for she asked him, whether the pope might not dispense with the cardinal to marry, since he was only in deacon's orders? Before Commendone left England, he saw the duke of Northumberland executed, and soon after he made all the haste that was possible to carry those acceptable tidings to Rome; and by his dexterity in this negotiation, he laid the foundation of those great fortunes, to which he was afterwards advanced. There was no small joy in the consistory when the pope and the cardinals understood that a kingdom from which they had drawn so much wealth in former times was now to become again tributary to them. So

But the See of
Canterbury
not declared
void.

The Queen
treats about a
Reconcilia-
tion with
Rome.

there was a public rejoicing for three days, in which the pope said mass himself, and distributed his ordinary largess of indulgences, of which he was the more bountiful, because he hoped they should come in credit again, and be purchased at the rates at which they had been formerly sold. Yet in the consistory, Commendone did not positively say he was sent by the queen, that being only communicated to the pope: all he told the cardinals was, that he understood from very good hands, that the queen was very well disposed to that see, and that she desired that a legate might be sent over with full powers. Many of the cardinals thought this was too bare a message; and that it was below the papal dignity to send a legate till the pope was earnestly desired to do it, by an express message, and an embassy sent by the queen. But it was said, that Commendone had said nothing but by the queen's express orders, who was yet in so unsettled a condition, that till she held a session of parliament, it might much endanger her to appear openly in such a matter: they were to remember how England had been lost by too much stiffness formerly; and they were to imitate the shepherd in the parable, who left his ninety-nine sheep to seek the one that was strayed. So it was granted, that Pole should go legate with a full power. But Gardiner coming to know this, sent to the emperor to stop his journey, assuring him that things

But stopped
in his Journey
by the Em-
peror.

were going well on, and that his coming over would spoil all. At this time the emperor began to think of marrying his son Philip to the queen, who, though she was above nine years elder than he, yet being but thirty-seven years old, was not out of hopes of having children. The emperor saw, that if England were united to the Spanish crown, it would raise that monarchy to a great height; they should have all the trade of the world in their hands, and so inclose France, that it seemed as probable a step to the universal monarchy, as that he had lately lost in Germany. When this match was first proposed I do not know; but I have read some parts of a letter concerning it (for it is not all legible) which was written by the queen of Hungary, and signed by the emperor in the beginning of November: this, though it was not the first proposition, yet seems to have followed soon after it. The queen entertained the motion easily, not trusting to the affections of her people, nor thinking it possible to have the papal authority set up, nor the church-lands restored, without a foreign force to assist her. It is said, and I have shown some ground to believe, that she had some inclinations to cardinal Pole; and that the emperor fearing that might be an hindrance to his design, therefore the cardinal's coming over was stopped till the queen was married to his son Philip. But of this I find no certain footsteps. On the contrary, Gardiner, whose eye was chiefly upon the archbishopric of Canterbury, would rather have promoted Pole's pretensions to the queen; since her marrying a subject, and not a stranger, would have made the government much easier, and more acceptable to the people; and it would have been the best thing he could do for himself, if he could have persuaded her to marry him, who alone was like to stand between him and that dignity.

The true account of it is: the emperor pressed her, first to settle the state and consummate her marriage, and that would more easily make way for what was to follow: for Gardiner had assured him, the bringing in of the papal power, and making up the marriage both at once, would be things of such ill digestion, that it would not be easy to carry them together; and therefore it was necessary to let a considerable interval go between. This being resolved on, it was apparent the marriage ought to go first, as that which would give them more strength to conclude the other. And this was the true reason of stopping cardinal Pole at Dilling*; which the emperor at first did by his own authority, but afterwards got

The Queen
sent one to
him.

the queen to send one to him to the same purpose. She sent Goldwell (afterwards bishop of St. Asaph) to him with the two acts that were passed, for the justifying of her mother's marriage, and for bringing all things back to the state in which they were at her father's death. Thereby she let him see, that she was going forward in the business for which he was sent; but withal she told him, that the commons, in passing those acts, had expressed great aversion to the taking of the supremacy from the crown, or the restoring of the pope's power; and that they were much alarmed to hear he

* Cardinal Pole was stopped in his journey by Mendoza, sent post to him from the emperor, desiring him not to proceed in his journey, upon which he went back

to Dilling, a town on the Danube belonging to the cardinal of Augsburg.—STYRPE'S CORRECT.

was coming over legate; and it prejudiced her affairs, that the message she had sent by Commendone had been published in the consistory. Therefore she desired him to keep out of England till he were further advertised. But to let him see how much she depended on his counsels, she desired he would send her a list of such persons as should be made bishops, for many were now to be turned out. To this (besides the answer which he might have writ to herself, that I have not seen), he writ a copious answer in a tedious paper of instructions, which he gave to Goldwell; the conclusion of which, summing up his whole mind fully enough, I thought sufficient to put into the Collection, for the instructions are extreme long, and very full of words to little purpose. They seem to be of his own hand-writing; but of that I am not well assured, having seen nothing else of his hand, except his subscription.

Collection,
Number 9.

The substance of it was this: "He rejoiced much at the two acts that were passed, but yet he censures them both, because he observed some defects in them: in the act for confirming her mother's marriage, he found fault that there was no mention made of the pope's bulls, by the authority of which only it could be a lawful marriage. In the other, he did not like it, that the worship of God, and the sacraments, were to be as they were in the end of her father's reign; for then the people were yet in a state of schism, and schismatics have no right to the sacraments; the pope's interdict still lay on the nation, and till that were taken off, none could without sin either administer or receive them. He told her that Commendone had said nothing in her name to the consistory, but had spoken to them only on the reports which he said he had heard of her from good hands; and it was necessary to say somewhat, in order to the sending a legate: that many in the consistory had opposed the sending of him, because there was no express desire sent about it; but it was carried, that he should come over with very full graces, and power to reconcile the kingdom on very easy terms. He also told her, he was afraid that when the pope and cardinals should hear that he was stopped, they would repent their benignity, and take this as an affront, and recall him and his powers, and send another that would not be so tender of the nation, or bring with him such full powers: that to prevent this, he had sent one to the pope and cardinals, to mitigate their displeasure, by letting them know, he was only stopped for a little while, till the act of attainder that stood against him was repealed; and to make a show of going forward, he had sent his household stuff to Flanders, but would stay where he was till he had further orders. He said he knew this flowed chiefly from the emperor, who was for using such political courses as himself had followed in the business of the Interim, and was earnest to have the state settled before she meddled with religion: he had spoke with his confessor about it, and had convinced him of the impiety of such courses, and sent him to work on him. He also told the queen, he was afraid carnal policy might govern her too much, and that she might thereby fall from her simplicity in Christ in which she had hitherto lived. He encouraged her therefore to put on a spirit of wisdom and courage, and to trust in God who had preserved her so long, and had settled her on the throne in so unlooked-for a manner. He desired she would show as much courage in rejecting the supremacy, as her father had done in acquiring it. He confessed he knew none in either house of parliament fit to propose that matter: the spirituality had all complied so far, had written and declared for it so much, that it could not flow from them decently; and the temporality being possessed of the church lands, would not willingly move it; therefore he thought it best for herself to go to the parliament, having beforehand acquainted some few both of the spirituality and temporality with her design; and that she should tell both houses, she was touched in her conscience, that she and her people were in a schism from the catholic church and the apostolic see, and that therefore she had desired a legate to come over to treat about it; and should thereupon propose that the attainder might be taken off from him, that he might be capable to come on that message. And he protested, that he had never acted against the king or kingdom, but only with design to reduce them to the unity of the church; neither before nor after the attainder: and whereas some might apprehend a thralldom from the papacy, she might give them assurance that they should see all things so well secured, that there should no danger come to the nation from it; and he assured them that he, for his part, should take as

The Advice
he sent to the
Queen.

much care of that as any of all the temporality could desire." What recommendations he sent for the sees that were to be declared vacant, I do not know.

When this dispatch of his was brought into England, Gardiner, by the assistance of the emperor, convinced the queen that his method was unpracticable, and that the marriage must be first dispatched: and now Gardiner and he did declare open enmity to one another. Gardiner thought him a weak man, that might have some speculative knowledge of abstracted ideas, but understood not the world, nor the genius of the English nation. Pole, on the other hand, thought him a false man, that made conscience of nothing, and was better at intrigues and dissimulation than the government of the church. But the emperor saw Gardiner had so prudently managed this parliament, that he concluded his measures were rather to be followed than the cardinal's.

In the house of commons it was given out, that it was necessary to gain the queen to the interest of the nation, and to turn her from foreign councils and aid, by being easy to her in the matter of religion, and therefore they were ready both to repeal the divorce, and king Edward's laws. But when they saw the design of the marriage, and uniting

The House of Commons displeased with the Marriage with Spain.

The Parliament is dissolved.

with Rome, was still carried on, they were all much alarmed; so they sent their speaker and twenty of their house with him, with an earnest and humble address to her, not to marry a stranger. This had so inflamed the house, that the court saw more could not be expected from them, unless they were satisfied in that point. So on the 6th of December the parliament was dissolved. Upon that Gardiner sent to the emperor, to let him know that the marriage was like to meet with such opposition, that unless extraordinary conditions were offered,

which all should see were much to the advantage of the English crown, it could not be carried without a general rebellion. He also assured him, that if great sums of money were not sent over to gratify the chief nobility and leading men in the country, both for obliging them to his interest, and enabling them to carry elections for the next parliament, the opposition would be such, that the queen must lay down all thoughts of marrying his son. Upon this, the emperor and his son resolved to offer what conditions the English would demand: for Philip reckoned, if he once had the crown on his head, it would be easy for him, with the assistance which his other dominions might give him, to make all these signify little. And for money the emperor borrowed 1,200,000 crowns (which in English money was 400,000*l.*, for the crown was then a noble), and promised to send it over to be distributed

1,200,000 Crowns sent into England to procure the Consent of the Nation to the Marriage.

as Gardiner and his ambassadors should think fit; but made his son bind himself to repay him that sum, when he had once attained the crown of England. And this the emperor made so little a secret, that when, a year after, some towns in Germany, that had lent a part of this money, desired to be repaid, he answered them, that he had lent his son 1,200,000 crowns to marry him to the queen of England, and had yet received of him only 300,000 crowns, but he had good security for the rest, and the merchants were bound to pay him 100,000 *lib.* sterling, and therefore he demanded a little more time of them. All this was printed soon after at Strasburgh by the English there, in a book which they sent over to England; in which, both the address made by the commons in parliament, and this answer of the emperor's to the towns, is mentioned. And that whole discourse (which is in the form of an address to the queen, the nobility, and the commons) is written with such gravity and simplicity of style, that as it is by much the best I have seen of this time, so in these public transactions there is no reason to think it untrue. For the things which it relates are credible of themselves; and though the sum there mentioned was very great, yet he that considers that England was to be bought with it, will not think it an extraordinary price. In that discourse, it is further said, that as Gardiner corrupted many by bribes, so in the court of chancery, common justice was denied to all but those who came into these designs.

Having thus given an account of what was done in the parliament, I shall next show how the convocation proceeded. Bonner being to preside in it, as being the first bishop of the province of Canterbury, appointed John Harpsfield his chaplain to preach; who took his text out of the 20th of the Acts, verse 20, "Feed the flock."

He ran out in his bidding prayers most profusely on the queen's praises, comparing her to

Deborah and Esther, Judith, Mary the sister of Martha, and the Virgin Mary, with all the servilest flatteries he could invent; next he bid them pray for the lady Elizabeth; but when he came to mention the clergy, he enlarged on the praises of Bonner, Gardiner, Tonstall, Heath, and Day so grossly, that it seems the strains of flattering churchmen at that time were very coarse; and he ran out so copiously in them, as if he had been to deliver a panegyric, and not to bid the beads. In his sermon he inveighed against the late preachers for not observing fasts, nor keeping Lent, and for their marriages, which he severely condemned.

Weston, dean of Westminster, was presented prolocutor by the lower house, and approved of by Bonner. Whether any of the bishops that had been made in king Edward's time sat among them, I do not know. But in the lower house there was great opposition made. There had been care taken that there should be none returned to the convocation, but such as would comply in all points. But yet there came six non-compliers, who being deans or archdeacons, had a right to sit in the convocation. These were Philpot archdeacon of Winchester, Philips dean of Rochester, Haddon dean of Exeter, Cheyney archdeacon of Hereford, Ailmer archdeacon of Stow, and Young chanter of St. David's. Weston the prolocutor proposed to them, on the 18th of October, that there had been a catechism printed in the last year of king Edward's reign in the name of that synod, and as he understood it was done without their consents, which was a pestiferous book, and full of heresies; there was likewise a very abominable book of Common-prayer set out; it was therefore the queen's pleasure that they should prepare such laws about religion, as she would ratify with her parliament. So he proposed that they should begin with condemning those books, particularly the articles in them contrary to the sacrament of the altar; and he gave out two questions about it: whether in the sacrament, upon the sanctification of the bread and wine, all their substance did not vanish, being changed into the body and blood of Christ? and whether the natural body of Christ was not corporally present in the eucharist, either by the transubstantiation of the elements into his body and blood, or by the conjunction of concomitance, as some expressed it? The house was adjourned till the 20th, on which day every man was appointed to give in his answer to these questions. All answered and subscribed in the affirmative, except the six before mentioned. Philpot said, whereas it was given out that the catechism was not approved by the convocation, though it was printed in their name, it was a mistake; for the convocation had authorised a number of persons to set forth ecclesiastical laws, to whom they had committed their synodal authority; so that they might well set out such books in the name of the convocation. He also said, that it was against all order, to move men to subscribe in such points, before they were examined; and since the number of these on the one side was so unequal to those on the other side, he desired that Dr. Ridley, Mr. Rogers, and two or three more, might be allowed to come to the convocation. This seemed very reasonable. So the lower house proposed it to the bishops. They answered, that these persons being prisoners, they could not bring them; but they should move the council about it. A message also was sent from some great lords, that they intended to hear the disputation; so the house adjourned till the 23d.

There was then a great appearance of noblemen and others. The prolocutor began with a protestation, that by this dispute they did not intend to call the truth in doubt, to which they had all subscribed; but they did it only to satisfy the objections of those few who refused to concur with them. But it was denied to let any prisoners or others assist them; for it was said, that that being a dispute among those of the convocation, none but members were to be heard in it. Haddon and Ailmer, foreseeing they should be run down with clamour and noise, refused to dispute: Young went away: Cheyney, being next spoke to, did propose his objections; that St. Paul calls the sacrament, bread, after the consecration; that Origen said it went into the excrement; that Theodoret said the bread and wine did not in the sacrament depart from their former substance, form, and shape. Moreman was called on to answer him: he said, that St. Paul calling it bread was to be understood thus,—the sacrament, or form of bread. To Origen's authority he answered nothing; but to Theodoret he said, the word they render "substance" stood in a more general signification, and so might

signify accidental substance. Upon this, Ailmer, who had resolved not to dispute, could not contain himself, but said the Greek word, *οὐσία*, could not be so understood; for the following words of form and shape belonged to the accidents, but that only belonged to the substance of the elements. Upon this there followed a contest about the signification of that word. Then Philpot struck in, and said the occasion of Theodoret's writing plainly showed that was a vain cavil; for the dispute was with the Eutychians, whether the body and human nature of Christ had yet an existence distinct from the divine nature? The Eutychians said it was swallowed up by his Godhead; and argued, from some expressions used concerning the sacrament, as if the presence of Christ in it had swallowed up the elements: against which Theodoret, according to the orthodox doctrine, argued to prove that there was in Christ a human nature not swallowed up; and said that, as in the sacrament, notwithstanding the union of Christ with the elements, they did not depart from their substance, form, and shape: so the human nature of Christ was not absorbed by its union to the Godhead. So it plainly appeared this word substance stood for the nature of the elements. Moreman being straitened in answering this, Philpot said, if he had not an answer ready, he would desire him to think on one against their next meeting; upon this the prolocutor checked him, as if he were bragging too soon. He insisted on his argument, but was commanded to be silent. Haddon, upon that, proposed another argument from these words of our Saviour: "The poor you have always with you, but Me you have not always;" that, therefore, his body was not in the sacrament. To this the prolocutor answered, that Christ was not to be always with us so as to receive our alms; which is all that was intended by that place. But Haddon brought a copious citation out of St. Austin, applying that very place to prove that Christ's natural presence was no more on earth after his ascension into heaven. To this Dr. Watson opposed another place of St. Austin; and some dispute was about those places. After that Haddon read more authorities of fathers, asserting that Christ was in heaven and not on earth: the words of the institution did plainly express it; both because the sacrament was to be in remembrance of Christ, and because it was to continue until his coming again. But to this they said, he was not on earth in a bodily manner; and they endeavoured to take away the force of the argument from the words, until his coming again, by some other acceptations of the word [until]. But Haddon asked them, whether they thought Christ did eat his own natural body, when he instituted and took the sacrament? They said he did. Upon that he answered, that that was so absurd, that he thought it needless to argue more with those who could yield it, and so he sate down. Philpot argued, that Christ could not receive his own body in the sacrament, since it was given for the remission of sins, of which he was not capable, having no sin. Weston answered, he might receive it as well as be baptised. But Philpot answered, he was baptised, as he said himself, to be an example to others. So ended this day's dispute.

On the 25th, Philpot, who was ordered to begin that day, had prepared a long discourse in Latin: but Weston interrupted him, and said he must make no speech, he was only to propose his arguments, and that in English; though it had been before ordered that the dispute should be in Latin. Then Philpot went to explain what sort of presence he would dispute against, and what he allowed. Here Weston again interrupted him, and bid him form his argument. Upon that he fell down on his knees, and begged of the lords and privy-counsellors that were present, that he might have leave to speak his mind: which they granted him. So he said, for their sacrifice of the mass he would prove that it was no sacrament at all, and that Christ was no way present in it; which if he should not do before the queen and her council, against any six that would maintain the contrary, he should be willing to be burnt before the court-gates. Upon this there was great outcries that he was mad, and talked idly; and Weston threatened to send him to prison. But this noise being laid, and he claiming the privilege of the house for the freedom of speech, was required to go on to an argument. Then he proved that Christ was in heaven; for himself said, "I leave the world, and go to my Father:" and to prove there was no ambiguity in these words, he observed that his disciples said upon this, "Now thou speakest plainly, without any parable." It was answered by Dr. Chedsey, that those words were only meant of his visible ascension, but did not exclude his invisible presence; and he cited some words of Chryso-

stom's, that Christ took his flesh with him, and also left his flesh behind him. Weston and the rest said, that authority was unanswerable, and for a while would not hear his answer. But Philpot showed him that Chrysostom's words must be understood in a large sense, as believers are said to be flesh of his flesh; for that father applies that also to baptism, from these words, "As many as are baptised into Christ, have put on Christ;" so the flesh that Christ left on earth, according to him, is not the corporal presence in the sacrament. Upon this Pye, dean of Chichester, whispered somewhat to the prolocutor, who thereupon said to Philpot that he had disputed enough. He answered, that he had a dozen of arguments, and they were enjoining him silence before he had got through one of them. They threatened to send him to prison if he spoke more. He said, that was far from the promise they had made of hearing them fully; and from what was preached last Sunday at Paul's, that all things should be answered in this disputation. But Pye said, he should be answered another way. Philpot replied, there was a company of them now got together, who had heretofore dissembled with God and the world, and were now met to suppress God's truth, and to set forth false devices which they were not able to maintain. After this Ailmer stood up, and brought many authorities out of Greek authors to prove that *ὁὐσία*, in Theodoret, could only be understood of the substance of bread and wine: and Moreman desired a day's time to consider of them. Then Pern, though he had subscribed with the rest, brought some arguments against transubstantiation: for which the prolocutor chid him, since he had before subscribed. Ailmer answered, that it was against the freedom of the house for any to be so chid for delivering his conscience. It was now become late, so they adjourned to the 27th.

Then they again disputed about Theodoret's words, where Haddon showed that he said the symbols retained the same substance that they had before. After that, Cheyney fell to argue about those words; he acknowledged a real presence, but denied transubstantiation, and pressed Theodoret's authority so close, that Watson said he was a Nestorian; and if Theodoret, who was but one, was of their side, there was above a hundred fathers against them. Upon this Cheyney quoted Irenæus, who had said that our flesh was nourished by the bread and wine in the sacrament. He also cited Hesychius, who said that in the church of Jerusalem the symbols that were not consumed in the communion were burnt afterwards: he desired to know whether the ashes were the body of Christ, or what it was that was burnt? To all this Harpsfield made a long answer concerning God's omnipotence, and the weakness of men's understandings, that could not comprehend divine mysteries: but Cheyney still asked what it was that was burnt? Harpsfield replied, it was either the substance of bread or the body of Christ; and afterwards said it was a miracle. At that Cheyney smiled, and said, then he could say no more. Weston asked, whether there was not enough said in answer to these men's objections. Many of the clergy cried out, "Yes, yes;" but the multitude, with repeated cries, said, "No, no." Weston said, he spake to those of the house, and not to the rude multitude. Then he asked those divines, whether they would now, for three days, answer the arguments that should be put to them. Haddon, Cheyney, and Ailmer, said they would not; but Philpot offered to do it. Weston said he was a madman, and fitter to be sent to Bedlam. Philpot said, he that had carried himself with so much passion, and so little indifferency, deserved a room there much better. Weston, neglecting him, turned to the assembly and said, they might see what sort of men these were, whom they had now answered three days; but though they had promised it, and the order of disputation did require it, that they should answer in their turn three days, they now declined it. Upon that Ailmer stood up and answered, that they had made no such promise, nor undertaken any such disputation; but being required to give their reasons why they would not subscribe with the rest, they had done it, but had received no answer to them, and therefore would enter into no further disputation before such judges, who had already determined and subscribed those questions. So the house was adjourned to the 30th; and then Philpot appeared to answer, but desired first leave to prosecute his former argument, and urged, that since Christ as man is like us in all things without sin, therefore as we are restrained to one place at a time, so is Christ but in one place, and that is heaven; for St. Peter says, the "heavens must contain him till the restitution of all things." To this it was answered, that Christ being God, his omnipotence was above our understanding; and that to shut him in

one place was to put him in prison. Philpot said he was not speaking of his divine nature, but that as he was man, he was like us: and for their saying that Christ was not to be imprisoned in heaven, he left to all men to judge whether that was a good answer or not. Much discourse following upon this, the prolocutor commanded him to come no more into the house. He answered, he thought himself happy to be out of their company. Others suggesting to the prolocutor, that it would be said the meeting was not free, if men were put out of the house for speaking their minds; he said to him he might come, so he were decently habited, and did not speak but when he commanded him. To this he answered, that he had rather be absent altogether. Weston concluded all by saying, "You have the word, but we have the sword," truly pointing out wherein the strength of both causes lay.

This was the issue of that disputation, which was soon after printed in English: and in Latin by Volerandus Polanus, and is inserted at large in Fox's Acts and Monuments. What account the other side gave of it, I do not find. But upon all such occasions, the prevailing party, when the inequality was so disproportioned, used to carry things with so much noise and disorder, that it was no wonder the reformers had no mind to engage in this dispute. And those who reflected on the way of proceeding in king Edward's time, could not but confess things had been managed with much more candour and equality. For in this very point there had been, as was formerly shown, disputes for a year together, before there was any determination made: so that all men were free at that time to deliver their opinions without any fear, and then the disputes were in the universities, where as there were a great silence and collection of books, so the auditors were more capable of being instructed by them: but here the point was first determined, and then disputed: and this was in the midst of the disorder of the town, where the privy council gave all possible encouragement to the prevailing party.

The last thing I find done this year, was the restoring Veisey to be bishop of Exeter, which was done on the 28th of December. In his warrant for it under the great seal, it is said that he, for some just troubles both in body and mind, had resigned his bishopric to king Edward, to which the queen now restored him. And thus ended this year. Foreign affairs did not so much concern religion as they had done in the former reign, which as it made me give some account of them then, so it causes me now not to prosecute them so fully.

In the beginning of the next year, the emperor sent over the count of Egmont and some other ambassadors to make the proposition and treaty of marriage, betwixt his son and the queen. In the managing of this treaty, Gardiner had the chief hand: for he was now the oracle at the council-board: he had thirty years' experience in affairs, a great knowledge of the courts of Christendom, and of the state of England, and had great sagacity, with a marvellous cunning, which was not always regulated by the rules of candour and honesty. He in drawing the articles of the marriage had a double design: the one was, to have them so framed, that they might easily pass in parliament; and the other was to exclude the Spaniards from having any share in the government of England, which he intended to hold in his own hands. So the terms on which it was agreed were these.

The queen should have the whole government of England, with the giving of offices and benefices in her own hands, so that though Philip was to be called king, and his name was to be on the coin, and the seals, and in writs, yet her hand was to give force to everything without his. Spaniards should not be admitted into the government, nor to any offices at court. The laws should not be altered, nor the pleadings put into any other tongue. The queen should not be made to go out of England, but upon her own desire. The children born in the marriage should not go out of England, but by the consent of the nobility. If the queen outlived the prince, she should have 60,000*l.* a year out of his estate, 40,000*l.* out of Spain, and 20,000*l.* of it out of the Netherlands. If the queen had sons by him, they should succeed both to her own crowns, and the Netherlands and Burgundy; and if the archduke Charles, Philip's only son, died, they should succeed to all her and his dominions: if she had only daughters, they should succeed to her crowns and the Netherlands, if they married by their brother's consent; or otherwise, they

should have such portions as were ordinarily given to those of their rank : but if the queen had no issue, the king was not to pretend to any part of the government after her death ; but the crown was to descend, according to the laws of England, to her heirs. There was to be a perpetual league betwixt England and Spain ; but this was not to be in prejudice of their league with France, which was still to continue in force.

These were the conditions agreed on, and afterwards confirmed in parliament ; by which it appears the Spaniards were resolved to have the marriage on any terms, reckoning that if prince Philip were once in England, he could easily enlarge his authority, which was hereby so much restrained.

It was now apparent the queen was to marry the prince of Spain, which gave a universal discontent to the whole nation. All that loved the Reformation saw, that not only their religion would be changed, but a Spanish government and inquisition would be set up in its stead. Those who considered the civil liberties of the kingdom, without great regard to religion, concluded that England would become a province to Spain ; and they saw how they governed the Netherlands, and heard how they ruled Milan, Naples, and Sicily ; but above all, they heard the most inhuman things that ever any age produced, had been acted by them in their new conquest in the West Indies.

It was said, what might they expect, but to lie at the mercy of such tyrannical masters who would not be long kept within the limits that were now prescribed ? All the great conditions now talked of, were but the gilding the pill, but its operation would be fatal, if they once swallowed it down. These things had influence on many ; but the chief conspirators were the duke of Suffolk, sir Thomas Wiat, and sir Peter Carew : the one was to raise the midland counties, the other to raise Cornwall, and Wiat was to raise Kent ; hoping by rising in such remote places, so to distract the government, that they should be able to engage the commons, who were now as much disgusted with the queen, as they had been formerly fond of her.

But as Carew was carrying on his design in the west, it came to be discovered ; and one that he had trusted much in it was taken ; upon that Carew fled over into France. Wiat was in Kent when he heard this, but had not yet laid his business as he intended. Therefore, fearing to be undone by the discovery that was made, he gathered some men about him, and on the 25th of January went to Maidstone : there he made proclamation, that he intended nothing but to preserve the liberty of the nation, and keep it from coming under the yoke of strangers, which, he said, all the council, one or two excepted, were against ; and assured the people, that all the nobility and chief men of England would concur with them. He said nothing of religion, but in private assured those that were for the Reformation, that he would declare for them. One Roper came and declared him and his company traitors ; but he took him with some gentlemen that were gathering to oppose him. From thence he went to Rochester, and writ to the sheriff of Kent, desiring his assistance against the strangers, for there were already, as he said, a hundred armed Spaniards landed at Dover. The sheriff sent him word, that if he and those with him had any suits, they were to make them to the queen on their knees, but not with swords in their hands ; and required them to disperse under pain of treason. Wiat kept his men in good order, so that they did no hurt, but only took all the arms they could find.

At the same time, one Isley and Knevet gathered people together about Tunbridge, and went to join with Wiat. The queen sent down a herald to him with a pardon, if he would disperse his company in twenty-four hours ; but Wiat made him deliver his message at the end of Rochester bridge, and so sent him away. The high sheriff gathered together as many as he could, and showed them how they were abused by lies ; there were no Spaniards landed at all, and those that were to come, were to be their friends and confederates against their enemies. Those that he brought together went to Gravesend to meet the duke of Norfolk, and sir Hen. Jerningham, who were come thither with six hundred men from London : and they hearing that Knevet was on his way to Rochester, went and intercepted and routed him ; sixty of his men were killed, the rest saved themselves in the woods.

The news of this disheartened Wiat much, who was seen to weep, and called for a coat which he stuffed with angels, designing to have escaped. But the duke of Norfolk marching to Rochester with two hundred horse and six hundred foot, commanded by one Bret, they were wrought on by a pretended deserter, Harper, who seemed to come over from Wiat: he persuaded the Londoners that it was only the preservation of the nation from the Spaniards that they designed; and it was certain none would suffer under that yoke more than they. This had such an effect on them, that they all cried out, "We are all Englishmen!" and went over to Wiat: so the duke of Norfolk was forced to march back. And now Kent was all open to Wiat, who thereupon sent one to the duke of Suffolk, pressing him to make haste and raise his country; but the bearer was intercepted. Upon that the earl of Huntington was sent down with some horse to seize on him. The duke was at all times a mean-spirited man, but it never appeared more than now: for after a faint endeavour to raise the country, he gave it over, and concealed himself in a private house; but was betrayed by him to whom he had trusted himself into the hands of the earl of Huntington, and so was brought to the Tower.

Wiat's party increasing, they turned towards London. As they came to Deptford, sir Edward Hastings and sir Thomas Cornwallis came to them in the queen's name, to ask what would content them? Wiat desired that he might have the command of the Tower, that the queen might stay under his guard; and that the council might be changed. Upon these extravagant propositions there passed high words, and the privy-councillors returned to the queen. After this she went into Guildhall, and there gave an account of her message to Wiat, and his answer. And for her marriage, she said, she did nothing in it but by advice of her council, and spoke very tenderly of the love she bore to her people and to that city. On the 31st, Wiat was become four thousand strong, and came near Southwark. On the 2nd of February he fell into Southwark. Some of his company had a mind to have broken into Winchester-house and robbed it, but he threatened to hang any that should do it. He was put in hope, that upon his coming to Southwark, London would have declared for him, but in that he was deceived. The bridge was fortified, so that he found it was not possible to force it. Here he held a council of war with his officers; some were for turning back into Kent to disperse a body of men that the lord Abergavenny had gathered together; but he said, that was a small game. The strength of their party was in London, and therefore it was necessary for him to be there as soon as he could; for though they could not open the bridge to him, yet he was assured, if he were on the other side, many would come out to him. Some were for crossing over to Essex, where they heard the people were well-affected to them, but they had not boats enough, so he marched to get over at Kingston-bridge.

On the 4th they came to Kingston, where the queen had ordered the bridge to be cut; but his men repairing it, he crossed the river that night; and though he lost much time by the mending of one of his carriages that broke by the way, he was at Hyde Park by nine of the clock next morning, it being Ash-Wednesday.

The earl of Pembroke had gathered a good body of men to have fallen on him, for his men were now in great disorder; but they looked on, to let him cast himself into their hands. He did not march by Holborn, as some advised, but came down to Charing Cross. There the lord Clinton fell in between the several bodies of his men, and dispersed them so, that he had not five hundred left about him; but with those that remained, he passed through the Strand and Fleet-street to Ludgate, where he stopped, in hope to have found the gates opened to him. That hope failing, he returned back; and being now out of all heart, was taken at Temple Bar by a herald. All this while the queen showed great courage, she would not stir out of Whitehall, nor go by water to the Tower, as some advised her, but went with her women and priests to her devotions.

This was a rebellion, both raised and dispersed in as strange a manner as could have been imagined. Wiat was a popular and stout man, but had not a head for such an undertaking, otherwise the government was so feeble, that it had not been a difficult thing to have driven

the queen to great straits. It was not at all raised upon pretence of religion, which, according to the printed account set out by the queen's order, was not so much as once named. And yet some of our own writers say, that Poinet, the late bishop of Winchester, was in it *. But this is certainly false, for so many prisoners being taken, it is not to be imagined but this would have been found out and published, to make that religion more odious; and we cannot think but Gardiner would have taken care that he should have been attainted in the following parliament.

Christopherson soon after writ a book against rebellion, in which he studies to fasten this rising on the preachers of the new religion, as he calls it; and gives some presumptions that amount to no more but little flourishes of his wit, but never names this, which had been a decisive proof. So that it is but a groundless fiction, made by those who have either been the authors, or at least have laid down the principles of all the rebellions in the Christian world, and yet would cast that blame on others, and exempt themselves from it; as if they were the surest friends of princes, while they design to enslave them to a foreign power, and will neither allow them to reign nor to live but at the mercy of the head of that principality to which all other powers must bend; or break, if they meet with an age that is so credulous and superstitious as to receive their dictates.

This raw and soon-broken rebellion was as lucky to Gardiner, and those who set on the marriage, as if they had projected it; for now the people were much disheartened, and their own designs as much fortified: since as some fevers are critical, and cast out those latent distempers which no medicines could effectually purge away; and yet if they were not removed, must in the end corrupt the whole mass of blood; so in a weak government, to which the people are ill-affected, ill-digested rebellions raise the prince higher, and add as much spirit to his friends as they take from the faction against him, and give a handle to do some things, for which, otherwise, it were not easy either to find colours or instruments.

One effect of this was, the proceeding severely against the lady Jane and her husband, the lord Guilford, who both suffered on the 12th of February. The lady Jane was not much disordered at it, for she knew upon the first jealousy she must be the sacrifice, and therefore had now lived six months in the continual meditations of death. Feckenham, afterwards abbot of Westminster, was sent to her by the queen, three days before, to prepare her to die. He had a long conversation with her; but she answered him with that calmness of mind and clearness of reason, that it was an astonishing thing to hear so young a person of her sex and quality look on death so near her with so little disorder, and talk so sensibly both of faith and holiness, of the sacrament, the Scriptures, and the authority of the church. Feckenham left her, seeing he could work nothing on her; but procured, as is said, the continuance of her life three days longer, and waited on her on the scaffold. She writ to her father to moderate his grief for her death (which

must needs have been great, since his folly had occasioned it). She expressed her sense of her sin in assuming the royal dignity, though he knew how unwillingly she was drawn to it; and that in her royal estate her enforced honour had never defiled her innocent heart. She rejoiced at her approaching end, since nothing could be to her more welcome than to be delivered from that valley of misery into that heavenly throne to which she was to be advanced, where she prayed that they might meet at last."

There was one Harding †, that had been her father's chaplain, and that was a zealous preacher in king Edward's days, before whose death he had animated the people much to prepare for persecution, and never to depart from the truth of the gospel; but he had now fallen away himself. To him she writ a letter full of severe expostulations and threatenings for his apostacy, but it had no effect on him. It is of an extraordinary strain, full of life in the thoughts, and of zeal, if there is not too much in the expressions. The night before her execution, she sent her Greek Testament, which she had always used, to her sister; with a letter in the same language ‡, in which, in most pathetic expressions, she sets out the value

* Poinet wrote a book to justify resisting the queen.—
STRYPE'S CORRECT.

† Thomas Harding, afterwards antagonist to bishop Jewel.—GRANGER'S CORRECT.

‡ The letter I suppose must have been wrote in English, as it stands in Fox, vol. iii. p. 35, and is printed amongst the letters of the martyrs, p. 662.—ANON. CORRECT.



LADY JANE GREY.

OB. 1554.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF
THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF STAMFORD AND WARRINGTON

that she had of it, and recommended the study and practice of it earnestly to her. She had also composed a very devout prayer for her retirements; and thus had she spent the last moments of her life. She expressed great tenderness when she saw her husband led out first, but soon overcame it when she considered how closely she was to follow him. He had desired to take leave of her before he died, but she declined it, since it would be rather an increase of grief than any addition of comfort to them. She said she hoped they would shortly meet, and be united in a happier state, and with a settled countenance she saw them bring back the beheaded body to the chapel where it was to be buried. When she was brought to the scaffold, which was raised for her within the Tower to prevent the compassion which her dying more publicly might have raised, she confessed she had sinned in taking the queen's honour when it was given her; she acknowledged the act was unlawful, as was also her consenting to it; but she said it was neither procured nor desired by her. She declared that she died a true Christian, and hoped to be saved only by the mercy of God in the blood of Christ. She acknowledged that she had too much neglected the word of God, and had loved herself and the world too much, for which that punishment had come justly to her from God: but she blessed him that had made it a means to lead her to repentance. Then having desired the people's prayers, she kneeled down and repeated the 51st Psalm: then she undressed herself, and stretched out her head on the block, and cried out, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit;" and so her head was cut off.

All people lamented her sad and untimely end, which was not easily consented to, even by the queen herself. Her death had a most violent operation on judge Morgan, that had pronounced the sentence: soon after he fell mad, and in all his ravings still called to take away the lady Jane from him. Indeed the blame of her death was generally cast on her father rather than on the queen, since the rivalry of a crown is a point of such niceness that even those who bemoaned her death most could not but excuse the queen, who seemed to be driven to it rather from considerations of state than any resentment of her own. On the

17th of February was the duke of Suffolk tried by his peers, and condemned: he suffered on the 23rd. He would have died more pitied for his weakness, if his practices had not brought his daughter to her end. Next, Wiat was

brought to his trial, where in most abject words he begged his life, and offered to promote the queen's marriage if they would spare him; but for all that he was beheaded. Bret was hanged in chains at Rochester. In all fifty-eight were executed in several places, whose attainders were confirmed by an act of the following parliament; six hundred of the rabble were appointed to come before the queen with halters about their necks, and to beg their lives, which she granted them; and so was this storm dissipated: only the effusion of blood after it was thought too liberal; and this excess of punishment was generally cast on Gardiner, and made him become very hateful to the nation, which has been always much moved at a repetition of such sad spectacles.

The earl of Devonshire and the lady Elizabeth came to be suspected of the plot, as if the rising in the west had been set on by the earl, with design, if it had succeeded, to have married the lady Elizabeth, and put her in the queen's room. Wiat did at his death clear them of any accession to his confederacies. Yet the queen, who was much alienated from her sister upon old scores, was not unwilling to find a pretence for using her ill; so she was made a prisoner. And the earl of Devonshire had, upon the account formerly mentioned, offended the queen, who thought her kindness ill requited when she saw he neglected her and preferred her sister; so he was again put into prison. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was also charged with that same guilt, and brought to his trial, which lasted ten hours, but was acquitted by the jury: upon

which they were cast into prison, and severely fined; some in 2000*l.*, and some in 1000 marks. This was fatal to his brother sir John, who was cast by the jury upon the same evidence that his brother had been acquitted; but he protested his innocence to the last. Sir John Cheke had got beyond sea, finding he was also suspected and sought after; and both sir Peter Carew and he, hoping that Philip would be glad, at his first admission to the crown of England, to show acts of favour, went into Flanders, where, upon assurances given

Her Father's
Execution.

The Lady Elizabeth unjustly suspected for plotting.

Many severe proceedings.

of pardon and mercy, they rendered themselves*: but upon their coming into England, they were both put into the Tower. Carew made his escape, and was afterwards employed by queen Elizabeth in her affairs in Ireland. Cheke was at this time discharged; but upon some new offence he was taken again in Flanders, in May 1556, and was prevailed upon to renounce his religion, and then he was set at liberty; but was so sadly affected at the unworthiness of that action, that it was believed to have cast him into a languishing, of which he soon after died.

There was a base imposture set up at this time, of one that seemed to speak from a wall with a strange sort of voice. Many seditious things were uttered by that voice, which was judged of variously. Some called it the Spirit of the Wall; some said it was an angel that spake; and many marvellous things were reported of it. But the matter being narrowly inquired into, it was found to be one Elizabeth Crofts, a girl, who, from a private hole in the wall, with the help of a whistle, had uttered those words. She was made to do penance openly at Paul's for it: but by the account then printed of it, I do not find any complices were found, except one Drake, to whom no particular character is added†. So it seems it was a trick laid betwixt these two; for what purpose I cannot find. Sure enough, in those times, it was not laid to the charge of the preachers of the Reformation: which I the rather take notice of, because of the malignity of one of our historians who has laid this to the charge of the Zuinglian gospellers; though all the proof he offers for casting it on them is in these words: "For I cannot consider this but as a plot of theirs;" and sets it up in opposition to the notorious imposture of the Maid of Kent, mentioned in the former volume; and says, "Let not the papists be more charged with that, since these were now as faulty."

The nation being now settled, the queen did next give instructions to the bishops to proceed to visit the clergy, according to some articles which she sent them, which will be found in the Collection. In those, after a long and invidious preamble of the disorders that had been in the time of king Edward, she commanded them to execute all such ecclesiastical laws as had been in force in her father's reign. That the bishops should in their courts proceed no more in the queen's name: that the oath of supremacy should be no more exacted of any of the clergy: that none suspect of heresy should be admitted to orders: that they should endeavour to repress heresy, and punish heretics: that they should suppress all naughty books and ballads: that they should remove all married clergymen, and separate them from their wives; but for those that renounced their wives, they might put them into some other cure, or reserve a pension out of their benefice for them: that no religious man who had professed chastity should be suffered to live with his wife: that care should be taken of vacant churches: that till they were provided, the people should go to the neighbouring churches: that all the ceremonies, holidays, and fasts, used in king Henry's time, should be again observed: that those who were ordained by the new book in king Edward's time, not being ordained in very deed, the bishop, if they were otherwise sufficient, should supply what was wanting before, and so admit them to minister: that the bishops should set forth an uniform doctrine of homilies, and compel the people to come to church and hear divine service: that they should carefully look to all schoolmasters and teachers of children: and that the bishops should take care to set forth the premises, with all kind of virtue, godly living, and good example, and endeavour to keep down all sort of vice.

These were signed on the 4th of March and printed, and sent over the kingdom. But to make the married bishops examples of the severity of their proceedings; the queen gave a special commission to Gardiner, Tonstall, Bonner, Parfew bishop of St. Asaph, Day, and Kitchin of Landaff, making mention, that with great grief of heart, "she had heard, that the archbishop of York, the bishops of St. David's, Chester and Bristol, had broken their vows and defiled their function,

* Cheke was sent to the Tower with the duke of Suffolk, and had licence to travel. They did not render themselves, but were seized on their journey, bound, and thrown into a cart, and sent prisoners to England — STURGEON'S CORRECT.

† Seven persons were discovered to be complices: the words spoken from the wall were against the queen, the prince of Spain, the mass, and confession.—STURGEON'S CORRECT.

by contracting marriage; therefore those, or any three of them, are empowered to call them before them; and if the premises be found to be true, to deprive and turn them out of their bishoprics. This I have put into the Collection, with another com-

Collection,
Numb. 11, 12.

mission to the same persons, to call the bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester and Hereford, before them; in whose patents it was provided that they should hold their bishoprics so long as they behaved themselves well; and since they, by preaching erroneous doctrine and by inordinate life and conversation, as she credibly understood, had carried themselves contrary to the laws of God, and the practice of the universal church, these or any two of them should proceed against them, either according to ecclesiastical canons or the law of the land, and declare their bishoprics void, as they were indeed already void: thus were seven bishops all at a dash turned out. It was much censured, that there having been laws made, allowing marriage to the clergy, the queen should by her own authority, upon the repealing these laws, turn out bishops for things that had been so well warranted by law; for the repeal was only an annulling of the law for the future, but did not void it from the beginning; so that however it might have justified proceedings against them for the future, if they had lived with their wives; yet it could not warrant the punishing them for what was past; and even the severest popes, or their legates, who had pressed the cœlibate most, had always, before they proceeded to deprive any priests for marriage, left it to their choice, whether they would quit their wives, or their benefices; but had never summarily turned them out for being married: and for the other bishops, it was an unheard-of way of procedure for the queen, before any process was made, to empower delegates to declare their sees void, as they were indeed already void. This was to give sentence before hearing. And all this was done by virtue of the queen's supremacy; for though she thought that a sinful and schismatical power, yet she was easily persuaded to use it against the reformed clergy, and to turn them out of their benefices upon such unjust and illegal pretences. So that now the proceedings against Gardiner and Bonner, in which were the greatest stretches made that had been in the last reign, were far outdone by those new delegates. For the archbishop of York, though he was now turned out, yet he was still kept prisoner, till king Philip, among the acts of grace he did at his coming over, procured his liberty. But his see was not filled till February next; for then Heath had his *congé d'élire*. On or before the 18th of March this year, were those other sees declared vacant. For that day did the *congé d'élire* go out to the deans and chapters of St. David's, Lincoln, Hereford, Chester, Gloucester and Bristol; for Morgan, White, Parfew, Coates, Brooks, and Holyman. Goodrick of Ely died in May this year. He seems to have complied with the time, as he had done often before; for he was not at all cast into any trouble which it cannot be imagined he could have escaped, since he had put the great seal to the patents for the lady Jane, if he had not redeemed it by a ready consenting to the changes that were to be made. He was a busy secular-spirited man, and had given himself up wholly to factions and intrigues of state; so that though his opinion had always leaned to the Reformation, it is no wonder if a man so tempered would prefer the keeping of his bishopric before the discharge of his conscience. Thirleby of Norwich was translated to Ely, and Hopton was made bishop of Norwich*. But Scory, that had been bishop of Chichester, though upon Day's being restored, he was turned out of his bishopric, did comply merely; he came before Bonner, and renounced his wife, and did penance for it, and had his

absolution under his seal, the 14th of July this year; which is in the Collection. Number 13. But it seems this was out of fear; for he soon after fled out of England, and lived beyond sea until queen Elizabeth's days; and then he came over; but it was judged indecent to restore him to his former see, where it is likely this scandal he had given was known, and so he was made bishop of Hereford. The bishop of Bath and Wells, Barlow, was also made to resign, as appears by the *congé d'élire* for Bourn to succeed him, dated the 19th of March. Therein it is said that the see was vacant by the resignation of the former bishop; though in the election that was made on the 28th of March, it is said the see was vacant by the removal or deprivation of their former bishop. But I incline to believe it

* Hopton, by the Regist. of Chanc., was consecrated on the 28th of October; Anthony Hamer, p. 134, says it was the 25th of October.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

truer that he did resign; since he is not mentioned in the commissions formerly spoken of. But that was not all; for at this time a book was set out in his name, whether written by him, or forged and laid on his name, I cannot judge; in which he retracts his former errors, and speaks of Luther and Oecolampadius, and many others with whom he says he had familiarly conversed, with great bitterness. He also accuses the gospellers in England of gluttony, hypocrisy, pride, and ill-nature: and indeed it is one of the most virulent invectives against the Reformation that was written at that time; but it is not likely, if he had turned so heartily as the strain of that book runs, that he would have been quite thrown out; especially since he had never married*; so I rather look on it as a forgery cast on his name to disgrace the Reformation. He fled beyond sea, where he lived till the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign; and then it seems there was some offence taken at his former behaviour; for he was not restored to Bath and Wells, but put into Chichester, that was a much meaner bishopric†. Thus I have given a clear account, and free of all partiality or reservation, of the changes made in the most of the sees in England. The two archbishops, Cranmer and Holgate; the bishops Ridley, Poinet, Scory, Coverdale, Taylor, Harley‡, Bird, Bush, Hooper, Ferrar and Barlow, were all removed: Rochester was void, and Griffins was put into it this April. Goodrick dying now, Thirleby succeeded him; and Sampson of Coventry and Lichfield dying soon after, Bayn succeeded him. So here were sixteen new bishops brought in, which made no small change in the church.

When this was done, the bishops went about the executing of the queen's injunctions. The new service was everywhere cast out, and the old ceremonies and service were everywhere again set up. In this business none was so hot as Bonner; for the act that repealed king Edward's laws, being agreed to by the commons, to whom the lords had sent it; he, without staying for the royal assent, did that very night set up the old worship at Paul's on St. Catherine's day; and it being the custom that on some holidays, the choir went up to the steeple to sing the anthems, that fell to be on that night; which was an antic way of beginning a form of worship, to which the people had been long disused, and the next day being St. Andrew's, he did officiate himself and had a solemn procession.

The most eminent preachers in London were either put in prison, or under confinement; and as all their mouths had been stopped by the prohibiting of sermons, unless a licence were obtained; so they were now to be fallen on for their marriages. Parker estimates it, that there were now about 16,000 clergymen in England; and of these 12,000 were turned out upon this account; some, he says, were deprived without conviction, upon common fame; some were never cited to appear, and yet turned out; many that were in prison were cited, and turned out for not appearing; though it was not in their power: some were induced to submit and quit their wives for their livings: they were all summarily deprived. Nor was this all; but after they were deprived, they were also forced to leave their wives; which piece of severity was grounded on the vow that (as was pretended) they had made; though the falsehood of this charge was formerly demonstrated.

To justify this severity of procedure, many were set to write against the marriage of the clergy. Smith, of whom I made mention in the former Book, that had then so humbly recanted and submitted, did now appear very boldly, and reprinted his book with many additions. But the most studied work was set out by Martin, a doctor of the laws. It was certainly for most part Gardiner's work, and I have seen the proof-sheets of a great part of it dashed and altered in many places by Gardiner's hand. This Martin had made his court to Cranmer in former times. He had studied the law at Bourges, where Francis Balduin, one of the celebrated lawyers of that time, had publicly noted him for his

* Query, whether he were not at that time married. Sir John Harring, in his continuation of bishop Godwin, and who, by his being of Somersetshire, was the better capacitated to know, says he had some sons, one whereof in his time was a worthy member of the church of Wells; and five daughters.—GRANGER'S CORRECT. [It seems almost certain that Barlow had no hand in the book mentioned above, and that it was a forgery. See the "Remarks by an unknown person," No. III. in the Appendix at the end of the work.—Ed.]

† Wells had lately been much impoverished by the alienations in Barlow's time; the regret whereof might probably make him less desirous of returning to it. Afterwards its profits were raised by the lead-mines, about bishop Stillingfleet's time: however, it is valued in the king's books but £535, whereas Chichester is £677.—GRANGER'S CORRECT.

‡ Bishop Harley is said to have been deprived because married, by Fox and Godwin, though no notice is taken of it in the order.—GRANGER'S CORRECT.

lewdness, and as being a corrupter of all the university; which Balduin certified in a letter to one in England, that took care to print it.

It was also printed, that Bonner had many bastards; and himself was believed to be the bastard of one Savage, a priest in Leicestershire, that had been bastard to sir John Savage of Cheshire. Which priest, by Elizabeth Frodshum, the wife of one Edmond Bonner, had this Edmond now bishop of London; and it seems his mother did not soon give over those her lewd courses, for Wymly, archdeacon of London, was another of her bastards. That kennel of the uncleanness of the priests and religious houses was again on this occasion raked and exposed with too much indecency; for the married priests, being openly accused for the impurity and sensuality of their lives, thought it was a just piece of self-defence, to turn these imputations back on those who pretended to chastity, and yet led most irregular lives, under that appearance of greater strictness.

This was the state in which things were when the new parliament met on the 2d of April. Gardiner had beforehand prepared the commons, by giving the most considerable of them pensions; some had 200*l.* and some 100*l.* a year, for giving their voices to the marriage. The first act that passed, seemed of an odd nature, and has a great secret under it.

A New Parliament.

The speaker of the house of commons brought in a bill, declaring, that whereas the queen had of right succeeded to the crown; but because all the laws of England had been made by kings, and declared the prerogatives to be in the king's person; from thence some might pretend that the queen had no right to them; it was therefore declared to have been the law, that these prerogatives did belong to the crown, whether it were in the hands of male or female; and whatsoever the law did limit and appoint for the king, was of right also due to the queen, who is declared to have as much authority as any other of her progenitors.

The Regal Power asserted to be in a Queen as well as a King.

Many in the house of commons wondered what was the intention of such a law; and as people were at this time full of jealousy, one Skinner, a member of the house, (who in queen Elizabeth's time took orders, and was made dean of Durham) said, he could not imagine why such a frivolous law was desired, since the thing was without dispute; and that that which was pretended of satisfying the people, was too slight; he was afraid there was a trick in these words, that the queen had as great authority as any of her progenitors; on which perhaps it might be afterwards said she had the same power that William the Conqueror exercised in seizing the lands of the English and giving them to strangers; which also Edward I. did upon the conquest of Wales. He did not know what relation this might have to the intended marriage, therefore he warned the house to look well to it; so a committee being appointed to correct it, such words were added as brought the queen's prerogative under the same limitations, as well as it exalted it to the height of her progenitors. But one Fleetwood, afterwards recorder of London, told the earl of Leicester the secret of this in queen Elizabeth's time, who writ down his discourse, and from thence I have copied it. There was one that had been Cromwell's servant, and much employed by him in the suppression of monasteries; he was a man of great notions, but very busy and factious; so having been a great stickler for the lady Jane, he was put in the Fleet upon the queen's first coming to the crown; yet within a month he was discharged; but upon the last rising was again put up, and indicted of high treason; he had great friends, and made application to one of the emperor's ambassadors, that was then the chancellor of the duchy of Milan, and by his means he obtained his liberty. Being brought to him, he showed him a new platform of government, which he had contrived for the queen. She was to declare herself a conqueror; or that she having succeeded to the crown by common law, was not at all to be limited by the statute laws, since those were only restrictions upon the kings, but not on the queens of England; and that therefore all those limitations of the prerogative were only binding in the persons of kings, but she was free from them: upon this, he showed how she might establish religion, set up the monasteries, raise her friends, and ruin her enemies, and rule according to her pleasure. The ambassador carried this to the queen, and seemed much pleased with it, but desired her to read it carefully, and keep it as a great secret.

As she read it, she disliked it, and judged it contrary to the oath she had made at her

The Secret Reasons for that Act.
Ex M. SS. D. Gul. Petyt.

coronation ; and thereupon sent for Gardiner, and charged him, as he would answer before the judgment-seat of God, at the general day of the holy doom, that he would consider the book carefully, and bring her his opinion of it next day, which fell to be Maundy-Thursdaiy. So as the queen came from her Maundy, he waited on her into her closet, and said these words: " My good and most gracious lady, I intend not to pray your highness with any humble petitions to name the devisers of this new invented platform ; but here I say, that it is pity that so noble and virtuous a lady should be endangered with the pernicious devices of such lewd and subtle sycophants ; for the book is naught, and most horrible to be thought on." Upon this the queen thanked him, and threw the book into the fire ; and charged the ambassador, that neither he, nor any of his company, should receive more such projects from any of her people. This made Gardiner apprehend, that if the Spaniards began so soon to put such notions into the queen's head, they might afterwards, when she was in their hands, make somewhat of them ; and therefore, to prevent such designs for the future, he drew the act ; in which though he seemed to do it as an advantage to the queen, for the putting of her title beyond dispute, yet he really intended nothing by it but that she should be restrained by all those laws that the former kings of England had consented to ; and because king Henry VII., though his best right to the crown flowed from his marriage to the heir of the house of York, had yet taken the government wholly into his own hands, he, fearing lest the Spaniards should pretend to such a power by the authority, which marriage gives the husband over the wife, got the articles of the marriage to be ratified in parliament, by which they not only confirmed those agreed on, but made a more full explanation of that part of them which declared the entire government of the kingdom to belong only to the queen.

To this the Spaniards gave too great an occasion by publishing king Philip's pedigree, whom they derived from John of Gaunt *. They said this was only done to Great jealousies of the Spanish Power. conciliate the favour of the nation, by representing him not a stranger, but a native ; but this gave great offence, concerning which I have seen a little book that was then printed ; it was there said, that king Henry the Seventh came in pretending only to marry the heir of the house of York : but he was no sooner on the throne, than he declared his own title, and kept it his whole life. So it was said, the Spaniard would call himself heir of the house of Lancaster, and upon that pretension, would easily wrest the power out of the queen's hands, who seemed to mind nothing but her devotions. This made Gardiner look the better to the securing of the liberties of the crown and nation ; so that it must be acknowledged, that the preserving of England out of the hands of the Spaniards at that time seems to be almost wholly owing to him.

In this parliament the marquis of Northampton was restored in blood. And the act for restoring the bishopric of Durham not having gone through the last parliament when it was dissolved, was now brought in again. The town of Newcastle ham restored. opposed it much when it came down to the commons. But the bishop of Durham came to them on the 18th of April, and gave them a long account of all his troubles from the duke of Northumberland, and desired that they would despatch his bill. There were many provisos put into it, for some that were concerned in Gateshead ; but it was carried in the house, that, instead of these provisos, they should send a desire to him, recommending those persons to his favour : so upon a division, there were one hundred and twenty against it, and two hundred and one for it. After this came the bill confirming the attainders of the duke of Suffolk and fifty-eight more, who were attainted for the late rebellion. The lords put in a proviso, excepting entailed lands out of their forfeitures ; but the commons rejected the proviso, and passed the bill. Then did the commons send up a bill for reviving the statutes made against Lollardy, which being read twice by the lords †, was laid aside. The commons intended next to have revived the statute of the Six Articles : but it did not agree with the design at court, to take any notice of king Henry's acts ; so this was let fall. Then they brought in another bill to extirpate erroneous opinions and books ; but that was at the third reading laid aside. After that they passed a particular bill against

* If John Bale be good authority, the English were forward enough in setting forth genealogies from John of Gaunt : Gardiner, White, and Harpsfield maintaining the same.—ANON. CORRECT.

† The bill was to *avoid* and not to *revive* the statute of the Six Articles.—STRYVE'S CORRECT.

Lollardy in some points, as the eating of flesh in Lent; but that also being sent up to the lords, was at the third reading laid aside by the major part of the house; so forward were the commons to please the queen, or such operation had the Spanish gold on them, that they contrived four bills in one session for the prosecution of those they called heretics. But to give some content on the other hand, they passed a bill that neither the bishop of Rome nor any other should have any power to convene or trouble any for possessing abbey lands: this was sent up to the lords, but laid aside at that time, assurance being given, that the owners of those lands should be fully secured. The reason of laying it aside was that since by law the bishop of Rome had no authority at all in England, it was needless to pass an act against his power in that particular, for that seemed to assert his power in other things: and since they were resolved to reconcile the nation to him, it was said that it would be indecent to pass an act that should call him only bishop of Rome, which was the compellation given him during the schism; and it was preposterous to begin with a limitation of his power, before they had acknowledged his authority: so this was laid aside, and the parliament ended on the 25th of May.

But the matters of the convocation are next to be related. Those of the Reformation complained everywhere, that the disputes of the last convocation had not been fairly carried; that the most eminent men of their persuasion were detained in prison, and not admitted to it: that only a few of them that had a right to be in the house were admitted to speak, and that these were much interrupted. So that it was now resolved to adjourn the convocation for some time, and to send the prolocutor with some of their number to Oxford, that the disputations might be in the presence of that whole university. And since Cranmer and Ridley were esteemed the most learned men of that persuasion, they were, by a warrant from the queen, removed from the Tower of London to the prisons at Oxford. And though Latimer was never accounted very learned, and was then about eighty years of age, yet he having been a celebrated peacher, who had done the Reformation no less service by his labours in the pulpit, than others had done by their abler pens; he was also sent thither to bear his share in the debates.

Those who were sent from the convocation, came to Oxford on the 13th of April, being Friday. They sent for those bishops on Saturday, and assigned them Some sent to Oxford to dispute with Reformed Bishops. Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, every one of them his day for the defending of their doctrine, but ordered them to be kept apart. And that all books and notes should be taken from them. Three questions were to be disputed.

1. Whether the natural body of Christ was really in the sacrament?
2. Whether any other substance did remain but the body and blood of Christ?
3. Whether in the mass there was a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the dead and living?

When Cranmer was first brought before them, the prolocutor made an exhortation to him, to return to the unity of the church. To which he answered, with such gravity and modesty, that many were observed to weep: he said he was as much for unity as any, but it must be a unity in Christ, and according to the truth. The articles being showed him, he asked whether by the body of Christ they meant an organical body: they answering, it was the body that was born of the Virgin: then he said he would maintain the negative of these questions.

On the 16th, when the dispute with Cranmer was to begin, Weston, that was prolocutor, made a stumble in the beginning of his speech; for he said, "Ye are this day assembled to confound the detestable heresy of the verity of the body of Christ in the Sacrament." This mistake set the whole assembly a laughing; but he recovered himself and went on: he said it was not lawful to call these things in doubt, since Christ had so expressly affirmed them, that to doubt of them was to deny the truth and power of God. Then Chedsey urged Cranmer with the words, "this is my body:" to which he answered, that the Sacrament was effectually Christ's body as broken on the cross; that is, his passion effectually applied. For the explanation of this, he offered a large paper containing his opinion, of which I need say nothing, since it is a short abstract of what he writ on that head formerly, and of that a full account was given in the former

Book. There followed a long debate about these words. Oglethorp, Weston, and others, urged him much, that Christ making his testament, must be supposed to speak truth, and plain truth; and they run out largely on that. Cranmer answered, that figurative speeches are true; and when the figures are clearly understood, they are then plain likewise. Many of Chrysostom's high expressions about the sacrament were also cited; which Cranmer said, were to be understood of the spiritual presence received by faith. Upon this much time was spent, the prolocutor carrying himself very indecently towards him, calling him an unlearned, unskilful, and impudent man: there were also many in the assembly that often hissed him down, so that he could not be heard at all, which he seemed to take no notice of, but went on as often as the noise ceased. Then they cited Tertullian's words, "The flesh is fed by the body and blood of Christ, that so the soul may be nourished by God." But he turned this against them and said, hereby it was plain the body as well as the soul received food in the sacrament; therefore the substance of bread and wine must remain, since the body could not be fed by that spiritual presence of the body of Christ. Tresham put this argument to him, Christ said, as he lived by the Father, so they that eat his flesh should live by him; but he is by his substance united to his Father, therefore Christians must be united to his substance: to this Cranmer answered, that the similitude did not import an equality, but a likeness of some sort; Christ is essentially united to his Father; but believers are united to him by grace; and that in baptism as well as in the eucharist. Then they talked long of some words of Hilary's, Ambrose's, and Justin's. Then they charged him as having mistranslated some of the passages of the fathers in his book; from which he vindicated himself, saying that he had all his life, in all manner of things, hated falsehood.

After the dispute had lasted from the morning till two of the clock, it was broke up; and there was no small triumph, as if Cranmer had been confounded in the opinion of all the hearers, which they had expressed by their laughter and hissing. There were notaries that took everything that was said; from whose books Fox did afterwards print the account of it that is in his great volume.

The next day Ridley was brought out; and Smith, who was spoke of in the former Book, was now very zealous to redeem the prejudice which that compliance was like to be to him in his preferment: so he undertook to dispute this day. Ridley began with a protestation, declaring, that whereas he had been formerly of another mind from what he was then to maintain, he had changed upon no worldly consideration, but merely for love of the truth, which he had gathered out of the word of God and the holy fathers: but because it was God's cause he was then to maintain, he protested that he might have leave afterwards to add, or to change, as upon better consideration he should see cause for it. He also desired he might have leave to speak his mind without interruption; which, though it was promised him, yet he was often stopped as he went on explaining his doctrine. He argued against the corporal presence, as being contrary to the Scriptures that spoke of Christ's leaving the world; as being against the article of his sitting at the right hand of God; and against the nature of the sacrament, which is a remembrance; he showed that by it the wicked receive Christ no less than the godly; that it is against nature to swallow down a living man; that this doctrine introduced many extraordinary miracles without any necessity, and must have given advantage to the heretics, who denied Christ had a real body or a true human nature: and that it was contrary to the doctrine of the fathers: he acknowledged that it was truly the communion of his body, that is, of Christ's death, and of the heavenly life given by him; and did in a strong nervous discourse, as any I ever saw on that subject, gather together the chief arguments for his opinion.

Smith argued, that notwithstanding Christ's being at the right hand of God, he was seen on earth. Ridley said he did not deny but he might come and appear on earth, but that was for a moment, to convince some and comfort others, as St. Paul and St. Stephen; though he said it might be they saw him in heaven; but he could not be at the same time both in heaven and on earth. They returned off to Chrysostom's words, and pressed him with some of Bernard's: but as he answered the sayings of the former, that they were rhetorical and figurative; so he excepted against the judgment of the latter, as living in an age when their opinion was generally received. The dispute held till Weston grew weary,

and stopped all, saying, "You see the obstinate, vain-glorious, crafty, and inconstant mind of this man; but you see also the force of truth cannot be shaken; therefore cry out with me, Truth has the victory!" This being echoed again by the audience, they went away with great triumph; and now they reckoned the hardest part of their work was over, since Latimer only remained.

Latimer being next day brought forth, told them he had not used Latin much these twenty years, and was not able to dispute; but he would declare his faith, and then they might do as they pleased. He declared, that he thought the presence of Christ in the sacrament to be only spiritual, since it is that by which we obtain eternal life, which flows only from Christ's abiding in us by faith; therefore it is not a bare naked sign: but for the corporal presence, he looked on it as the root of all the other errors in their church. He enlarged much against the sacrifice of the mass, and lamented that they had changed the communion into a private mass; that they had taken the cup away from the people; and instead of service in a known tongue, were bringing the nation to a worship that they did not understand. He perceived they laughed at him; but he told them they were to consider his great age, and to think what they might be when they came to it. They pressed him much to answer their arguments: he said his memory was gone, but his faith was grounded on the word of God: he was fully convinced by the book which Dr. Cranmer had written on that subject.

In this whole disputation, as Ridley wrote of it, there was great disorder, perpetual shoutings, tauntings, and reproaches, so that it looked like a stage than a school of divines; and the noise and confusions with which he had been much offended when he was in the Sorbonne, were modest compared to this.

On April 28, they were again brought to St. Mary's, where Weston told them they were overcome in the disputation; therefore he required them to subscribe with the rest. Cranmer objected against their way of disputing: he said, they would not hear any one argue against their errors, or defend the truth; that oftentimes four or five of them were speaking at once, so that it was impossible for any to hear, or to answer all these. In conclusion, he refused to subscribe. Ridley and Latimer made the same answers: so they were all judged heretics and the fautors of heresy. Then they were asked, whether they intended to turn; they answered, that they would not turn: so they were judged obstinate heretics, and declared to be no more members of the church.

Upon which Cranmer answered: "From this your judgment and sentence, I appeal to the just judgment of Almighty God, trusting to be present with him in heaven; for whose presence on the altar I am thus condemned."

Ridley answered: "Although I be not of your company, yet I doubt not but my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner than we should by the course of nature have come."

Latimer answered: "I thank God most heartily that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this case glorify God with this kind of death."

To them Weston answered: "If you go to heaven with this faith, then I will never come thither, as I am thus persuaded."

After this, there was a solemn procession in Oxford, the host being carried by Weston, the prolocutor, who had been (as himself said in his disputation) six years in prison in king Edward's time. This gave him now great repute, though he was known to be a constant drunkard. Ridley wrote to him, desiring to see what the notaries had written, and that he might have leave to add in any part, as had been promised him; but he had no answer. On the 23d of April, the commissioners sent from the convocation returned to London. Cranmer sent a petition, sealed, by Weston, to be delivered to the council; in which he earnestly begged their favour with the queen that he might be pardoned for his treason, since they knew how unwillingly he consented to the patents for excluding her. He also complained of the disorder in the disputes lately had; saying that he was not heard, nor suffered to propose his arguments, but all was shuffled up in a day, though he had matter on that subject for twenty days' work; that it looked like a design to shut up all things in haste, and make a triumph, and so to condemn them of heresy. He left it to their wisdom to con-

Censures passed upon it.

sider if this was an indifferent way of handling such a matter. Weston carried this petition half way, and then opening it, and finding what it contained, he sent it back, and said he would deliver no such petition. Cranmer was so kept, that though Ridley and Latimer could send to one another, yet it was not easy for them to send to him without giving money to their keepers. In one of Ridley's letters to Cranmer, he said, he heard they intended to carry down Rogers, Crome, and Bradford, to Cambridge, and to make such a triumph there as he had lately made of them at Oxford. He trusted the day of their deliverance out of all their miseries, and of their entrance into perpetual rest, and perpetual joy and felicity, drew nigh: he prayed God to strengthen them with the mighty spirit of his grace: he desired Cranmer to pray for him, as he also did for Cranmer. As for the letters which these and the other prisoners writ in their imprisonment, Fox gathered the originals from all people that had them: and sir Walter Mildmay, the founder of Emanuel college, procured them from him, and put them into the library of that college, where I saw them. But they are all printed by Fox, so that the reader who desires to see them may find them in his *Acts and Monuments* *. Of them all, Ridley writ with the greatest connexion and force, both in the matter and in the way of expression.

This being now over, there was great boasting among all the popish party, as if the champions of the Reformation had been foiled. The prisoners in London hearing they intended to insult over them as they had done over those at Oxford, set out a paper, to which the late bishops of Exeter, St. David's, and Gloucester, with Taylor, Philpot, Bradford, Crome, Sanders, Rogers, and Lawrence, set their hands, on the 8th of May. The substance of it was, "That they being prisoners neither as rebels, traitors, nor transgressors of any law, but merely for their conscience to God and his truth, hearing it was intended to carry them to Cambridge to dispute, declared they would not dispute but in writing, except it were before the queen and her council, or before either of the houses of parliament; and that for these reasons:—

"1. It was clear that the determinations of the universities were already made; they were their open enemies, and had already condemned their cause before they had heard it, which was contrary both to the word of God and the determinations they had made in king Edward's time

"2. They saw the prelates and clergy were seeking neither to find out the truth, nor to do them good, otherwise they would have heard them when they might have declared their consciences without hazard; but that they sought only their destruction, and their own glory.

"3. They saw that those who were to be the judges of these disputes were their inveterate enemies; and by what passed in the convocation-house last year, and lately at Oxford, they saw how they must expect to be used.

"4. They had been kept long prisoners, some nine or ten months, without books or papers, or convenient places of study.

"5. They knew they should not be heard to speak their minds fully, but should be stopped as their judges pleased.

"6. They could not have the nomination of their notaries, who would be so chosen that they would write and publish what their enemies had a mind to. Therefore they would not engage in public disputes except by writing; but they would give a summary of their faith, for which they would be ready to offer up their lives to the halter or the fire, as God should appoint.

"They declared, that they believed the Scriptures to be the true word of God, and the judge of all controversies in the matters of religion; and that the church is to be obeyed as long as she follows this word. That they believed the Apostles' Creed, and those creeds set out by the councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, and by the first and fourth councils of Toledo; and the symbols of Athanasius, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Damasus. That they believed justification by faith; which faith was not only an opinion, but a certain persuasion wrought by the Holy Ghost, which did illuminate the mind, and

* Most of these letters are printed by Fox; but the letters of the martyrs were published in a distinct volume, with a preface by Coverdale (probably the publisher), and printed by John Day, anno 1564.—ANON. CORRECT.

supplied the heart to submit itself unfeignedly to God. That they acknowledged an inherent righteousness, yet justification and the pardon of sins they believed came only by Christ's righteousness imputed to them. They thought the worship of God ought to be in a tongue understood by the people; that Christ only, and not the saints, was to be prayed to; that immediately after death the souls pass either to the state of the blessed or of the damned, without any purgatory between; that baptism and the Lord's-supper are the sacraments of Christ, which ought to be administered according to his institution, and therefore they condemned the denying the chalice, transubstantiation, the adoration, or the sacrifice of the mass; and asserted the lawfulness of marriage to every rank of men. These things they declared they were ready to defend, as they often had before offered: and concluded, charging all people to enter into no rebellion against the queen, but to obey her in all points, except where her commands were contrary to the law of God."

In the end of this month, the lady Elizabeth was taken out of the Tower, and put into the custody of the lord Williams, who waited on her to Woodstock, and treated her with great civility, and all the respect due to her quality: but this not being so acceptable to those who governed, she was put under the charge of sir Hen. Bedingfeld, by whom she was more roughly handled.

On the 20th of July, prince Philip landed at Southampton. When he set foot to land first, he presently drew his sword, and carried it a good way naked in his hand. Whether this was one of the forms of his country, I know not; but it was interpreted as an omen that he intended to rule England with the sword, though others said it showed he intended to draw his sword in defence of the nation. The mayor of Southampton brought him the keys of the town, an expression of duty always paid to our princes; he took them from him, and gave them back without speaking a word, or expressing by any sign that he was pleased with it. His stiffness amazed the English, who use to be treated by their kings with great sweetness on such occasions: and so much gravity in so young a man was not understood, but was looked on as a sign of vast pride and moroseness.

The queen met him at Winchester, where, on the 25th of July, Gardiner married them in the cathedral, the king being then in the twenty-seventh, and the queen in the thirty-eighth year of her age. They were presented from the emperor, by his ambassador, with a resignation of his titular kingdom of Jerusalem, and his more valuable one of Naples, which were pledges of that total resignation that followed not long after.

So on the 27th of July they were proclaimed by their new titles, "Philip and Mary, king and queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland; princes of Spain and Sicily, defenders of the faith; archdukes of Austria; dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant; counts of Hapsburg, Flanders, and Tyrol;" Spain having always delighted in a long enumeration of pompous titles.

It was observed how happy marriages had been to the Austrian family, who, from no extraordinary beginnings, had now, in eighty years' time, been raised by two marriages; first with the heir of Burgundy and the Netherlands, and then with the heir of Spain, to be the greatest family in Christendom: and the collateral family, by the marriage of the heir of Bohemia and Hungary, was now the greatest in the empire. And surely, if issue had followed this marriage, the most extraordinary success possible would have seemed to be entailed on them. But there was no great appearance of that; for as the queen was now far advanced in years, so she was in no good state of health; a long course of discontent had corrupted both the health of her body and the temper of her mind: nor did the matter alter much by her marriage, except for the worse. The king's wonderful gravity and silence gained nothing upon the English; but his magnificence and bounty was very acceptable.

He brought after him a vast mass of wealth; seven-and-twenty chests of bullion, every chest being a yard and some inches long, which were drawn in twenty carts to the Tower; after which came ninety-nine horse and two carts loaded with coined gold and silver. This great wealth was perhaps the sum that was formerly mentioned, which was to be distributed among the English; for it is not improbable, that though he empowered his ambassadors and Gardiner to promise great sums to such as should

promote his marriage, yet that he would not part with so much money till it was made sure ; and therefore he ordered this treasure to be brought after him. (I mention it here, yet it came not into England till October and January following.) He made his entry into London with great state.

At his first settling in England, he obtained of the queen that many prisoners should be set at liberty, among whom the chief were, the archbishop of York, and ten knights, with many other persons of quality. These, I suppose, had been committed either for Wiat's rebellion or the business of the lady Jane ; for I do not believe any were discharged that were imprisoned on the account of religion. As for this archbishop, though he went along in the Reformation, yet I find nothing that gives any great character of him. I never saw any letter of his, nor do I remember to have seen any honourable mention made of him anywhere ; so that he seems to have been a soft and weak man ; and except those little fragments of his opinions in some points about the mass, (which are in the Collection) I know no remains of his pen. It seems he did at this time comply in matters of religion, for without that, it is not probable that either Philip would have moved for him, or that the queen would have been easily entreated.

The intercessions that Philip made for the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire, did He preserves gain him the hearts of the nation more than anything else that he ever did. the Lady Elizabeth. Gardiner was much set against them, and studied to bear down the declaration that Wiat had made of their innocence all that he could ; but it was made so openly on the scaffold, that it was not possible to suppress it. Before, in his examinations, Wiat had accused them, hoping to have saved himself by so base an action, but he redeemed it all he could at his death. This had broken Gardiner's design, who thought all they did about religion was but half work, unless the lady Elizabeth were destroyed. For he knew, that though she complied in many things, yet her education had been wholly under the reformed ; and which was more to him, who judged all people by their interest, he reckoned that interest must make her declare against the papacy (since otherwise she was a bastard) if ever she should outlive her sister.

Philip opposed this, at first, upon a generous account, to recommend himself, by obtaining such acts of favour to be done by the queen. But afterwards, when the hopes of issue failed him by his marriage, he preserved her out of interest of state ; for if she had been put out of the way, the queen of Scotland (that was to be married to the Dauphin) was to succeed ; which would have made too great an accession to the French crown ; and besides, as it afterwards appeared, he was not without hopes of persuading her to marry himself, if her sister should die without issue. For the earl of Devonshire, he more easily obtained his freedom, though not till some months had passed. That earl being set at liberty, finding he was to lie under perpetual distrusts, and that he might be, perhaps upon the first disorder, again put into the Tower, to which his stars seemed to condemn him, resolved to go beyond sea ; but died within a year after, as some say, of poison.

All this I have laid together, (though it fell not out all at once) that I might give a full account of all the acts of grace that Philip did in England ; but for the rest of He was little beloved by the English. his behaviour, it was no way acceptable to the people, for as he engaged the nation in all his interests, so that henceforth during this reign England had no share in the consultations of Europe, but was blindly led by him, which proved fatal to them in the conclusion, by the ignominious loss of Calais ; so his temper and way of deportment seemed most ridiculous and extravagantly formal to the English genius, which naturally loves the mean between the excessive jollity and talkativeness of the French, and the sullen staidness of the Spaniard ; rather inclining more to the briskness of the one than the superciliousness of the other : and indeed his carriage was such here, that the acting him and his Spaniards was one of the great diversions of queen Elizabeth's court. The hall of the court was almost continually shut all his time, and none could have access, unless it were first demanded with as much formality as ambassadors use in asking audience : so that most of the nobility left the court, few staying but the officers of the household.

Gardiner had now the government put entirely in his hands ; and he, to make his court

the better with the new king, preached at St. Paul's the 30th of September; where, after he had inveighed long against the preachers in king Edward's time, which was the common subject of all their sermons, he ran out much in commendation of the king; affirming him to be as wise, sober, gentle and temperate, as any prince that ever was in England, and if he did not prove so, he was content that all his hearers should esteem him an impudent liar. The state of the court continued in this posture till the next parliament.

But great discontents did now appear everywhere. The severe executions after the last rising, the marriage with Spain, and the overturning of religion, concurred to alienate the nation from the government. This appeared nowhere more confidently than in Norfolk, where the people reflecting on their services, thought they might have the more leave to speak.

There were some malicious rumours spread that the queen was with child before the king came over. This was so much resented at court, that the queen writ a letter to the justices there (which is in the Collection) to inquire into those false reports, and to look to all that spread false news in the county. The earl of Sussex, upon this, examined a great many, but could make nothing out of it. It flowed from the officiousness of Hopton, the new bishop of Norwich, who thought to express his zeal to the queen, whose chaplain he had long been, by sending up the tales of the country to the council-table; not considering how much it was below the dignity of the government to look after all vain reports.

This summer the bishops went their visitations to see everything executed according to the queen's injunctions. Bonner went his with the rest. He had ordered his chaplains to draw a book of Homilies with an exposition of the Christian religion. He says in his preface to it, that he and his chaplains had compiled it; but it is likely he had only the name of it, and that his chaplains composed it. Yet the greatest, and indeed the best part of it was made to their hands, for it was taken out of the Institution of a Christian Man, set out by king Henry; only varied in those points in which it differed from what they were now about to set up; so that concerning the pope's power, since it was not yet established, he says nothing for or against it.

The articles upon which he made his visitation will be found in the Collection, and by these we may judge of all the other visitations over England. "In the Preface he protests he had not made his articles out of any secret grudge or displeasure to any, but merely for the discharge of his conscience towards God and the world. The articles were, whether the clergy did so behave themselves in living, teaching, and doing, that in the judgment of indifferent men, they seemed to seek the honour of God, of the church, and of the king and queen? Whether they had been married, or were taken for married? and whether they were divorced, and did no more come at their wives? or whether they did defend their marriages? Whether they did reside, keep hospitality, provide a curate in their absence? And whether they did devoutly celebrate the service, and use processions? Whether they were suspect of heresy? Whether they did haunt ale-houses and taverns, bowling-alleys, or suspect houses? Whether they favoured or kept company with any suspect of heresy? Whether any priest lived in the parish that absented himself from church? Whether these kept any private conventicles? Whether any of the clergy was vicious, blasphemed God or his saints, or was guilty of simony? Whether they exhorted the people to peace and obedience? Whether they admitted any to the Sacrament that was suspect of heresy, or was of an ill conversation, an oppressor, or evil doer? Whether they admitted any to preach that were not licensed, or refused such as were? Whether they did officiate in English? Whether they did use the Sacraments aright? Whether they visited the sick and administered the Sacraments to them? Whether they did marry any without asking the bans three Sundays? Whether they observed the fasts and holidays? Whether they went in their habits and tonsures? Whether those that were ordained schismatically, did officiate without being admitted by the ordinary? Whether they set leases for many years of their benefices? Whether they followed merchandise or usury? Whether they carried swords or daggers in times or places not convenient? Whether they did once every quarter expound to the people in the vulgar tongue the Apostles'

Creed, ten commandments, the two commandments of Christ for loving God and our neighbour, the seven works of mercy, seven deadly sins, seven principal virtues, and the seven Sacraments?" These were the most considerable heads on which he visited.

One thing is remarkable, that it appears both by these and the queen's injunctions, that they did not pretend to reordain those that had been ordained by the new book in king Edward's time; but to reconcile them, and add those things that were wanting, which were the anointing and giving the priestly vestments, with other rites of the Roman pontifical. In this point of reordaining such as were ordained in heresy or schism, the church of Rome has not gone by any steady rule: for though they account the Greek church to be guilty both of heresy and schism, they receive their priests without a new ordination. Yet after the time of the contests between pope Nicolaus and Photius, and much more after the outrageous heats at Rome between Sergius and Formosus, in which the dead bodies of the former popes were raised and dragged about the streets by their successors, they annulled the ordinations which they pretended were made irregularly.

Afterwards again, upon the great schism between the popes of Rome and Avignon, they did neither annul nor renew the orders that had been given: but now in England, though they only supplied at this time the defects which they said were in their former ordination; yet afterwards, when they proceeded to burn them that were in orders, they went upon the old maxim, that orders given in schism were not valid; so they did not esteem Hooper nor Ridley bishops, and therefore only degraded them from priesthood, though they had been ordained by their own forms, saving only the oath to the pope; but for those who were ordained by the new book, they did not at all degrade them, supposing now they had no true orders by it.

Bonner, in his visitation, took great care to see all things were everywhere done according to the old rules, which was the main thing intended; other points being put in for form. When he came to Hadham, he prevented the doctor, who did not expect him so soon by two hours, so that there was no ringing of bells, which put him in no small disorder; and that was much increased when he went into the church, and found neither the Sacrament hanging up, nor a rood set up; thereupon he fell a railing, swearing most intemperately, calling the priest an heretic, a knave, with many other such goodly words. The priest said, all these things should be amended speedily; and knowing that a good dinner was the best way to temper bishop Bonner, he desired him to go and dine at his house: but Bonner took it so ill, that Hadham, which was one of his own churches, was an ill example to those about it, that he lost all patience; and reaching at Dr. Bricket (that was the parson's name) to beat him, he misguided the stroke, which fell on sir Thomas Josselin's ear with great force. Fecknam, then dean of Paul's in Dr. May's room, studied to appease Josselin, and said to him, that the bishop's being so long in the Marshalsea had so disordered him, that in his passion he knew not what he did; but when he came to himself he would be sorry for what he had done. Josselin answered, he thought now that he was taken out of the Marshalsea, he should be carried to Bedlam. But Bonner continued in his fury; and though he had purposed to stay at his house there some days, and had ordered provisions to be made; yet he would needs be gone, though it disordered the rest of his visitation, for he came to every place sooner than he intended, or had given notice.

The carvers and makers of statues had now a quick trade for roods and other images, which were to be provided for all places. Bonner had observed, that in most churches the walls were painted with places of Scripture; and in many places there were passages written, that either favoured the marriage of the clergy, or were against the corporal presence and the sacrifice of the mass, and the multiplicity of the ceremonies of the church; so he did, at his return, send out episcopal letters on the 24th of October, to raze all those paintings. Upon this it was generally said, that the Scriptures must be dashed out to make way for the images, since they were so contrary one to another, that they could not decently stand together. There were many ludicrous things everywhere done in derision of the old forms and of the images: many poems were printed, with other ridiculous representations of the Latin service, and the pageantry of their worship. But none occasioned more laughter than

what fell out at Paul's the Easter before; the custom being to lay the Sacrament into the sepulchre at the even song on Good Friday, and to take it out by break of day on Easter morning: at the time of the taking of it out the quire sung these words, *Surrexit, non est hic*, "He is risen, he is not here:" but then the priest looking for the host,

The Sacrament stolen.

found it was not there indeed, for one had stolen it out, which put them all in no small disorder, but another was presently brought in its stead. Upon this a ballad followed, that their God was stolen and lost, but a new one was made in his room. This railery was so salt, that it provoked the clergy much. They offered large rewards to discover him that had stolen the host, or had made the ballad, but could not come to the knowledge of it. But they resolved ere long to turn that mirth and pleasantness of the heretics into severe mourning.

And thus matters went on to the 11th of November, when the third parliament was summoned. In the writ of summons, the title of "Supreme Head of the Church" was left out, though it was still by law united to the other royal titles: and therefore this was urged in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, as a good reason for annulling that parliament, since it was not called by a lawful writ. Now was cardinal Pole allowed to come into England. The emperor had this summer brought him to Flanders, where, to make amends for the rudeness of stopping him on his way, he desired him to mediate a peace between France and him; but that had no effect. It soon appeared that all things were so well prepared by Gardiner's policy and the Spanish gold, that it would be an easy matter to carry everything in this session. The lord Paget and the lord Hastings were sent from the king and queen to bring the cardinal over. At the opening of the parliament, it was an unusual sight to see both king and queen ride in state, and come into it with two swords of state and two caps of maintenance carried before them: the swords were carried, one by the earl of Pembroke, the other by the earl of Westmoreland, and the caps by the earls of Arundel and Shrewsbury. The first bill put into the

The Attainder of Cardinal Pole repealed.

lords' house, was the repeal of the attainder of cardinal Pole: it began on the 17th, and was sent down to the commons on the 19th, who read it three times in one day, and sent it up. This bill being to be passed before he could come into England, it was questioned in the house of commons, whether the bill could be passed without making a session, which would necessitate a prorogation? It was resolved it might be done; so on the 22nd the king and queen came and passed it. It set forth, that the only reason of his attainder was, because he would not consent to the unlawful separation and divorce between king Henry and his most godly, virtuous, and lawful wife, queen Katherine: therefore they considering the true and sincere conscience of the cardinal in that point, and his other many godly virtues and qualities, did repeal that act.

On the 24th he came to London, but without the solemnities of a legate's entry, because the pope's authority was not yet set up by law. What cardinal Pole's instructions were I do not know, nor is it fully understood by learned men what was the power of a legate à latere in those days. But I found in the king's paper-office the original bull of cardinal Beaton's legatine power in Scotland, which it seems was intercepted by some of the king's ships in the passage by sea thither; or was sent up to London by those who killed him, and possessed themselves of his castle and goods. And I having mentioned this bull to those learned men, by whose direction I have governed

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myself in this work, I did, by their advice, give it a room in the Collection, though it be large; since, no doubt, cardinal Pole's bull was in the same form.

In it the reader will clearly perceive what authority was lodged in the legates to overthrow and dispense with almost all the rules and canons of the church; only some peculiar things (which were more conspicuously scandalous), were still reserved to the apostolic see itself; whose singular privilege it has been always esteemed to dispense with the best things, and allow of the worst; so the pretenders to those graces paid proportionably for them; this authority was too sacred to be trusted even to a legate, it being the prerogative of the popes themselves, to be the most eminent transgressors of all canons and constitutions.

The cardinal first declared what his designs and powers were to the king and queen ; and then on the 27th a message was sent to the parliament to come and hear him deliver his legation ; which they doing, he made them a long speech, inviting them to a reconciliation with the apostolic see, from whence he was sent, by the common pastor of Christendom, to reduce them who had long strayed from the inclosure of the church. This made some emotion in the queen, which she fondly thought was a child quickened in her belly : this redoubled the joy, some not sparing to say, that as John Baptist leaped in his mother's belly at the salutation of the Virgin, so here a happy omen followed on this salutation from Christ's vicar. In this, her women, seeing that she firmly believed herself with child, flattered her so far, that they fully persuaded her of it. Notice was given of it to the council, who that night writ a letter to Bonner about it, ordering a *Te Deum* to be sung at St. Paul's and the other churches of London, and that collects should be constantly used for bringing this to a happy perfection. All that night and next day there was great joy about the court and city.

On the 29th the speaker reported to the commons the substance of the cardinal's speech ; and a message coming from the lords for a conference of some of their house with the lord chancellor, four earls, four bishops, and four lords, to prepare a supplication for their being reconciled to the see of Rome—it was consented to : and the petition being agreed on at the committee, was reported and approved of by both houses. It contained an address to the king and queen—

“ That whereas they had been guilty of a most horrible defection and schism from the apostolic see, they did now sincerely repent of it ; and in sign of their repentance were ready to repeal all the laws made in prejudice of that see : therefore, since the king and queen had been no way defiled by their schism, they pray them to be intercessors with the legate to grant them absolution, and to receive them again into the bosom of the church.”

So this being presented by both houses on their knees to the king and queen, they made their intercession with the cardinal, who thereupon delivered himself in a long speech.

“ He thanked the parliament for repealing the act against him, and making him a member of the nation, from which he was by that act cut off. In recompence of which, he was now to reconcile them to the body of the church. He told them the apostolic see cherished Britain most tenderly, as the first nation that had publicly received the Christian faith. The Saxons were also afterwards converted by the means of that see ; and some of their kings had been so devoted to it, that Offa and others had gone to visit the thresholds of the apostles. That Adrian IV., an English pope, had given Ireland to the crown of England ; and that many mutual marks of reciprocal kindness had passed between that common father of Christendom and our kings, their most beloved sons ; but none more eminent than the bestowing on the late king the title of Defender of the Faith. He told them, that in the unity with that see consisted the happiness and strength of all churches ; that since the Greeks had separated from them they had been abandoned by God, and were now under the yoke of Mahometans. That the distractions of Germany did further demonstrate this ; but most of all, the confusions themselves had felt ever since they had broken that bond of perfection. That it was the ambition and craft of some, who for their private ends began it, to which the rest did too submissively comply, and that the apostolic see might have proceeded against them for it by the assistance of other princes ; but had stayed looking for that day, and for the hand of Heaven.” He run out much on the commendation of the queen, and said, “ God had signally preserved her to procure this great blessing to the church.” At last, “ he enjoined them for penance, to repeal the laws they had made, and so, in the pope's name, he granted them a full absolution, which they received on their knees ; and he also absolved the whole realm from all censures.”

The rest of the day was spent with great solemnity and triumph : all that had been done was published next Sunday at Paul's. There was a committee appointed by both houses to prepare the statute of repeal, which was not finished before the 25th of December ; and

then, the bishop of London only protesting against it, because of a proviso put in for the lands which the lord Wentworth had out of his bishopric, it was agreed to, and sent to the commons. They made more haste with it; for they sent it back the 4th of January, with a desire that twenty lines in it, which concerned the see of London and the lord Wentworth, might be put out, and two new provisos added. One of their provisos was not liked by the lords, who drew a new one; to which the viscount Montacute and the bishops of London and Coventry dissented. The twenty lines of the lord Wentworth's proviso were not put out; but the lord chancellor took a knife and cut them out of the parchment, and said, "Now I do truly the office of a chancellor," the word being ignorantly derived by some from cancelling. It is not mentioned in the Journal that this was done by the order of the house; but that must be supposed, otherwise it cannot be thought the parliament would have consented to so unlimited a power in the lord chancellor as to raze or cut out provisos at his pleasure.

By the act is set forth "their former schism from the see of Rome, and their reconciliation to it now; upon which all acts passed since the 20th of Henry VIII. against the see were specially enumerated and repealed. There it is said, that for the removing of all grudges that might arise, they desired that the following articles might, through the cardinal's intercession, be established by the pope's authority:

"1. That all bishoprics, cathedrals, or colleges, now established, might be confirmed for ever.

"2. That marriages made within such degrees as are not contrary to the law of God, but only to the laws of the church, might be confirmed, and the issue by them declared legitimate.

"3. That all institutions into benefices might be confirmed.

"4. That all judicial processes might be also confirmed.

"And finally, that all the settlements of the lands of any bishoprics, or monasteries, or other religious houses, might continue as they were, without any trouble by the ecclesiastical censures or laws."

And to make this pass the better, a petition was procured from the convocation of Canterbury, setting forth, "that whereas they, being the defenders and guardians of the church, ought to endeavour with all their strength to recover those goods to the church which, in the time of the late schism, had been alienated; yet having considered well of it, they saw how difficult, and indeed impossible, that would prove, and how much it would endanger the public peace of the realm and the unity of the church; therefore they, preferring the public welfare and the salvation of souls to their own private interests, did humbly pray the king and queen to intercede with the legate that, according to the powers given him by the pope, he would settle and confirm all that had been done in the alienation of the church and abbey lands, to which they, for their interests, did consent: and they added an humble desire, that those things which concerned the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and liberty might be re-established, and so they might be able to discharge the pastoral cure committed to them." Upon this, the cardinal granted a full confirmation of those things: ending it with a heavy charge on those who had the goods of the church in their hands, that they would consider the judgments of God that fell on Belshazzar for his profane using the holy vessels, though they had not been taken away by himself, but by his father. And he most earnestly exhorted them, that at least they would take care that, out of the tithes and parsonages or vicarages, those who served the cures might be sufficiently maintained and encouraged. This was confirmed in parliament; where also it was declared, "that all suits about these lands were only to be in the queen's courts, and not in the ecclesiastical courts; and if any should, upon the pretence of any ecclesiastical authority, disturb the subjects in their possession, they were to fall into a *premunire*." It was also declared, that "the title of Supreme Head never of right belonged to the crown; yet all writings wherein it was used were still to continue in force; but that hereafter all writings should be of force in which, either since the queen's coming to the crown or afterwards, that title should be or had been omitted. It was also declared, that bulls from Rome might be executed; that all exemptions that had belonged to religious houses, and had been

continued by the grants given of them, were repealed; and these places were made subject to the episcopal jurisdiction, excepting only the privileges of the two universities, the churches of Westminster and Windsor, and the Tower of London. But for encouraging any to bestow what they pleased on the church, the statutes of Mortmain were repealed for twenty years to come; provided always, that nothing in this act should be contrary to any of the rights of the crown, or the ancient laws of England: but that all things should be brought to the state they were in at the 20th year of her father's reign, and to continue in that condition."

For understanding this act more perfectly, I shall next set down the heads of the address which the lower house of convocation made to the upper; for most of the branches of this act had their first rise from it; I have put in the Collection, having found it among archbishop Parker's papers. In it they petitioned the lords of the upper house of convocation, "to take care, that by their consent to the settlement of the church-lands, nothing might be done in prejudice of any just title they had in law to them; as also, it being said in the grant of chantries to king Edward, that schools and hospitals were to be erected in several parts of the kingdom; they desired that some regard might be had to that: likewise, that the statutes of Mortmain might be repealed; and whereas tithes had been at all times appointed for the ecclesiastical ministry, therefore they prayed that all impropriations might be dissolved, and the tithes be restored to the church. They also proposed twenty-seven articles of things meet to be considered for the reformation of the church. Namely, that all who had preached any heretical doctrine should be made openly to recant it; that Cranmer's book of the Sacrament, the late service books, with all heretical books, should be burnt; and all that had them should be required to bring them in, otherwise they should be esteemed the favourers of heresy: that great care should be had of the books that were either printed or sold. That the statutes made against Lollards might be revived, and the church restored to its former jurisdiction. That all statutes for pluralities and non-residence might be repealed, that so beneficed men might attend on their cures: that simoniacal pactions might be punished, not only in the clergy that made them, but in the patrons, and in those that mediated in them; that the liberties of the church might be restored according to the Magna Charta; and the clergy be delivered from the heavy burdens of first-fruits, tenths and subsidies; that there might be a clear explanation made of all the articles of the *premunire*; and that none should be brought under it till there were first a prohibition issued out by the queen in that particular; and that disobedience to it should only bring them within that guilt: that all exemptions should be taken away; all usury be forbid; all clergymen obliged to go in their habits." The last was, "that all who had spoiled churches without any warrant, might be obliged to make restitution."

The next act that was brought in, was for the reviving the statutes made by Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V., against heretics; of which an account was given in the first Book of the former Part. The act began in the house of commons; who, as was observed in the former parliament, were much set on severities. It was brought in on the 12th of December, and sent up to the lords on the 15th, who passed it on the 18th of that month. The commons put in also another bill for voiding all leases made by married priests. It was much argued among them; and the first draught being rejected, a new one was drawn, and sent up to the lords on the 19th of December; but they finding it would shake a great part of the rights of the church-lands that were made by married priests or bishops, laid it aside. Thus did the servile and corrupted house of commons run so fast, that the bishops themselves were forced to moderate their heats. They all understood how much the queen was set upon having the church raised as high as could be, and saw there was nothing so effectual to recommend any to her favour, as to move high in these matters; and though their motions were thought too violent and rejected, yet their affections were thereby discovered; so that they knew they should be looked on as men deeply engaged in these interests.

After this the bill of treasons was brought in. This was also argued for some days in the house of commons, but at last agreed to. By it, any who denied the king's right to the title of the crown, with the queen's, or endeavoured to put

An Address
made by the
Inferior Cler-
gy.
Collection,
Number 16.

The Laws a-
gainst Here-
tics revived.

An Act declar-
ing Treasons.

him from it, together with them that did several other offences, were to forfeit all their goods, and to be imprisoned during life; and clergymen were to be deprived by their ordinaries; in these cases, the second offence was to be treason. But if any should compass the king's death, and utter it by any overt deed, during his marriage to the queen, the first offence of this kind should be treason. It was also enacted, that the parliament having petitioned the king, that if the queen died with any issue, he would take on him the government of them till they came of age; to which he had assented; therefore, if the queen died before her children came to be of age, the government of the kingdom should be in the king's hands; if it were a son till he were eighteen, or if a daughter till she was fifteen years of age; and in all that time, the conspiring his death was to be treason. The witnesses were to be brought before the parties, and none was to be tried for any words, but within six months after they were spoken.

Another act passed, upon a report made of some heretical preachers, who had, as was informed, prayed in their conventicles, that God would turn the queen's heart from idolatry to the true faith, or else shorten her days, and take her quickly out of the way: all therefore that so prayed for taking away the queen's life, were to be judged traitors; but if they showed themselves penitent for such prayers, they were not to be condemned of treason, but put to any corporal punishment other than death, at the judge's discretion. This was passed in great haste, for it was thrice read in the house of lords, and passed on the 16th of January, in which the parliament was dissolved.

There was another act passed against those that spread lying reports of any noblemen, judges, or great officers; that such as spread them should be imprisoned till they brought their authors, according to former acts. If any spread such reports of the king and queen, they were to be set on a pillory, and pay 100*l*. or have their ears cut off, and be three months prisoners: and they were to pay 100 marks, and suffer one month's imprisonment, though they had authors for them, if they reported them maliciously. But if their reports tended to the stirring of any insurrection, they were to lose their right hands; and upon a second offence to suffer imprisonment during their lives; but they were to be proceeded against within three months after the words so spoken.

All the bills being ended, the parliament was dissolved on the 16th of January, to Gardiner's no small joy. He had now performed all that he had undertaken to the queen or the emperor: upon which he had the reputation that he was formerly in, of a great statesman and a dexterous manager of affairs, much confirmed and raised; since he had brought about in so small a time so great a change, where the interests of those who consented to it seemed to lead them another way. To those who had apprehended the tyranny of Rome he had said, that as our former kings had always kept it under in a great measure, so there was less danger of that now, since they saw that all princes had agreed to preserve their own rights entire against the pope's pretensions. He showed them that therefore all the old laws against provisions from Rome were still kept in force: and so, upon cardinal Pole's being called over, there was a commission sent him, under the great seal, bearing date the 10th of November, authorising him to exercise his legatine power in England. By this he showed them that no legate should ever come into England to execute any power till his faculties were seen and approved by the queen. Others thought this was but a vain imagination; for if the papacy were once fully established, and people again brought under the old superstition of esteeming the popes Christ's vicars and the infallible heads of the church, it would not be possible to retain the people in their obedience, since all the assistance that the princes of Christendom of this time had from their subjects, in their wars with the popes, flowed chiefly from this, that they generally did no more submit implicitly to their priests: but if once that blind obedience were restored, it would be easy for the priests, by their private dealings in confession, to overturn governments as they pleased.

But that which stuck most was, that the church lands were by the canon law so indissolubly annexed to the church, that they could not be separated from it. To Great fear about the Church-lands, this it was answered, that they should secure it by a law at Rome, and should confirm all the alienations that had been made, both by consent of the clergy

and by the pope's authority committed to the legate. Yet even that did not satisfy many, who found some laws in the canon so strict that the pope himself could not dispense with them. If the legate did it, the pope might refuse to confirm it, and then it was nothing : and what one pope did, another often recalled. So it was said that this confirmation was but an artifice to make it pass the more easily. Besides, all observed, that in the cardinal's confirmation of those lands there was a charge given to all to be afraid of the judgments of God that fell on Belshazzar for using the holy vessels ; which was to pardon the thing, and yet to call it a sacrilege, for which they might look for the vengeance of God. So that the cardinal did at the same time both bind and loose ; and it was plain, both by that clause and the repeal of the statute of Mortmain, that it was designed to possess people with the opinion of the sin of retaining church lands. It was thought this confirmation was rather an indemnity and permission to keep them than a declaring the possessors had any lawful title to them : so that when men were near death, and could no longer enjoy those lands themselves, it was not to be doubted but the terrors of sacrilege, and the punishments due to it, with the hope of that relief and comfort that soul-masses might bring them in purgatory, would prevail with many of them to make at least great, if not entire, restitutions.

This point being carried by those who did not understand what future danger their estates were in, but considered the present confirmation, and the other advantages which they were to have for consenting to this act, all the rest passed with no opposition. The act about the proceeding against heretics passed more easily than anything that had been proposed : so it seems the opposition that was made to other acts came not from any that favoured the Reformation, otherwise this would have found some resistance. But now it was the only way to the queen's favour, and to preferment, to run down that which was called heresy.

After the dissolution of the parliament, the first thing taken into consideration was what way to proceed against the heretics. Cardinal Pole had been suspected to favour the protestants, but seemed now to be much alienated from them : and therefore, when Tremellius, who had declared himself a protestant, came to him at Brussels, he would not see him, though he was his godfather. He came over into England much changed from that freedom of conversation he had formerly practised : he was in reserves to all people, spoke little, and had put on an Italian temper as well as behaviour : he brought over two Italians, Priuli and Ormaneto, who were his only confidants. He was a man of a generous and good disposition, but knew how jealous the court of Rome would be of him if he seemed to favour heretics ; therefore he expressed great detestation of them. Nor did he converse much with any that had been of that party but the late secretary Cecil, who, though he lived for the most part privately at his house near Stamford, where he afterwards built a most sumptuous house, and was known to favour the Reformation still in his heart, yet in many things he complied with the time, and came to have more of his confidence than any Englishman.

The cardinal professed himself an enemy to extreme proceedings. He said pastors ought to have bowels even to their straying sheep : bishops were fathers, and ought to look on those that erred as their sick children, and not for that to kill them. He had seen that severe proceedings did rather inflame than cure that disease : there was a great difference to be made between a nation uninfected, where some few teachers came to spread errors, and a nation that had been overrun with them, both clergy and laity. The people were not so violently to be drawn back, but were to have time given them to recover out of those errors into which they had been led by the compliance and writings of their prelates. Therefore he proposed that there should be a strict reformation of the manners of the clergy carried on. He had observed in every country of Christendom that all the best and wisest men acknowledged that the scandals and ignorance of the clergy had given the entrance to heresy. So he moved, that there might be a reviving of the rules of the primitive church ; and then, within a little time, men might by degrees be brought over. I have not found that he proposed the receiving the council of Trent ; which is the more strange, since he had been himself one of the legates at the first session of it : but it seems it was not thought seasonable to propose it till the council were first ended and dissolved.

On the other hand Gardiner, who had no great sense of ecclesiastical matters, but as they

Consultations
about the way
of dealing
with Heretics.

The Cardinal
is for moderate
Courses.

served intrigues of state; and being himself of such a temper, that severe proceedings wrought much on him, judged that the executing the laws against the Lollards, was that in which they were chiefly to trust. He was confident the preachers

then in prison, were men of such tempers, that if they saw they were to be burnt, they would comply; or if they stood out, and were burnt, that would so terrify the rest, that the whole nation would soon change. He remembered well how the Lollards grew in England, only upon cardinal Wolsey's slackening the execution of the laws against them: and upon the passing of the statute of the Six Articles, many submitted; so that if king Henry had not discouraged the vigorous execution of that act, all had turned. He did not deny, but a reformation of the clergy was a good and fit mean; but said, that all times could not bear such things; and if they went to reform their manners, the heretics would from thence take advantage of raising clamours against a scandalous clergy; which would increase, rather than lessen the aversion the people had to their pastors. So Gardiner complained, that Pole, by his intention of coming over too hastily, had almost precipitated all things; and now, by his gentle proceedings, would as much prejudice them another way. All these reasonings were such as became a man of Gardiner's temper, which being servile, and abject, made him measure others by himself.

He was also at this time highly provoked, by the reprinting of his books of True Obedience, which he had writ in the time of king Henry, and to which Bonner had made the preface. In these books, Gardiner had not only argued against the pope's supremacy, and for the king's, but had condemned the king's marriage with queen Katherine, calling it often "incestuous," and "unlawful;" and had justified the king's divorcing her, and marrying "his most godly and virtuous wife, queen Ann." This being reprinted in Strasburg, was now conveyed into England; and it was acknowledged to be a handsome piece of spite in the reformed, thus to expose him to the world. But though this nettled him much, yet he was confident enough, and excused himself, that he had erred through fear and weakness, as St. Peter had done; though it was an unreasonable thing, to compare an error of near thirty years' continuance, to the sudden denial of St. Peter, that was presently expiated with so true and sincere a repentance.

Between these two councils, the queen would have a mean way taken, to follow both in part. She encouraged Pole to go on in the correcting the manners of the clergy; and likewise pressed Gardiner to proceed against the heretics. She also sent ambassadors to Rome: who were the viscount Montacute, the bishop of Ely, and sir Edward Carn, one to represent every state of the kingdom; to make her obedience to the pope, and to obtain a confirmation of all those graces cardinal Pole had granted in his name.

On the 23d of January, all the bishops went to Lambeth, to receive the cardinal's blessing and directions. He wished them to return to their cures, and treat their flocks with all gentleness, and to endeavour rather to gain them that way, than to use extremity and rigour. And on the 25th there was a solemn procession through London; there went first one hundred and sixty priests, all in their copes, eight bishops next, and last of all came Bonner himself, carrying the host; to thank God for reconciling them again to his church, and bonfires were burning all the night. And to keep up a constant remembrance of it, it was ordered that St. Andrew's day should be still observed as the anniversary of it, and be called "the feast of the reconciliation;" and processions, with all the highest solemnities they at any time use, were to be on that day.

But now they turned wholly to the prosecution of the heretics. There had been thirty of them taken at a meeting near Bow church, where one Rose, a minister, gave them the communion according to the English book of service; so they were all put in prison. On the 22d of January, Rogers with others, were brought before the council; he had been a prebendary of Paul's, and in a sermon, after the queen was come to London, had zealously asserted the doctrine he had formerly preached; and as it has been shown, was confined to his house upon the tumult that had been at Paul's. He was much pressed to fly over into Germany, but he would not hearken to it, though the

necessities of ten children were great temptations. He was esteemed one of the most learned of the reformers, so that when those of the convocation were required to dispute, they desired that Ridley and he might be suffered to come and join with them. It was resolved to begin with him, and some others, at the council board, to see if they could be easily brought over.

He was accordingly brought before the council; where being asked by Gardiner, whether he would knit himself to the catholic church, and receive the pope as the supreme head? he said he knew no other head of the church but Christ; and for the pope, he had no more authority in England than any other bishop, either by the word of God, or the authority of the church, for four hundred years after Christ. But they objecting, that he had acknowledged king Henry to be supreme head: he answered, he never acknowledged him so to be supreme, as to forgive sins, bestow the Holy Ghost, or be a judge above the word of God. But as he was going to explain himself, Gardiner pressed him to answer plainly. He objected to Gardiner, that all the bishops had for many years preached against the pope. Gardiner said they were forced to it, by the cruelty of the times; but they would argue no more with him: now mercy was offered, if he rejected it, justice must come next. Rogers said, if they had been pressed to deny the pope's power by cruelty, would they now by the same motives force others to acknowledge it? for his part he would never do it. Other ten were called in, one after another; and only one of them, by the lord Effingham's favour, was let go upon a general question, if he would be an honest man; but all the rest answering resolutely, were sent back to prison, and were kept much stricter than formerly; none being suffered to come near them.

On the 28th of January, the bishops of Winchester, London, Durham, Salisbury, Norwich and Carlisle, sate in St. Mary Overy's, in Southwark; where Hooper was first brought before them*. It needs not to be doubted, but Bonner remembered that he had informed against him when he was deprived in king Edward's time. He had been summoned to appear before the queen soon after she came to the crown; and it was pretended he owed her great sums of money; many advised him not to appear, for that it was but a pretence to put him and a great many more in prison, where they would be kept till laws were made to bring them out to a stake. But he would not withdraw; so now he and Mr. Rogers were singled out and begun with. They were asked, whether they would submit or not? they both refused to submit, Rogers being much pressed, and continuing firm in his resolutions; Gardiner said, it was vain-glory in him to stand out against the whole church. He protested it was his conscience, and not vain-glory, that swayed him; for his part, he would have nothing to do with the antichristian church of Rome. Gardiner said, by that he condemned the queen, and the whole realm, to be of the church of antichrist. Rogers said, the queen would have done well enough, if it had not been for his counsel. Gardiner said the queen went before them in those counsels which proceeded of her own motion. Rogers said he would never believe that. The bishop of Carlisle said they could all bear him witness to it. Rogers said they would all witness for one another. Upon that, the comptroller, and secretary Bourn, being there, stood up in court and attested it. Then they asked Rogers, what he thought of the sacrament? he said it was known he had never meddled in that matter, and was suspected by some to be of a contrary opinion to many of his brethren, but yet he did not allow of their corporal presence. He complained, that after he had been confined half a year in his house, they had kept him a year in Newgate without any fault; for they could not say he had broken any of their laws, since he had been a prisoner all the while; so that merely for his opinion they were now proceeding against him. They gave Hooper and him time till next morning to consider what they would do; but they continuing in their former resolution, were declared obstinate heretics, and appointed to be degraded and so to be delivered into the sheriffs' hands. Hooper was only degraded from the order of priesthood.

* The proceedings against Hooper appeared the more cruel, since he had distinguished himself by his loyalty at the commencement of the queen's reign. "When she was at the worst," he says in his apology, "I rode myself from place to place, as is well known, to win and stay

the people to her party; and whereas another was proclaimed, I preferred her notwithstanding the proclamations. I sent horses out of both shires (Gloucester and Worcester) to serve her in her great danger, as sir John Talbot Knight and William Ligon, Esq. can testify.—Ed.

Then Rogers desired he might be suffered to speak with his wife, concerning his ten children ; they answered, she was not his wife, and so denied it. Upon this they were led away to Newgate.

On the 4th of February, early in the morning, Rogers was called upon to make ready for Smithfield ; he was so fast asleep, that he was not easily awakened ; he put on his clothes carelessly, being, as he said, so soon to lay them off. When he was brought to Rogers' Mar- Bonner to be degraded, he again renewed his desire to see his wife, but could tyrdom. not obtain it. He was led to Smithfield, where he was not suffered to make any speech to the people ; so in a few words, he desired them to continue in that doctrine which he had taught them, and for which he had not only patiently suffered all the bitterness and cruelty that had been exercised on him, but did now most gladly resign up his life, and give his flesh to the consuming fire for a testimony to it. He repeated the fifty-first psalm, and so fitted himself for the stake. A pardon was brought, if he would recant ; but he chose to submit to that severe, but short punishment, rather than put himself in danger of everlasting burnings by such an apostacy : so the fire was set to him, which consumed him to ashes.

For Hooper, after they had degraded him, they resolved to send him to Gloucester ; at which he much rejoiced, hoping by his death to confirm their faith, over whom Hooper burnt Hooper had been formerly placed. He was carried thither in three days. After he at Gloucester. came, he had one day's interval given him, which he spent in fasting and prayer. Some came to persuade him to accept of the queen's mercy, since life was sweet, and death was bitter. He answered, the death that was to come after was more bitter, and the life that was to follow was more sweet. As some of his friends parted with him, he shed some tears, and told them all his imprisonment had not made him do so much.

On the 9th he was led out to his execution ; where, being denied leave to speak, but only to pray, in the strain of a prayer he declared his belief. Then the queen's pardon being showed him, he desired them to take it away. He prayed earnestly for strength from God, to endure his torment patiently ; and undressed himself, and embraced the reeds. When he was tied to the stake with iron chains, he desired them to spare their pains, for he was confident he should not trouble them. The fire was put to him, but the wood being green, burnt ill, and the wind blew away the flame of the reeds : he prayed oft, " O Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on me, and receive my soul ; " and called to the people, for the love of God, to bring him more fire, for the fire was burning his nether parts, but did not reach his vitals. The fire was renewed, but the wind still blew it away from rising up to stifle him, so that he was long in the torment. The last words he was heard to say, were, " Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." One of his hands dropped off before he died ; with the other he continued to knock on his breast some time after ; and was in all near three quarters of an hour a-burning.

Next these, was Sanders condemned, and sent to Coventry to be burnt, where he suffered Sanders burnt on the 8th of February. He had been made a prisoner for preaching, notwithstanding the queen's prohibition, and was condemned for refusing to conform to the new laws. When he was led out to the stake, a pardon was likewise offered him ; but he said he held no heresies, but the blessed gospel of Christ ; and that he would never recant. When he came to the stake, he embraced it and said, " Welcome the Cross of Christ, welcome everlasting life ! " and so he was burnt.

Dr. Taylor followed next, who was parson of Hadley. Some of his neighbouring priests and Taylor came to Hadley, and resolved to say mass in his church. He went thither, and at Hadley. openly declared against it, but was by violence thrust out of the church. Gardiner, being informed of this, writ for him to come up. Many of his friends wished him to go out of the way ; he said, he must follow Christ, the good shepherd, who not only fed his flock, but died for it. He was old, and thought he should never be able, at any other time, to do his good God such service as he was then called to ; so he went with much cheerfulness. Gardiner received him with his ordinary civilities, of traitor, villain, heretic, and knave. He answered, he was none of these ; and put Gardiner in mind of the oaths he had sworn, both to king Henry and king Edward. Gardiner said, an unlawful oath was not to be kept ; and charged him for hindering mass to be said at his

church, He said he was by law parson of Hadley, and no man had a right to come thither and defile his church and people with idolatry. After some discourse on that head, he was sent to the King's Bench prison ; and being carried before the council on the 22d of January, he refused to turn. After that he was condemned, and degraded ; and it was resolved to send him to Hadley to be burnt there. All the way he expressed great cheerfulness. When he was brought to the stake, he said to the people, he had taught them nothing but God's holy word, and was now to seal it with his blood : but one of the guard struck him over the head, and made him give over speaking. Then he went to his prayers, and so to the stake, where he was put in a pitch barrel. As the faggots were laying about him, one flung a faggot at his head, which broke it, and fetched a great deal of blood ; but all he said, " Oh friend, I have harm enough, what needed that ? " He repeated the fifty-first psalm in English ; at which one of the guard struck him over the mouth, and bid him speak Latin. He continued in his ejaculations to God, till the fire was kindled ; and one of the guard cut him in the head with his halbert, so that his brains fell out. This was done on the 9th of February.

Bradford was also at the same time condemned, but his execution was respited.

Soon after the condemnation of these men, six others were apprehended on the account of heresy.

By this Gardiner saw, that what he had expected did not follow ; for he thought a few severe instances would have turned the whole nation, but finding he was disappointed, he would meddle no more in the condemning of them ; but left the whole matter wholly to Bonner, who undertook it cheerfully, being naturally savage and brutal, and retaining deep resentments for what had befallen himself in king Edward's time.

The whole nation stood amazed at these proceedings, and the burning of such men, only for their consciences, without the mixture of any other thing so much as pretences tended against them. And it was looked upon as a horrible cruelty, because those men had acted nothing contrary to the laws ; for they were put in prison at first for smaller matters, and there kept till those laws were passed, by which they were now burnt. So that remembering Gardiner's plea for himself in his imprisonment, when he desired to be first tried, and discharged in the particular for which he was committed, before new matter was brought against him ; all men saw now, how much more justly those men might have demanded the like at his hands. But now the spirit of the two religions showed itself. In king Edward's time, papists were only turned out of their benefices, and at most imprisoned ; and of those there were but very few ; but now, that could not serve turn, but barbarous cruelties must be executed on innocent men, only for their opinions. One piece of severity was taken notice of among the rest : the council sent for those who were to be burnt in the country, and required of them a promise to make no speeches ; otherwise they threatened to cut out their tongues immediately ; so they, to avoid that butchery, promised to obey those cruel orders.

The manner of Hooper's death made those who judged too critically of divine providences, reflect on the dissension that had been raised by him about the vestments ; as if he, who had kindled that fire, had suffered now more than ordinary for that reason. But all that difference was at an end before this ; for Ridley and he, between whom there had been the greatest animosity, becoming partners in the same sufferings, were perfectly reconciled to each other. He writ twice to Ridley, who writ him an answer as soon as he could convey it ; in which he declared, how entirely he was knit to him, though in some circumstances of religion they had formerly jarred a little : it was Hooper's wisdom, and his own simplicity, that had divided them ; every one following the abundance of his own sense ; but now he assured him, that in the bowels of Christ he loved him in the truth and for the truth. He encouraged him to prepare for the day of his dissolution ; after which they should triumph together in eternal glory : he expressed great joy for what he heard of Cranmer's godly and fatherly constancy, " whose integrity, and uprightness, gravity and innocence, was known to the whole nation ; and he blessed God that had given, in his reverend old age, such a man to be the witness of his truth ; for

miserable and hard-hearted was he, whom the godliness and constant confession of so worthy, so grave, and so innocent a man, would not move to acknowledge and confess his truth."

It had been happy if the fires that consumed those good men, had put an end to these contests; and if those that have been since engaged in the like, will reflect more on the sense they had of them when they were now preparing for eternity, than on the heats they were put in concerning them, when perhaps ease and plenty made their passions keener, they may from thence be reduced to have more moderate thoughts of such matters.

If the English nation was dissatisfied with what was done since the beginning of this reign, it cannot be imagined but their discontent received a great increase by what was now acted. Those that favoured the Reformation were awakened to have more serious thoughts about it, since they saw those that had preached it, died so patiently and resolutely, rather than they would deny it. It begot in them greater tenderness to their memories, and a more violent aversion to their persecutors. The rest of the nation that neither knew nor valued religion much, yet were startled at the severity and strangeness of these proceedings; and being naturally of relenting and compassionate tempers, were highly disaffected to the king, from whom they believed that this flowed. The queen had before declared she would force nobody in these points; so they thought it not reasonable nor decent to charge her with it. Gardiner, with the other bishops and privy-councillors, had openly in court purged themselves of it, and laid it on the queen, being therein more careful of their own credit than of her honour; so now it could fall nowhere but on the king; the sourness of whose temper, together with his bigotry for that religion, made it reasonable enough to impute it to him; besides, he had been bred in Spain, where the inquisition was let loose on all that were suspected of heresy without any restraint: and his father had, during his whole reign, been always, as far as he safely could be, a persecutor of Protestants. Philip could not but see that all was cast on him; and

The King purges himself of them. understanding that thereby he should become unacceptable to the nation, and so not be able to carry on his design of making himself master of England, he was something concerned to clear himself of these imputations. Therefore Alphonsus, a Franciscan friar, that was his confessor*, in a sermon before him on the 10th of February, preached largely against the taking away of people's lives for religion; and in plain terms inveighed against the bishops for doing it: he said they had not learned it in Scripture, which taught bishops in the spirit of meekness to instruct those that opposed them; and not to burn them for their consciences. This startled the bishops; since it was

But they are now plain that the Spaniards disowned these extreme courses; and hereupon prosecuted by there was a stop for several weeks put to any further severities. But the popish the Clergy. clergy, being once engaged in blood, have been always observed to become the most brutally cruel of any sort of men, so that it was not easy to restrain them; and therefore they resolved, rather than the heretics should not be prosecuted any further, to take the blame of it avowedly on themselves.

There was at this time a petition printed and sent over from some beyond sea to the queen, in which they set before her the danger of her being carried away by a blind zeal to persecute the members of Christ, as St. Paul was before his consecration: they put her in mind how Cranmer had preserved her in her father's time; so that she had more reason to believe he loved her, and would speak truth to her, than all the rest of her clergy, whom they compared to Jezebel's prophets. They gathered many passages out of Gardiner's, Bonner's, and Tonsal's writings against the pope's supremacy, and her mother's marriage; and showed that they were men that, by their own confession, had no conscience in them, but measured their actions and professions by their fears and interests; and averred that it was known that many of that faction did openly profess, that if they lived in Turkey they would comply with the religion of the country. They said that the Turks did tolerate Christians, and the Christians did in most places suffer Jews; but the persecution now set on foot, was like that which the scribes and pharisees raised against the apostles; for they then pretended that they had been once of their religion, and so were apostates and heretics. They also said (but by a common

* Alphonsus à Castro, famous for his treatise *De Hæresibus*.—GRANGER'S CORRECT.

mistake), that the first law for burning in England was made by Henry the Fourth, who to gratify the bishops that had helped him to depose king Richard the Second, and to advance himself to the throne, as it were, in recompense of that service, had granted them that law; which was both against all humanity, and more particularly against the mercifulness of the Christian religion.

They remembered her, that in king Edward's time, none of the papists had been so used: and in conclusion they told her, she was trusted by God with the sword for the protection of her people as long as they did well, and was to answer to him for their blood, if she thus delivered them to the mercy of such wolves.

From the queen, the address is turned to the nobility, warning them of the danger of not only losing their abbey lands, but all their liberties; and being brought under a Spanish yoke, which had ruined many of the best countries in the world: they are told they must resolve to come under heavy taxes and a general excise, such as was in the Netherlands; and that all this would come justly on them who had joined in the Reformation for base ends to get the church lands; and now, thinking those were secured to them, forsook it: but for all these things they were to answer heartily to God.

From them it turns to the people, and exhorts them to repent of their great sins, which had brought such judgments on them: and in the end, begs the queen will at least be as favourable to her own people as she had been to the strangers, to whom she allowed a free passage to foreign parts.

This discourse is writ in a strong and good style, much beyond the rate of the other books of that time. Upon this, some were set on work to write in defence of such proceedings; so a book was set out about it, with divers arguments, of which the substance follows:—

They said the Jews were commanded to put blasphemers to death, and those heretics were such, for they blasphemed the sacrament of the altar, which was the body of Christ, and called it a piece of bread. They noted also, that the heathens had persecuted Christians; and if they had that zeal for their false religion, it became Christians to be much more zealous for theirs: they made use of that expression in the parable, "Compel them to enter in;" and of St. Paul's, "I would they were cut off that trouble you." They alleged that St. Peter had, by a divine power, struck Ananias and Sapphira dead, which seemed a good warrant for the magistrate to put such persons to death. They said, that the heretics themselves were for burning when they had power; and that those that died then by their hands, had expressed as much courage in their deaths, and innocence in their lives, as they had ever done: they cited St. Austin, who was for prosecuting the Donatists; and though he had been once of another mind, yet finding severities had a good effect on them, he changed, and was for fining or banishing of them. These were the arguments for and against those proceedings.

But leaving them to the reader's judgment, I proceed in the history. I intend not to write a pompous martyrology, and therefore hereafter I shall only name the persons that suffered, with the reasons for which they were condemned: but except in a very few instances, I shall not enlarge on the manner of their trial and sufferings, which being so copiously done by Fox, there is nothing left for any that comes after him. In some private passages which were brought to him upon flying reports, he made a few mistakes, being too credulous; but in the account he gives from records or papers, he is a most exact and faithful writer; so that I could never find him in any prevarication, or so much as a designed concealment. He tells the good and the bad, the weakness and passion, as well as the constancy and patience of those good men who sealed their faith with their blood; who were not all equal in parts nor in discretion; but the weaker any of them were, it argued the more cruelty in their prosecutors, to proceed so severely against such inconsiderable persons.

The first intermission being over, on the 16th of March, Thomas Thomkins, a weaver in Shoreditch, was burnt in Smithfield, only for denying the corporal presence of Christ in the Sacrament. Bonner kept him many months in his house, hoping to have wrought on him by fair means; but those having no effect, one day he tore out a great deal of the hair of his beard, but to conceal that, made his beard be clean

They proceed
to burn more.

shaved: and another time he held his hand in the flame of the candle so long, till the sinews and veins shrunk and burst, and spurted in Harpsfield's face that was standing by, who, interposing with Bonner, got him to give over any further cruelty at that time.

The next that suffered was one William Hunter, of Brentwood, an apprentice of nineteen years old, who had been drawn on in discourse by a priest, till he brought him to deny the presence in the sacrament, and then was accused by him. His own father was made to search for him to bring him to justice; but he, to save his father from trouble, rendered himself. Bonner offered him forty pounds if he would change, so mercenary a thing did he think conscience to be: but he answered, if they would let him alone, he would keep his conscience to himself, but he would not change; so he was condemned and sent to be burnt near his father's house, where he suffered on the 20th of March.

On the same day, Causton and Higbed, two gentlemen of good estates and great esteem, were burnt near their own houses in Essex.

On the 28th of March, William Pigot was burnt at Braintree, and Stephen Knight at Malden; and on the 29th, John Lawrence, a priest, was burnt at Colchester.

In all their processes, the bishops brought no witnesses against them; but did only exhibit articles to them, according to the way of those courts, called *ex officio*, and required them to make answers; and upon their answers, which were judged heretical, they condemned them; so that all this was singly for their consciences, without the pretence of any other matter.

Ferrar, that had been bishop of St. David's, being dealt with by Gardiner to turn, and refusing to do it, was sent down to Carmarthen, where his successor, Morgan, sat upon him, and gave him articles about the marriage of priests, the mass, and some other things; to which his answers being found heretical, he was condemned. He put in an appeal to cardinal Pole, but it was not received: yet it seems that delayed the execution till they heard from him; for though he was condemned on the 13th, he was not burnt before the 30th of March.

About that time was Rawlins White, an honest poor fisherman, burnt at Cardiff; it was in March, but the day is not mentioned: he was very ancient, and was put in prison, only because he had put his son to school, that he might hear the Bible read by him. After a year's imprisonment, the bishop of Landaff condemned him, upon articles to which he answered as an heretic.

On the 24th of April, George March, a priest, was burnt at Chester, being judged as the others had been; only at his death there was a new invention of cruelty, a firkin of pitch was hung over his head, that the fire melting it, it might scald his head as it dropped on it.

After this one Flower, that had been in orders, but was a rash indiscreet man, went on Easter-day into St. Margaret's church in Westminster, and there, with a knife, struck at and wounded the priest as he was officiating. He for some time justified what he had done, as flowing from zeal; but afterwards he sincerely condemned it. Bonner, upon this proceeding against him as an heretic, condemned him to the fire; and he was burnt on the 24th of April in Westminster church-yard. This fact was condemned by all the reformed, who knew that the wrath of man was not the way to accomplish the righteousness of God. In the Jewish government, some extraordinary persons did execute vengeance on notorious offenders; but that constitution was in all its policy regulated by the laws given by Moses, in which such instances were proposed as examples, whereby they became a part of the law of that land; so that in such cases, it was certainly lawful to execute punishment in that way; so in some kingdoms, any man that finds an outlawed person may kill him: but where there is no law warranting such things, it is certainly against both religion and the laws of all society and government, for private persons to pretend to the magistrate's right, and to execute justice upon any account whatsoever.

There was at this time a second stop put to the execution of heretics, for till the end of May more fires were not kindled; people grew generally so enraged upon it, that they could not bear it. I shall therefore now turn myself to other things, that will give the reader a more pleasing entertainment.

On the 28th of March, the queen called for the lord treasurer, sir Robert Rochester, comptroller, sir William Petre, secretary of state, and sir Francis Inglefield, master of the wards. She said she had sent for them to declare her conscience to them concerning the church lands that continued still in the crown: she thought they were taken away in the time of the schism, and by unlawful means, therefore she could not keep them with a good conscience, so she did surrender and relinquish them. If they should tell her, that her crown was so poor, that she could not well maintain her dignity if she parted with them, she must tell them, she valued the salvation of her soul more than ten kingdoms; and thanked God her husband was of the same mind; and therefore she was resolved to have them disposed, as the pope or his legate should think fit; so she ordered them to go with the lord chancellor, to whom she had spoken of it before, and wait on the legate and signify it to him, together with the value of those lands. This flowed from the strictness of the queen's conscience, who then thought herself near the time of her delivery, and therefore would not have such a load lie on her; of which she was the more sensible, by reason of a bull which pope Julius had made, excommunicating all that kept any abbey or church lands; and all princes, prelates, and magistrates, that did not assist in the execution of such bulls. Some said this related to the business of England; but Gardiner said it was only made for Germany; and that bulls had no authority, unless they were received in England. This did not satisfy the people much; for if it was such a sin in Germany, they could not see but it was as bad in England: and if the pope had his authority from Christ and St. Peter, his bulls ought to take place everywhere.

Pope Julius died soon after this, on the 20th of March; and on the 6th of April after, cardinal Marcellus Cervinus was chosen pope, a man of great gravity and innocence of life. He continued to keep his former name, which had not been done a great while, except by Adrian the Sixth, between whose temper and this man there was a great resemblance. He presently turned all his thoughts (as Adrian had done) to a reformation of the corruptions of that see, and blamed his predecessors much who had always put it off: he thought nothing could make the papacy more revered than to cut off their excessive and superfluous pomp, whereby they would be the more esteemed all the world over, and might, on surer grounds, expect the protection of God. He had been one of the legates at Trent, and there observed what was represented as the root of all heresy and disorder, that the clergy were generally corrupted, and had, by many exemptions procured from Rome, broken all the primitive rules. Upon his first election, he called for the cardinal of Mantua, and having observed him to be a man of great probity, told him, he knew it was ordinary for all popes, at their first coming to the throne, to talk of reformation; but he would talk little, being resolved to do more; only he opened his mind to him, that if ever he went back from it, he might have this check upon him, that so honest a man as he was, would know him to be a knave and a hypocrite. He would suffer none of his friends that were in remote parts to come to Rome; nor his nephews, that were in Rome, to come within the court: he was resolved to have sent all priests and bishops home to their benefices; and talked much of their non-residence with great detestation: he would not change his table, nor his custom of making one read to him when he was sitting at it. One day after a long musing at dinner, he said, he remembered the words of Hadrian the Fourth, "that the pope was the most miserable of all men; his whole life was bitterness, his chair was full of thorns, and his way of briars;" and then, leaning with his hand on the table, he said, "I do not see how they can be saved that hold this high dignity." These thoughts did so affect him, that on the twelfth day after that he was chosen pope, he sickened, and died ten days after. These things are reported of him by the learned Onuphrius, who knew him well: and they will not be thought impertinent to have a room in this story.

As soon as the news of his death came to England, the queen writ on the 29th day of May to Gardiner, the earl of Arundel, and the lord Paget, who were then at Calais, mediating a peace between the French and Spaniard, which they could not effect, but only procured a truce: she desired them to deal with the cardinal of Lorraine, the constable, and the other French commissioners, to persuade their master to set up cardinal Pole, that he might succeed in that chair, since he

The Queen
resolves to
surrender up
all the Church
Lands that
were in her
hands.

Pope Julius
dies, and
Marcellus
succeeds.

The Queen
recommends
Card. Pole to
the Popedom
upon Marcel-
lus's death.

seemed every way the fittest person for it; adding (as will appear by the letter which is in the Collection), that she had done this without his knowledge or consent. This Number 18. could not come in time to Rome, where on the 23rd of that month, Caraffa was chosen pope, who was called Paul the Fourth, and who was as different from his predecessor as any man could be. He had put on an appearance of great strictness before; and had set up a religious order of monks, called Theatines; but upon his coming to the popedom, he put on the greatest magnificence possible, and was the highest-spirited and bloodiest pope that had been since Julius the Second's time.

He took it for a great honour, that on the day of his election, the English ambassadors entered Rome with a great train of one hundred and forty horse of their own attendants. On the 23rd of June, in the first consistory after he was crowned, they were heard. They fell prostrate at his feet, and acknowledged the steps and faults of their schism, enumerating them all, for so the pope had ordered it; confessing they had been ungrateful for the many benefits they had received from that church, and humbly asking pardon for them. The pope held some consultation, whether he should receive them, since in their credentials the queen styled herself queen of Ireland; that title being assumed by king Henry in the time of schism. It seemed hard to use such ambassadors ill: but on the other hand, he stood upon his dignity, and thought it belonged only to his see to erect kingdoms: therefore he resolved so to temper the matter, that he should not take notice of that title, but should bestow it as a mark of his favour. So on the 7th of June he did in private erect Ireland into a kingdom; and conferred that title on the king and queen, and told them, that otherwise he would not suffer them to use it in their public audience. And it is probable it was the contest about this that made the audience be delayed almost a month after their arrival. This being adjusted, he received the ambassadors graciously, and pardoned the whole nation: and said, "that in token of his esteem of the king and queen, he gave them the title of the kingdom of Ireland, by that supreme power which he had from God, who had placed him over all kingdoms, to supplant the contumacious, and to build new ones." But in his private discourses with the ambassadors,

he complained that the church lands were not restored; which, he said, was by no means to be endured, for they must render all back to the last farthing; since they belonged to God, and could not be kept without their incurring damnation: he said he would do anything in his power to gratify the king and queen, but in this his authority was not so large as to profane the things dedicated to God.

This would be an anathema and a contagion on the nation, which would bring after it many miseries; therefore he required them to write effectually about it: he repeated this to them every time he spake to them; and told them also, that the Peter-pence must be paid in England, and that he would send a collector to raise it: he himself had been employed in that office when he was young, and he said he was much edified to see the forwardness of the people, especially those of the meaner sort, in paying it; and told them they must not expect St. Peter would open heaven to them so long as they usurped his goods on earth.

The ambassadors seeing the pope's haughty temper, that he could endure no contradiction, answered him with great submission, and so gained his favour much, but knew well that these things could not be easily effected; and the viscount Montacute was too deeply concerned in the matter himself to solicit it hard; for almost his whole estate consisted of abbey lands. Thus was this business rather laid over than fully settled.

But now to return to the affairs in England. There came complaints from all places that the justices of peace were remiss in the matters of religion; and particularly in Norfolk, that these things were ill looked to. So instructions were sent thither (which will be found in the Collections) requiring the justices to divide themselves into ten or twelve districts, that they might more narrowly look into all particulars: that they should encourage the preachers sent to instruct that county, and turn out such as did not come to church or conform in all things, but chiefly the preachers of heresy: that the justices and their families should be good

The English Ambassadors come to Rome.
The Pope presses the restoring of the Church Lands.
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examples to the rest : that they should have one or two in every parish to be secretly instructed, for giving information of everything in it ; and should look strictly to all vagabonds that wandered about, and to such as spread false reports. This was thought to have so much of the inquisition in it, that it was imputed to the counsels of the Spaniards. And they seemed to have taken their pattern from the base practices of those called Delatores, that are set out by Tacitus as the greatest abuse of power that ever was practised by the ill emperors that succeeded Augustus ; who going into all companies, and complying with what might be acceptable to them, engaged men into discourses against the state, and then gave such informations against them which, without their discovering themselves by being brought to prove them, were made use of to the ruin of the accused persons. This was certainly very contrary to the freedom of the English temper, and helped to alienate them the more from the Spaniards. But it may be easily imagined that others were weary of severities, when

Bonner grows unwilling to persecute any more.

But is required by the King and Queen.

Collect. Number 20.

Bonner himself grew averse to them. He complained that the matter was turned over upon him, the rest looking on, and leaving the execution of these laws wholly to him. So when the justices and sheriffs sent up heretics to him, he sent them back, and refused to meddle further. Upon which the king and queen writ to him on the 24th of May, complaining of this, and admonished him to have from henceforth more regard to the office of a good pastor and bishop ; and when such offenders were brought to him, to endeavour to remove them from their errors, or, if they were obstinate, to proceed against them according to law. This letter he caused to be put in his register, from whence I copied it, and have placed it in the Collections. Whether he procured this himself for a colour to excuse his proceedings, or whether it was sent to him by reason of his slackness, is not certain ; but the latter is more probable, for he had burnt none during five weeks : but he soon redeemed that loss of time.

At this time the nation was in expectation of the queen's delivery : and on the 3d of May the bishop of Norwich writ a letter to the earl of Sussex, of which I have seen the original, that news was brought him from London that the queen had brought forth a noble prince, for which he had *Te Deum* solemnly sung in his cathedral and in the other churches thereabout. He adds in the postscript, that the news was confirmed by two other hands. But though this was without any ground, the queen continued still in her opinion that she was with child : and on the 29th of May, letters were written by the council to the lord treasurer to have money in readiness, that those who were appointed to carry the joyful news of the queen's happy delivery might be speedily despatched. In the beginning of June, she was believed to be in labour, and it flew over London again that she had brought forth a son. The priests had settled all their hopes on that ; so they did everywhere sing *Te Deum*, and were transported into no small ecstasies of joy. One more officious than the rest made a sermon about it, and described all the lineaments of their young prince : but they soon found they were abused. It was said that they had been deceived, and that the queen had no great belly : but Melvil, in his Memoirs, says, he was assured from some of her women that she did cast forth at several times some moles and unformed pieces of flesh. So now there was small hopes of any issue from her. This increased the sourness of her temper ; and king Philip, being so much younger than she, growing out of conceit with her, did not much care for her, but left her some months after. He saw no hope of children ; and finding that it was not possible for him to get England in his hands without that, gave over all his designs about it : so having lived with her about fifteen months after their first marriage, he found it necessary to look more after his hereditary crown, and less after his matrimonial one ; and henceforth he considered England rather as a sure ally, that was to adhere firmly to his interests, than as a nation which he could ever hope to add to his other crowns. All these things concurred to increase the queen's melancholy humours, and did cast her into an ill state of health ; so that it was not probable she could live long. Gardiner upon that set himself much to have the lady Elizabeth put out of the way ; but, as it was formerly said, king Philip preserved her.

And thus affairs went on, as to civil matters, till the meeting of the next parliament, in

October following. But I now return to the proceedings against the poor men called heretics, who were again, after a short intermission, brought to new sufferings. John Cardmaker, that had been divinity-reader at St. Paul's, and a prebendary at Bath, and John Warne, an upholster in London, were both burnt in Smithfield, on the 30th of May, for denying the corporal presence, being proceeded against *ex officio*. On the 4th of June, there was a piece of pageantry acted on the body of one Tooly, who, being executed for a robbery, did at his death say something that savoured of heresy : upon which the council writ to Bonner to inquire into it, and to proceed according to the ecclesiastical laws. He thereupon formed a process, and cited the dead body to answer the points objected to him ; but he, to be sure, neither appearing nor answering, was condemned and burnt. After this, on the 10th of June, Thomas Hawkes, a gentleman in Essex, who had lived much in the court, was also burnt at Coggeshall ; and on the same day, John Simpson and John Ardeley, two husbandmen, were also burnt in Essex. Thomas Watts, a linendraper, was burnt at Chelmsford. On the 9th, Nicholas Chamberlain, a weaver, was burnt at Colchester ; and on the 15th, Thomas Osmond, a fuller, was burnt at Manningtree ; and the same day, William Bamford, a weaver, was burnt at Harwich.

These, with several others, had been sent up by the earl of Oxford, to Bonner, because they had not received the sacrament the last Easter, and were suspected of heresy ; and articles being given to them, they were upon their answers condemned, and sent to be burnt in the places where they had lived. But upon this occasion, the council fearing some tumult, or violent rescue, writ to the earl of Oxford and the lord Rich, to gather the country, and to see the heretics burnt. The earl of Oxford, being some way indisposed, could only send his people to the lord Rich, who went and obeyed the orders that had been sent him ; for which letters of thanks were written to him ; and the council understanding that some gentlemen had come to the burning at Colchester that had not been writ to, but as the words of the letter have it, "had honestly and of themselves gone thither," writ to the lord Rich to give them the council's thanks for their zeal. I find in the council-books, many entries made of letters writ to several counties, to the nobility and gentry to assist at these executions ; and such as made excuses were always after that looked on with an ill eye, and were still under great jealousy.

After these followed the execution of Bradford in July ; he had been condemned among the first, but was not burnt till now. He had been a prebendary of St. Paul's, and a celebrated preacher, in the end of king Edward's days. He had preserved Bourn in the tumult at Paul's cross, and that afternoon, preaching at Bow church, he severely reprov'd the people for the disorder at Paul's ; but three days after was put in prison, where he lay, removed from one prison to another, near two years ; wherever he came, he gained so much on the keepers, that they suffered him to preach and give the sacrament to his fellow prisoners. He was one of those that were carried before the council on the 22d of January, where Bonner accused him of the tumult at Paul's ; though all he pretended to prove it by was, that his way of speaking to the people showed he thought he had some authority over them, and was a presumption that he had set on the sedition. Bradford appealed to God that saw his innocency, and how unworthily he was required for saving his enemies, who rendered him evil for good. At last refusing to conform himself to the laws, he was condemned with the rest on the 31st of January, where that rescue was again laid to his charge, together with many letters he had written over England, which (as the earl of Derby informed the parliament) had done more hurt than he could have done, if he had been at liberty to preach. He said since he understood that they acted by a commission which was derived from the pope, he could not answer them, having sworn never to acknowledge that authority : what he had done in Paul's was at Bourn's earnest desire, who prayed him, for the passion of Christ, to speak to the people ; upon which he stepped up to the pulpit, and had almost been killed with the dagger that was thrown at Bourn, for it touched his sleeve. But in the points of religion, he professed his faith so constantly, that for that cause he was condemned. Yet the saving of Bourn was so publicly known, that it was thought undecent to proceed against him so quick as they did with the rest. So both

The Council writ to the Lords in Essex to gather the Gentry, and assist at these Burnings.

Bradford's Martyrdom.

Heath archbishop of York, and Day bishop of Chichester, Weston, Harpsfield, and the king's confessor, and Alphonsus à Castro, went to see him, and endeavoured to gain him; but all to no purpose. It looks very ill in Bourn that he never interposed for Bradford, nor came once to visit him; and as when Bradford was before the council, Bourn's brother the secretary was very sharp upon him; so when he was brought to his trial, Bourn himself, then bishop of Bath and Wells, being present, did not open his mouth for him, though he appealed to him, as to the business of the tumult. With Bradford one John Leafe, an apprentice of nineteen years old, was led out to be burnt, who was also condemned upon his answers to the articles exhibited to him. When they came to the stake they both fell down and prayed. Then Bradford took a fagot in his hands and kissed it, and so likewise kissed the stake, expressing thereby the joy he had in his sufferings; and cried, "O England, repent, repent, beware of idolatry and false antichrists!" But the sheriff hindering him to speak any more, he embraced his fellow-sufferer, and prayed him to be of good comfort, for they should sup with Christ that night. His last words were, "Strait is the way and narrow is the gate that leadeth into eternal life, and few there be that find it."

Now the persecution was carried on to other places, Bonner stopping in it again. But Thornton suffragan of Dover, Harpsfield archdeacon of Canterbury, and some others, resolved likewise to show their zeal. This Thornton had from the first change made by king Henry been the most officious and forward in every turn, and had been the first in this reign that had set up the mass at Canterbury. He was much despised for it by cardinal Pole, but Pole could not hinder the fury of those men, without drawing on himself the pope's indignation. The pope was his professed and inveterate enemy; but knew not how to vent his hatred to him, since he had done such an eminent service to the church as the reconciling of England. Gardiner understanding this, sent secretly to Rome, to give ill characters of Pole, which the ill-natured pope was ready enough to receive. Gardiner designed to be made a cardinal; and to get Pole recalled, and himself made archbishop of Canterbury. The pope was resolved, on the first occasion, to take the legatine power from Pole, and give it to Gardiner, but Pole was so much in the queen's favour, that this required some time to bring it about. This made Gardiner study to preserve Cranmer as long as he lived. It seemed more reasonable to have begun with him, who had indeed been the chief author of the Reformation, and promoter of that they called heresy: nor had Gardiner such kindness for him, as to interpose on his account; but he knew, that as soon as he was burnt, Pole would be presently invested in the see of Canterbury. Therefore he suggested, that if he could be any way brought off, it would be the most effectual means possible to extirpate heresy; for if he who had so much set on these doctrines, did forsake them, it would confound the whole party, and bring over at least all that were weak or staggering; whereas, on the other hand, if he died resolutely for it, his death would confirm them all very much. This was a colour good enough to preserve him. But why the see of Canterbury was not declared vacant, since he was now pronounced an obstinate heretic, I do not so well apprehend; whether there was anything in the pail, or the latter inventions of the canonists, that made it necessary not to fill his see so long as he lived, I know not. Pole being in these circumstances, durst neither offend those at Rome, nor openly hinder the prosecution of heretics; which it seems he would have done more steadily, if it had not been for fear of the pope's taking thereby advantages against him, who had before given out in the conclave, that he was a favourer of heresy; and therefore would the more easily be induced to believe anything that might be written over to Rome to his prejudice.

Those that sate in Canterbury to judge the heretics, had four men brought before them, two priests, Bland and Frankesh, and Sheterden and Middleton, two laymen. They were condemned upon their answers to the articles exhibited to them, and burnt at Canterbury the 12th of July; and in the same month, Margery Polley was burnt at Tunbridge on the like account, who was the first woman that suffered in this reign. Christopher Ward was condemned with her, and burnt in Dartford. On the 22d of July, Dirick Carver was burnt at Lewes, and on the 23rd John Launder was burnt at Stening. They had been taken in London, and brought before Bonner; but he would not meddle with them, and desired they might be sent to their own ordinaries: one of them being of

Some burnt at
Canterbury.

Surrey, was within Gardiner's jurisdiction, who resolved to proceed no more against the heretics, so he procured a letter from the council to Bonner, requiring him to proceed against them, who thereupon presently condemned them.

There were at this time several discoveries of plottings in several counties, especially in Dorsetshire and Essex; but the nature of these plots is not set down in the council-books. Some were taken and put in the Tower: two or three privy-councillors were sent thither on the 9th of June, with a letter from the council to the lieutenant of the Tower to put them to the torture, according to their discretions; yet nothing following upon this, it is probable these were only surmises devised by the clergy, to set on the council more severely against them, whose ruin they were contriving by all the ways they could think on.

There was also an outrage committed on two friars, Peyto and Elston, who were Franciscans of the Observance. They had spoken sharply against king Henry in the business of the divorce, and had fled beyond sea on that account; therefore the queen had sent for them, and not only procured the attainder that had passed against them to be repealed in the last parliament, but made Peyto her confessor; and being resolved to raise religious houses in England again, she had begun with their order, the Franciscans of the Observance, and with their house at Greenwich, which was the first that was suppressed, as was shown in the former Book; and therefore she ordered that to be rebuilt this summer. So Elston and Peyto going down by water, there were stones flung at them by some that were a-shore in London. This the queen resented highly; so she sent the lord treasurer to the lord mayor, requiring him to make proclamation of a reward to any that should discover those who had done it;

but it could not be found out. She ordered all sir Thomas More's works to be printed together in one volume, which were in the press this year; and it was given out as an extraordinary thing, that king Edward had died, and she succeeded to the crown, that very day in which he was beheaded. But in publishing his works, one piece of fraud has occurred to me since the former Part was printed. I have seen the manuscript out of which his letters were printed, where the originals of the letters that he writ to his daughter, Mrs. Roper, are with the copies of those that he writ to Cromwell. But among these, there is a long letter concerning the nun of Kent, in which he speaks fully of her hypocrisy, and other villanies. It contains many remarkable passages concerning her, of the high opinion he at first had of her; how he was led into it, and how he was afterwards convinced, "that she was the most false dissembling hypocrite that had been known, and guilty of the most detestable hypocrisy, and devilish dissembled falsehood; and he believed, that she had communication with an evil spirit." This letter was at that time concealed, but not destroyed: so I find the conjecture I made about it, in my former Part, has proved true; though I did not then hope to come by the letter itself, as I have done since. It seems it was resolved to raise the credit of that story; and since the nun was believed to be both a martyr and a prophetess, it is like she might have been easily gotten to be canonized; and therefore so great a testimony from such a man, was not thought fit to be left in her way.

The letter I have put into the Collections.

Concerning this edition of sir Thomas More's works, I shall recall to the reader's mind, what was said in the former Part about his life pretended to be writ by Rastal; who was now the publisher of his works, and so much encouraged in it, that the queen promoted him soon after to be a judge; and so it is not likely that Rastal ever writ any such book, otherwise he had now prefixed it to this edition. Nor is it probable that the stories which Sanders vented in his name afterwards concerning Ann Boleyn, or queen Elizabeth's birth, were then so much as contrived; otherwise it is not credible, that they should not have been printed at this time; since the lady Elizabeth being the only object of the fear and jealousy of the popish party, was now out of the queen's favour, and a prisoner; so that we cannot doubt but all such stories would have been very acceptable to the queen, and the clergy would have taken care to have published them, for the defaming her, and blasting her title. And therefore these things

Pretended
Plots, and
some put to
the Torture
to make Dis-
covery.

The Queen
rebuilt the
Franciscans'
house at
Greenwich.

Sir Thomas
More's Works
printed.

But his Let-
ter about the
Nun of Kent
was left out.

Rastal pub-
lished his
works, but did
not write his
Life.

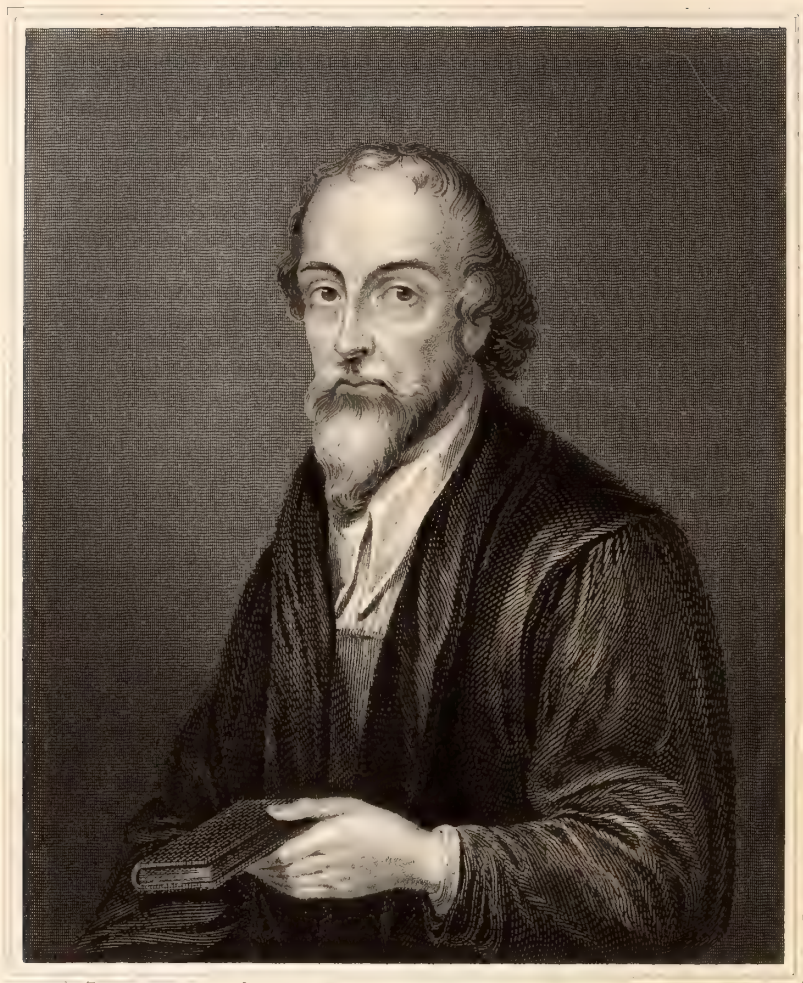
seem to be afterwards contrived in revenge, when queen Elizabeth began to proceed severely against that party, after the many and repeated conspiracies they had engaged in against her life.

But now the queen resolved to endow so many religious houses as the revenues of the church that were in her hands could maintain : and about that, and some other particulars, she writ some directions to the council with her own hand, which will be found in the Collections. I have seen two copies of these that differ a little, but I follow that which seemed to me to be best derived from the original. She desired, “ that those who had commission to treat with the cardinal about the goods of the church, might wait on him once a week to finish that and some other matters that were to be prepared for the parliament.” She particularly recommended “ the care of having good preaching encouraged, which she wished might be well looked to ; and she advised a general visitation both of the universities and churches to be made, by such as the cardinal and they should think fit. As for the punishment of heretics, she wished it might not be done rashly ; yet she would have justice done on those who by learning studied to deceive the simple ; but would have it so managed that the people might see they were not condemned but upon just occasions ; and therefore ordered that some of the council should be present at all the burnings about London, and that there should be everywhere good sermons at those times. She also verily believed that many benefices should not be in one man’s hand ; but that every priest ought to look to his cure, and reside upon it. And she looked on the pluralities over England to be a main cause of the want of good preachers, whose sermons, if joined with a good example, would do much good ; and without that, she thought their sermons would profit little.”

And now I return to the burnings, from which I am not unwilling frequently to break off, since a continued relation of such things cannot be but an ungrateful entertainment to the reader. In July, one Juxon was burnt at Chichester ; on the 2d of August, James Abeys was burnt at Bury, in Suffolk ; on the 8th of August, Denly, a gentleman, and Robert Smith, were burnt at Uxbridge ; on the 26th, George Tankervil was burnt at St. Alban’s ; and on the 28th of August, Patrick Packingham also was burnt there. On the 31st of August, one Newman was burnt at Saffron Walden, in Essex ; and Robert Samuel, a preacher, was burnt at Ipswich. There were also, in August, six burnt in one fire at Canterbury. Elizabeth Warne, burnt at Stratford-le-Bow ; Stephen Harwood, at Stratford ; Thomas Fust, at Ware ; and William Hall, at Barnet : but of their sufferings the days are not marked. And in this month of August, Richard Hook suffered at Chichester. In September, on the 6th day of the month, George Catmer and four others were burnt at Canterbury. On the 20th, Robert Glover, a gentleman, and one Cornelius Bangey, were burnt at Coventry : the same month, but we know not on what days, William Allen was burnt at Walsingham ; Roger Coe, at Yerford ; Thomas Cob, in Thetford. Thomas Haywood and John Garaway, at Lichfield, were also burnt on the same account. On the 16th of October following, William Wolsey and Robert Pigot were burnt at Ely ; where Shaxton, that had been bishop of Salisbury in king Henry’s time, and quitted his bishopric on the account of the Six Articles, but in the end of that reign recanted, and was now suffragan to the bishop of Ely, condemned them*. It is enough to have named all those who were burnt merely by the proceedings *ex officio* ; for being forced either to accuse themselves, or to die however, they chose rather plainly to answer those articles that were ministered to them, and so were condemned for their answers.

But on the 16th of October, Ridley and Latimer offered up their lives at Oxford, on which it may be expected I should enlarge a little. The bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol, were sent to Oxford by a special commission from the cardinal to proceed against them. As soon as Ridley heard they proceeded in the name of the pope, by authority from the cardinal, he put on his cap, having stood bareheaded before that, because he would express no sign of reverence to those who acted by such a commis-

* Shaxton did not condemn them : Fuller, the bishop’s chancellor, condemned them. Heyward dean of Ely, and Christopherson dean of Norwich, with others, were in the commission, but the chancellor was the chief.—STAYVE’S CORRECT.



DESIGNED BY J. H. B.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY, BISHOP OF LONDON.

OB. 1555.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE REVEREND HENRY RIDLEY D.D.

sion. He said he paid great respect to the cardinal as descended from the royal family, and a man endued with such learning and virtue; that therefore he honoured and revered him: but for his legatine authority from the bishop of Rome, he utterly renounced it, and therefore would show no reverence to that character; and so putting off his cap as he spoke of him on other respects, he put it on again when he named his being legate; and being required to put it off, refused to do it on that account, but one of the beadles did it for him. After that the bishop of Lincoln made him a long exhortation to recant, and acknowledge the see of Rome: since Christ had built his church on St. Peter, and the fathers had all acknowledged the pre-eminence of that see, and himself had been once of that opinion. To which he answered, it was upon the faith which St. Peter confessed that Christ had founded his church; he acknowledged the bishops of Rome had been held in great esteem, both for the dignity of the city and the worthiness of the bishops that sat in it; but they were only esteemed Patriarchs of the West; and the church had not then thought of that power to which they had since advanced themselves; he confessed he was once of their mind, but it was as St. Paul had been, a persecutor; he had seen since such spots in the church of Rome, that he could never return to it. Upon this followed much discourse. In conclusion, they objected to him some articles about those opinions which he had maintained a year and a half before that in the schools, and required him to make his answers to them. He began with a protestation, that by answering them he did not acknowledge the pope's authority; and then answered them as he had done before. Latimer used the like protestation and answers. So they were allowed one night's respite to consider better, whether they would recant or not; but next day they appearing, and adhering to the answers they had made, were declared obstinate heretics, and ordered to be degraded, and so delivered over to the secular power.

After that new attempts were made on Ridley to persuade him to accept of the queen's mercy; but all being to no purpose, the writ was sent down to burn them. The night before the execution Ridley was very joyful, and invited the mayor and his wife, in whose house he was kept, to be at his wedding next day: at which, when the mayor's wife wept, he said he perceived she did not love him; but he told her, though his breakfast would be sharp, he was sure his supper would be sweet: he was glad to hear that his sister would come and see him die; and was in such composure of mind that they were all amazed at it. Next morning, being the 16th, they were led out to the place of execution, which was before Baliol-college: they looked up to the prison to have seen Cranmer, but he was then engaged in dispute with some friars, so that he was not in his window; but he looked after them with great tenderness, and, kneeling down, prayed earnestly that God would strengthen their faith and patience in that their last but painful passage. When they came to the stake, they embraced one another with great affection, Ridley saying to Latimer, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or enable us to abide it." Doctor Smith was appointed to preach, and took his text from these words, "If I give my body to be burnt, and have no charity, it profiteth nothing." He compared their dying for neresy to Judas's hanging himself; and warned the people to beware of them, with as much bitterness as he could express. The best of it was, the sermon lasted not above a quarter of an hour. When he had done, Ridley was going to answer him; and the lord Williams, that was appointed by the queen to see the execution, was inclined to hear him; but the vice-chancellor said, except he intended to recant, he was not to be suffered to speak. Ridley answered, "He would never deny his Lord, nor those truths of his of which he was persuaded; God's will be done in him: he committed himself to God, who would indifferently judge all." Then he addressed himself to the lord Williams, and said, "Nothing troubled him so much as that he had received fines of some who took leases of him when he was bishop of London, and these leases were now voided: he therefore humbly prayed that the queen would give order that those might be made good to the tenants, or that the fines might be restored out of his goods which he had left in his house, and were of far greater value than those fines would amount to; and that some pity might be had of Shipside, his brother-in-law, who was turned out of a place he had put him in, and had now attended on him with great care." Then they both prayed, and fitted themselves for the stake; Latimer

saying to Ridley, "Be of good comfort, we shall this day light such a candle in England as, I trust, by God's grace, shall never be put out." Then gunpowder being hanged about their bodies in great quantities to hasten their death, the fire was put to, and Latimer was, with the first flame, the powder taking fire, put out of pain and died immediately. But Ridley had a more lingering torment, for they threw on the fire so much wood that the flame could not break through it, so that his legs were almost consumed before this was observed; and then one opening the passage to the flame, it put an end to his life.

Thus died these two excellent bishops: the one, for his piety, learning, and solid judgment, the ablest man of all that advanced the Reformation; and the other, for the plain simplicity of his life, esteemed a truly primitive bishop and Christian. Of his care of his bishopric, the instructions he gave at his visitation, chiefly of the monasteries, will give a good evidence; and therefore I have put them in the Collection, as they were copied from the register of Worcester by that ingenious and worthy counsellor Mr. Summers, who, out of his zeal to the Reformation, searched all the books there, that he might gather from them such things as he thought could be of use to this work. Bonner had made an ill retribution to Ridley for the kindness he had showed his friends when he was in possession at London: for he had made Bonner's mother always dine with him when he lived in his country-house of Fulham, and treated her as if she had been his own mother; besides his kindness to his other friends. Heath, then bishop of Worcester, had been kept prisoner a year and a half in Ridley's house, where he lived as if he had been at his own; and Heath used always to call him the best learned of all the party: yet he so far forgot gratitude and humanity that, though he went through Oxford when he was a prisoner there, he came not to see him. When they lay in the Tower, both Crammer and they were, by reason of the number of prisoners, put into one chamber for some months; but after they came to Oxford, they could scarce send messages to one another: and men had laid off humanity so much, that all the while they lay there none of the university waited on them. Few that favoured their doctrine were then left, and of the rest it is no wonder that none came to visit them; nor did they supply them with anything they needed, for all the charity that was sent to them came from London.

This summer there was a strict search made after all the goods of the church that had been embezzled; and all that had been visitors, either in king Henry or king Edward's time, were brought into suits about it; but many compounded, and so purchased their quiet by an offer to the church of some large gratuity, and according to the greatness thereof their affection to the church was measured. Many of those did favour the Reformation, which made them give the more bountifully, that so they might come under good characters, and be the less suspected.

The parliament was opened on the 21st of October. The chancellor came thither, both then and on the 23rd, but could come no more. It was reported that he had staid long for dinner that day that Ridley and Latimer were to be burnt, till one should bring him word that the fire was set to them; but the messenger coming post, did not reach London till four o'clock in the afternoon, and that he then went cheerfully to dine; but was at dinner struck with the illness of which he died. It was a suppression of urine, which held him till the 12th of November, on which he died. He had great remorse for his former life; and Day, bishop of Chichester, coming to him, and comforting him with the assurance of justification through the blood of Christ, he answered him, "He might speak of that to him or others in his condition; but if he opened that gap again, and preached that to the people, then farewell all together." He often repeated those words, "Erravi cum Petro, sed non flevi cum Petro:" "I have erred with Peter, but I have not mourned with him." He was of a nobler descent than is commonly known: for though he took the name Gardiner from his supposed father, yet he was then believed to be the base son of Richard Woodvil, that was brother to queen Elizabeth, wife to king Edward IV.; so that he was of kin to king Henry VIII. in the second and third degree of consanguinity, which might be the cause that he was so suddenly advanced to the bishopric of Winchester. This is mentioned by sir Edward Hoby, in a letter he writ to one of those that had fled beyond sea, giving him an account of his death; where he says of him, he was a man of

Collect. Num-
ber 23.

Suits about
the Spoils of
Churches.

Gardiner's
Sickness and
Death.

higher descent than he was commonly reputed ; and on the margent it is said he was nephew to a queen of England. This explains that which I find objected both to him and Bonner in one of the books that were written in the defence of the married clergy ; that no wonder they were such enemies to marriage, since both of them were born in adultery. He was a man well skilled in the canon and civil laws, and moderately in divinity. He had a good style in Latin, and understood the Greek well ; but his strength lay in deep dissimulation, a quickness of apprehension, a great prospect of affairs, a close and artificial way of concealing his mind, and insinuating himself into the affections and confidences of other persons. He did comply all Henry VIII.'s time, and would willingly have done the like in king Edward's time, but that Cranmer knew him too well to be directed by him, and handled him as he deserved. But the usage he then met with so recovered him with queen Mary, that she put him in the greatest trusts ; and now, when a cardinal's hat was like to fall on his head, he was carried off, and all his ambitious projects fell with him. Of his servile compliance in promoting king Henry's divorce, I have found fresh instances besides those that are mentioned in the former Part. When he went to Rome, in the year 1529, Anne Boleyn writ

Collect. Num-
ber 24.

a very kind letter to him, which I have put in the Collection. By it the reader will clearly perceive that he was then in the secret of the king's designing to marry her as soon as the divorce was obtained. There is another particular in that letter which corrects a conjecture which I set down in the beginning of the former Book, concerning the cramp-rings that were blessed by king Henry, which I thought might have been done by him after he was declared Head of the Church. That Part was printed before I saw this letter : but this letter shows they were used to be blessed before the separation from Rome, for Anne Boleyn sent them as great presents thither. The use of them had been (it seems) discontinued in king Edward's time ; but now, under queen Mary, it was designed to be revived, and the office for it was written out in a fair manuscript yet extant,

Collect. Num-
ber 25.

of which I have put a copy in the Collection. But the silence in the writers of that time makes me think it was seldom, if ever, practised. But to return to Gardiner's officious compliance in the matter of the divorce, I have put in the Collection a letter of his to king Henry, written in such confidence to him that even cardinal Wolsey was not to see it. In it he sets out the pope's timorous-

Collect. Num-
ber 26.

ness so plainly, that he writes, he saw nothing but the fear he was in of the emperor's forces kept him from granting what was desired ; therefore he advised the king to do the business once in England, and then leave it to the emperor to complain, not doubting but he would be put off by as many delays as were now used in the king's business.

Heath, archbishop of York, had the seals on the 1st of January, they having been during that interval in the hands of sir Nicholas Hare, then master of the rolls, and he was made chancellor during the queen's pleasure. The queen also, considering that Whitehall had been taken from the see of York, had a scruple in her conscience against living in it, but Heath and she agreed it thus : Suffolk Place, by the duke's attainder, was now in the queen's hands, so she gave that to the see of York, which Heath sold, and converted it to tenements, and purchased another house near Charing Cross, which from thence forward was called York House.

But for the parliament, it was now much changed ; men's minds were much alienated from the clergy and also from the queen, who minded nothing else but to raise them to great wealth and power again. On the 28th of October, it was moved in the house of commons to give a subsidy and two-fifteenths for paying the debts of the crown, but it was opposed with great vehemence. It was said, that the queen had profusely given away the riches of the crown, and then turned to the laity to pay her debts : why did she not rather turn to the spirituality ? But it was answered, that the convocation had given her a subsidy of six shillings in the pound ; and the queen asked now, after almost three years' reign, nothing but what she had discharged her subjects of at her first coming to the crown. Yet the heats grew such, that on the 1st of November, secretary Petre brought a message from her, that she thanked them that had moved for two-fifteenths for her, but she refused it ; so the subsidy was agreed on. On the 29th of November, the queen sent for the house of commons. When they were come, she

The Temper
of the Parlia-
ment is much
changed.

said to them, she could not with a good conscience take the tenths and first-fruits of spiritual benefices: it was a tax her father laid on the clergy to support his dignity of Supreme Head; of which, since she was divested, she would also discharge that. Then the legate made a speech to show that tithes and impropriations of spiritual benefices were the patrimony of the church, and ought to return to it. The queen upon that declared, that she would surrender them up likewise to the church. Then one Story of the house of commons kneeled down and said to the queen, that the speaker did not open to her their desire that licences might be restrained. This was a great affront to the speaker; so he returning to the house complained of Story. This member thought he might assume more liberty; for in Edward the Sixth's time, when the bill for the first book of the English service passed, he spoke so freely against it, with such reflections on the king and the protector, that he was put in the serjeant's hands, and sent to the Tower. The words he said were, "Wo unto thee, O England, when thy king is a child;" and an impeachment was drawn against him. But upon his submission, the house ordered the privy-councillors to declare to the protector, that it was their resolution that he should be enlarged; and they desired that the king would forgive his offence against him and his council: now he had indiscreetly appeared against all licences from Rome, thinking he had a privilege to talk more freely; but he confessed his fault, and the house "knowing that he spake from a good zeal," forgave him. He was afterwards condemned for treason in queen Elizabeth's reign.

On the 23rd of November the bill for suppressing the first-fruits and tenths, and the resigning up all impropriations that were yet in the queen's gift, to the church, to be disposed of as the legate pleased for the relief of the clergy, was brought into the house. It was once thought fit to have the surrender of impropriations left out; for it was said, the queen might do that as well by letters patents; and if it were put into the bill, it would raise great jealousies, since it would be understood, that the queen did expect that the subjects should follow her example; but it was resolved, by all means possible, to recover the tithes to the church; so it was put into the bill. It was long argued; some said, the clergy would rob the crown and the nation both; and that the laity must then support the dignity of the realm. It was particularly committed to sir William Cecil and others, to be examined by them. On the 3rd of December the house divided about it, one hundred and twenty-six were against it, and one hundred and ninety-three were for it.

There was a bill sent down against the countess of Sussex, who had left her husband, and gone into France, where she lived openly in adultery, and bare children to others. A bill was put in to the same purpose in the first parliament of this reign, to take her jointure from her, and declare her children bastards; and was then cast out by the commons; and had now again the same fate. Another bill was put in against the duchess of Suffolk and others, who had gone beyond sea, to require them to return, under severe punishments: but though it was agreed to by the lords, yet, upon a division of the house of commons, it was carried in the negative. The greatest and wealthiest of those who favoured the Reformation, seeing in how ill a condition they must be if they staid in England, were gone beyond sea; so it was now endeavoured to force them to return, or to make them lose their estates; but the commons thought they had already consented to too severe laws against them, and therefore would add no more. The duchess of Suffolk had been persecuted while she was in the Netherlands, but narrowly escaped. Another bill was put in for the incapacitating of several persons from being justices of peace*; but was cast out by the commons at the first reading. This was chiefly against such as were suspected of remissness in the prosecuting of heretics: but the commons would do nothing to encourage that; nor was it necessary, since it was in the queen's power to leave out of the commission such as she excepted to: but it showed the zeal of some who had a mind to recommend themselves by such motions.

There was a complaint put into the house of commons by the wife of one Rufford against

* The bill was that no servants to gentlemen, and wearing their clothes (except the king and queen's) should be justices. It was read the second time on the 12th of November.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

Bennet Smith, who had hired two persons to kill her husband ; and which, as the act passed about it says, was one of the most detestable murders that had ever been known in England. But Smith, that had hired and afterwards paid the murderers, might by the law claim, and have the benefit of clergy. It is, and hath been an ancient custom in this nation, that for some crimes, those who can read, are not to suffer death. This was at first done with a declaration, that either they had vowed, or were then resolved to enter into orders, which was the cause that no bigamy, that is, none that had been twice married, or such as married widows, were capable of it, because such could not receive orders ; and the reading was only to show that they were in some sort qualified for orders : though afterwards the reading, without any such vow or promise, was all that was required to give one the benefit of clergy. This was granted as an appendix of the ecclesiastical immunity ; for the churchmen were not satisfied that their own persons should be exempted from punishment, but would needs have all that resolved to come among them, be likewise preserved from the punishment due to those crimes which they had formerly committed. So Rufford's wife petitioning that Smith might by act of parliament be debarred that benefit, they sent her to the queen to beg that she would order Smith to be brought from the Tower, where he was then kept, to the bar of their house : which being done, the other partners and actors confessed all : and though he at first denied, yet he afterwards confessed. So the bill was sent up by the commons to the lords, where it was much opposed by the clergy, who would not consent that any diminution should be made of their ancient privileges : but the heinousness of the fact wrought so much on the greater part, that it was passed ; the earls of Arundel and Rutland, the bishops of London, Worcester, Norwich, and Bristol, the lords Abergavenny, Fitzwater, and Lumley, protesting. Pates was now bishop of Worcester, upon Heath's translation to York. He was (as some say) designed to be bishop of that see by king Henry upon Latimer's resignation ; but being engaged in a correspondence with the pope and cardinal Pole, he fled beyond sea. But the truth is, that upon the death of Jerome de Ghinuci, he was at Rome made bishop of Worcester by the pope, and was thereupon attainted : but his attainder had been repealed by the former parliament, and so he was restored to that see.

On the 9th of December the parliament was dissolved. And the day following sir Anthony Kingston, who had been a main stickler in it, and had one day taken the keys of the house from the serjeant, which (it seems) was not displeasing to the major part of the house, since they did nothing upon it, was sent to the Tower : and that same day (as it is in the council books), the bishop of Ely delivered to the lord treasurer the pope's bull, confirming the king and queen's title to Ireland, bearing date the 7th of June. Kingston lay in the Tower till the 23d of the month, and then he submitted, and asked pardon, and was discharged. But he was next year accused to have engaged in a design with some others, to have robbed the exchequer of 50,000*l.*, and with it to have made a rebellion. Whereupon eight of them, Udal, Throgmorton, Perkham, Daniel, Stanton, Rosses, Bedyland, and Dethick, were executed for high treason. What evidence was brought against them I do not know. But Kingston died on his way to London.

From the parliament I turn next to the convocation, where the cardinal was now at more liberty, being delivered from Gardiner's jealousies and opposition. He obtained of the queen on the 2nd of November a warrant under the great seal, giving him licence to hold a synod. The licence he had formerly taken out, is made mention of : and to avoid all ambiguities which might arise from the laws or prerogatives of the crown, she authorised him to call that, or any other synod after, and to decree what canons he should think fit : she also authorised the clergy to meet, consent to, and obey those canons, without any danger of the law. This was thought safe on both sides ; both for preserving the rights of the crown, and securing the clergy from being afterwards brought within the statute of premunire, as they had been upon their acknowledging cardinal Wolsey's legatine power. To this convocation Pole proposed a book he had prepared, which was afterwards printed, with the title of "The Reformation of England by the Decree of Cardinal Pole," and is now put into the volumes of the councils.

An Act debar-
ring one from
the benefit of
Clergy.

Sir Anthony
Kingston put
in the Tower
for his beha-
viour in the
House of
Commons.
Ex Lib. Con-
cil.

Card. Pole in
Convocation
makes Canons
for reforming
the Clergy.
Rot. Pat. 1st
Par. 3. Reg.

The first decree is, that there should be constantly a remembrance of the reconciliation now made with Rome in every mass: besides a procession, with other solemnities, on the anniversary of it. He also confirmed the constitutions of Otho Pole's Reformation. and Othobonus, forbidding the reading of all heretical books; and set forth the Catholic faith, in the words of that exposition of it which P. Eugenius sent from the council of Florence to those of Armenia.

The 2nd was for the careful administering and preserving of the sacraments, and for the putting away of all feasting in the festivities of the dedications of churches.

The 3rd exhorts the bishops to lay aside all secular cares, and give themselves wholly to the pastoral office, and to reside in their diocese, under the highest pains. Their canons are also required to reside, and also other clergymen. All pluralities of benefices with cure, are simply condemned: and those who had more benefices with cure, were required within two months to resign all but one: otherwise it was to be declared that they had forfeited them all.

The 4th is, that whereas the residence of bishops could not be of great use, unless they became truly pastors to their flock, which was chiefly done by their preaching the word of God; that had been, contrary to the apostles' practice, much neglected by many: therefore he requires them to preach every Sunday or holiday; or if they were disabled, to find other fit persons to do it. And they were also in private to instruct and exhort their people, and all the other inferior clergy, and to endeavour to persuade them to the Catholic faith; or if need were, to use threatenings. And because of the great want of good preachers, the cardinal declared he would take care there should be homilies set out for the instruction of the nation. In the mean while every bishop was to be sending such as were more eminent in preaching over their diocese, thereby to supply the defects of the rest.

The 5th is about the lives of the bishops, that they should be most strict and exemplary: that they should lay aside all pride and pomp; should not be clothed in silk, nor have rich furniture; and have frugal tables, not above three or four dishes of meat; and even so many he rather allows, considering the present time, than approves: that at their table, the Scriptures or other good books should be read, mixed with pious discourses; that they should not have too great numbers of servants or horses; but that this parsimony might appear not to flow from avarice, they were to lay out the rest of their revenues on the poor, and for breeding young scholars, and other works of piety. All the same rules he sets to the inferior clergy, with a due proportion to their stations and profits.

The 6th is about giving orders; they were not to be rashly given, but upon a strict previous examen. Every one that was to be ordained, was to give in his name a long time before, that there might be time to inquire carefully about him. The bishops were charged not to turn over the examination upon others, and think their work was only to lay on their hands; but were to examine diligently themselves, and not superficially. And to call to their assistance such as they knew to be pious and learned, and in whom they might confide.

The 7th was about conferring benefices, which in some sort came also within that charge, "Lay hands suddenly on no man." They were to lay aside all partiality in their choice, and seek out the most deserving: and to make such as they put in benefices bind themselves by oath to reside.

The 8th was against giving the advowsons of benefices before they were vacant.

The 9th was about simony.

The 10th against the alienations of any of the goods of the church.

The 11th was, that in every cathedral there should be a seminary for supplying the diocese: of whom two ranks were to be made; the one of those who learned grammar; the other of those who were grown up, and were to be ordained acholyths; and these were to be trained up in study and virtue, till they were fit to serve in the church. And a tax of the fourth penny was laid on the clergy for their maintenance.

The 12th was about visitations.

These were all finished, agreed to, and published by him in February next year.

In these decrees mention is made of homilies, which were intended to be published: and

among archbishop Parker's papers, I find the scheme he had of them was thus laid. He designed four books of homilies. The first, of the controverted points, for preserving the people from error: the 2nd, for the exposition of the creed and ten commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the salutation of the Virgin, and the sacraments: the 3rd, was to be for the saints' days, and the Sundays and holidays of the year; for explaining the epistles and gospels: and the fourth was concerning virtues and vices, and the rites and ceremonies of the church.

By all these it may appear how well tempered this cardinal was. He never set on the clergy to persecute heretics, but to reform themselves: as well knowing, that a strict exemplary clergy can soon overcome all opposition whatsoever, and bear down even truth itself. For the common people are generally either so ignorant, or so distracted with other affairs, that they seldom enter into any exact discussion of speculative points that are disputed among divines: but take up things upon general notions and prejudices; and none have more influence on them than the scandals or strict lives of churchmen. So that Pole intending to correct all those, laid down good rules to amend their lives, to throw out those crying scandals of pluralities and non-residence; to oblige bishops to be exact in their examinations before orders, and in conferring benefices on the most deserving, and not to be biassed by partial affections. In this last thing himself was a great example. For though he had an only brother (so I find him called in one of the cardinal's commissions to him with some others, though I believe he was a bastard brother), David *, that had continued all king Henry's time in his archdeaconry of Derby; he, either to punish him for his former compliance, or to show he had no mind to raise his kindred, did not advance him, till after he had been two years in England; and then he gave him only the bishopric of Peterborough, one of the poorest of the bishoprics; which, considering his nearness to the crown and high birth, was a very small preferment. But above all, that design of his to have seminaries in every cathedral for the planting of the diocese, shows what a wise prospect he had of the right methods of recovering a church which was overrun, as he judged, with heresy. It was the same that Cranmer had formerly designed, but never took effect. Certainly, persons formed from their childhood with other notions, and another method of living, must be much better fitted for a holy character than those that have lived in the pleasures and follies of the world; who, unless a very extraordinary change is wrought in them, still keep some of their old customs about them, and so fall short of that gravity and decency that becomes so spiritual a function.

He showed the weakness of his spirit in one thing, that being against cruel proceedings with heretics, he did not more openly profess it; but both suffered the other bishops to go on, and even in Canterbury, now sequestered in his hands, and soon after put under his care, he left those poor men to the cruelties of the brutal and fierce popish clergy. In this he was to be pitied, that he had not courage enough to contend with so haughty a pope as Paul IV. was; who thought of no other way of bearing down heresy but by setting up the inquisition everywhere. So Pole, it seems, judged it sufficient for him not to act himself, nor to set on any; and thought he did enough when he discouraged it in private; but yet he granted commissions to the other bishops and archdeacons to proceed against those called heretics. He was not only afraid of being discharged of his legation, and of losing the archbishopric of Canterbury, which was now ready to fall upon him, but he feared to be sent for to Rome, and cruelly used by the pope, who remembered all the quarrels he formerly had with any of the cardinals, and put cardinal Merone (that was Pole's great friend) in prison upon suspicion of heresy. All these things prevailed with Pole to give way to the persecution; and it was thought that he himself hastened the execution of Cranmer, longing to be invested with that see: which is the only personal blemish I find laid on him.

One remarkable thing of him was, his not listening to the proposition the jesuits made him, of bringing them into England. That order had been set up about twelve years before this, and was in its first institution chiefly designed for propagating the doctrines of that

* Cardinal Pole had two brothers, Arthur and Jeffrey, both arraigned in the year 1562, for a conspiracy against queen Elizabeth. David was not his brother, nor a bas-

tard; for there is no bull of dispensation in his favour among those sent over at that time.—*STRYPE'S CORRECT.*

church in heretical or infidel countries; to which was afterwards added the education of children. It was not easily allowed of at Rome, because the bishops did universally complain of the great numbers of exempted regulars; and therefore at first it was limited to a small number; which restriction was soon taken off. They, besides the vows of other orders, took one for a blind and universal obedience to the see of Rome. And because they were much to be employed, they were dispensed with as to the hours of the quire, which made them be called a mongrel order, between the regulars and seculars. They have since that time, by their care in educating youth, by their indefatigable industry, and chiefly by their accommodating penances, and all the other rules of religion, to the humours and inclinations of those who confess their sins to them, drawn almost all the world after them; and are raised now to that height, both of wealth and power, that they are become the objects of the envy and hatred of all the rest of their own church. They suggested to Pole, that whereas the queen was restoring the goods of the church that were in her hands, it was but to little purpose to raise up the old foundations; for the Benedictine order was become rather a clog than a help to the church: they therefore desired that those houses might be assigned to them for maintaining schools and seminaries, which they should set on quickly; and they did not doubt, but by their dealing with the consciences of those who were a dying, they should soon recover the greatest part of the goods of the church. The jesuits were out of measure offended with him for not entertaining their proposition, which I gather from an Italian manuscript which my most worthy friend, Mr. Crawford, found in Venice when he was chaplain there to sir Thomas Higgins, his majesty's envoy to that republic: but how it came that this motion was laid aside, I am not able to judge.

There passed nothing else remarkable this year, but that in the end of November, John Web, a gentleman, George Roper, and Gregory Parke, were burnt all at one stake in

Philpot's
Martyrdom.

Canterbury. And on the 18th of December, Philpot, that had disputed in the convocation, was burnt in Smithfield. He was, at the end of that meeting, put in prison for what he had said in it, though liberty of speech had been promised, and the nature of the meeting did require it. He was kept long in the stocks in the bishop of London's coal-house; and many conferences were had with him to persuade him to change. By what Bonner said in one of them, it appears that he hoped they should be better used upon Gardiner's death: for Bonner told him, he thought, because the lord chancellor was dead, they would burn no more; but he should soon find his error, if he did not recant. He continued steadfast in his persuasion, and pleaded that he had never spoken nor written against their laws since they were made, being all the while a prisoner, except what he had said in conference with them: yet this prevailed not with Bonner, who had as little justice as mercy in his temper. On the 16th of December he was condemned, and delivered to the sheriffs. He was at first laid in irons, because he was so poor that he could not fee the jailor; but next day these were by the sheriff's order taken off. As he was led into Smithfield, on the 18th, he kneeled down, and said, "I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield!" When he was brought to the stake, he said, "Shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, since my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer on the cross for me?" He repeated the 106th, 107th, and 108th psalms, and then fitted himself for the fire, which consumed him to ashes. So this year ended, in which there were sixty-seven burnt for religion; and of those, four were bishops, and thirteen were priests.

In Germany, a diet was held at Augsburg, where the peace of Germany was fully settled; and it was decreed that the princes of the Augsburg Confession should have the free liberty of their religion; and that every prince might in his own state establish what religion he pleased; excepting only the ecclesiastical princes, who were to forfeit their benefices if they turned. Those of Austria, and Ferdinand's other hereditary dominions, desired freedom for their consciences: but Ferdinand refused it; yet he appointed the chalice to be given in the sacrament. The duke of Bavaria did the like in his dominions. At all this the pope was highly offended, and talked of deposing Ferdinand. He had nothing so much in his mouth as the authority former popes had exercised in deposing princes at their pleasure. He had sworn to the cardinals, before he was chosen, that he would make but four cardinals in two years; but he created seven within one half

Foreign
Affairs.

year, and would not hear the consistory argue against it, or remember him of his promise ; but said his power was absolute, and could not be limited. One of these cardinals was Gropper, the dean of Cologne, a man of great learning and virtues, but inconstant and fearful, as was shown in the former Book : he refused to accept of that dignity so generally sought after in their church ; and was more esteemed for rejecting it than others were that had by their ambition aspired to it.

In the end of this year, and the beginning of the next, a memorable thing fell out ; of which, if I give a large account, I do not fear to be much censured by the reader for it, especially since it is not impertinent to this work, the king and queen being so much concerned in it. It was Charles V.'s laying down, first, some of his hereditary dominions, in October this year ; and the rest, with the empire, not long after. He had now enjoyed the one forty years, and the other thirty-six. He was much disabled by the gout, which had held him almost constantly for several years : he had been in the greatest fatigues that ever any prince had undergone, ever since the seventeenth year of his age : he had gone nine times into Germany, six times into Spain, seven times into Italy, four times into France ; had been ten times in the Netherlands, had made two expeditions into Africa, and been twice in England, and had crossed the seas eleven times. He had not only been a conqueror in all his wars, but had taken a pope, a king of France, and some princes of Germany, prisoners, besides a vast accession of wealth and empire from the West Indies. But he now growing out of love with the pomp and greatness of the world, began to have more serious thoughts of another life, which were much increased in him by the answer one of his captains gave him, when he desired leave to retire ; and being asked the reason, said, that between the affairs of the world and the hour of death there ought to be some interval. He found his fortune turned : his designs in Germany were blasted. In the siege of Metz, he saw he could no more command triumphs to wait on him ; for though his army consisted of 100,000 men, yet he was forced to raise his siege with the loss of 40,000 men : and though his wars had been this year more successful, both in Italy and Flanders, yet he thought he was too old to deal with the king of France. It was thought his son set this forward, who had left England in discontent, being weary both of his queen and of holding a titular crown only in her right, being excluded from the government. All these things concurring made the emperor, in a solemn assembly at Brussels, on the 25th of October, in the presence of his son and Maximilian, king of Bohemia, and of the duke of Savoy, and his two sisters, the queen-dowagers of France and Hungary, with a vast number of others of lower quality, first give his son the Golden Fleece, and so resign the headship of that order to him ; and then the dukedoms of Burgundy and Brabant, and the other provinces of the Netherlands. Two months after that, he resigned all his other hereditary dominions ; and the next year, he sent a resignation of the empire to the diet, who thereupon did choose his brother Ferdinand emperor, to which the pope made great exceptions ; for he said the resignation ought to have been only to him, and that being made as it was, it was null ; and upon that he would not acknowledge the new emperor.

Charles staid some time in Flanders in a private house : for he left all his palaces, and had but little company about him. It is said that when Seld, his brother's secretary, being sent to him, was leaving him once late at night, all the candles on the stairs being burnt out, and none waiting to light him down, the late emperor would needs carry the candle down after him : the other, as may be well imagined, being much confounded at it, the emperor told him, he was now a private man ; and his servants knowing there was nothing now to be had by attending, did not wait carefully. He bade him tell his brother what a change he had seen in him, and how vain a thing the attendance of courtiers was, since he was so soon forsaken by his own servants. He reserved but 100,000 crowns a-year for his own use, and sixty servants. But at his coming into Spain, he found even that small pension was not readily paid ; at which he was observed to be much displeased. He retired to a place in the confines of Castile and Portugal, which he had observed in his hunting to be fit for a retreat, by reason of the pleasantness of the situation and the temperateness of the air ; and there he had ordered a little apartment of seven rooms, fourteen feet square, to be built for him. He kept only twelve servants about himself, and sent the rest to stay in the neighbouring towns.

He gave himself at first much to mechanical curiosities, and had great varieties of clocks, and some other motions, which surprised the ignorant monks, who were afraid they were the performances of magic ; especially his machines of birds of wood that did fly out and come back, and the representations of armies that by springs engaged and fought. He also designed that great work of carrying the Tago up a hill near Toledo, which was afterwards done at a vast charge. He gave himself to gardening, and used to graft and imp with his own hand ; and keeping but one horse, rode abroad sometimes attended only by one footman.

The making of clocks was not then so perfect as it is since, so that he could never bring his clocks to strike in the same minute ; and he used upon that to say, he saw the folly of endeavouring to bring all men to be of the same mind in religion, since he could not bring machines to agree exactly.

He set himself also much to study ; and in the second year of his retirement, went oftener to the chapel and to the sacrament than he had done at first. He used also to discipline himself with a cord, which, after his death, having some marks of the severity he had put himself to, was laid up among his son's chiefest rarities. But amidst all this, it was believed he became in most points to be of the belief of the protestants before he died : and as his confessor was burnt afterwards for heresy, so Miranda, the archbishop of Toledo, who used to come often to him, was upon the same suspicions kept long in prison. Near the end of two years, at the anniversary of his mother's funeral, who had died but a few years before, having lived long mad, he took a conceit that he would see an *obit* made for himself, and would have his own funeral rites performed ; to which he came himself, with the rest of the monks, and prayed most devoutly for the rest of his own soul, which set all the company on weeping. Two days after he sickened of a fever, of which he died on the 21st of September, 1558. A rare and great instance of a mind, surfeited with the pomps and glories of the world, seeking for that quiet in retirement which he had long in vain searched after in palaces and camps.

And now I return to the affairs of England. The 21st of March was Cranmer brought to the end of all his afflictions, and received his crown. On the 12th of September, the former year, Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, came to Oxford, as the pope's sub-delegate : and Martin and Story, commissioners from the king and queen, sate with him in St. Mary's, to judge him. When he appeared before them, he paid a low reverence to them that sate in the king and queen's name ; but would give none to Brooks, since he sate by an authority from the pope, to which he would pay no respect. Then Brooks made a long speech, to set forth his apostacy and heresy, his incontinence, and finally, his treason, and exhorted him to repent ; and insinuated to him great hopes of being restored to his see upon it. After this Martin made a speech of the difference between the civil and ecclesiastical authority.

When they had done, Cranmer first kneeled down and said the Lord's Prayer ; next he repeated the Apostles' Creed ; then he told them he would never acknowledge the bishop of Rome's authority ; he owned his allegiance to the crown, according to the oath he had often sworn, and the submitting to the pope was directly contrary to that ; he could not serve two masters. He said the bishops of Rome not only set up pretensions that were contrary to the power of princes, but they had also made laws contrary to those made by God : instancing it in the worship of an unknown tongue, the denying the chalice to the people, the pretending to dispose of crowns, and exalting themselves above every creature, which showed them not to be the vicars of Christ, but to be antichrists, since all these things were manifestly contrary to the doctrine of Christ that was delivered in the gospel. He remembered Brooks, that he had sworn to the king's supremacy. Brooks said it was to king Henry the Eighth, and that Cranmer had made him swear it. To which Cranmer replied, that he did him wrong in that, for it was done in his predecessor Warham's time, who had asserted the king's supremacy ; and it was also sent to be discussed in the universities, and they had set their hands and seals to it ; and that Brooks, being then a doctor, had signed it with the rest : so that all this being done before he came to be archbishop, it ought not to be called his deed.

After this Story made another speech, of the authority of the church ; magnifying the

see of Rome, and enlarging on those arguments commonly insisted on ; and desired Brooks would put Cranmer to make a plain answer, and cut off all debates. Then followed a long discourse between Martin and Cranmer ; in which Martin objected, that he had once sworn to the pope when he was consecrated, but that aspiring to be archbishop, he had changed his mind in compliance to king Henry ; that he had condemned Lambert of heresy, for denying the presence of Christ in the sacrament, and afterwards turned to that himself. To all this Cranmer answered, pretending that never man came more unwillingly into a bishopric than he did to his. That he was so far from having aspired to it, that though the king had sent one post to him, to come over to be consecrated, he being then in Germany, yet he had delayed his journey seven weeks, hoping that in all that time the king might have forgot him ; that at his consecration he publicly explained his meaning in what sense he swore to the pope, so that he did not act deceitfully in that particular : and that when he condemned Lambert, he did then believe the corporal presence, which he continued to do, till Dr. Ridley showed him such reasons and authorities as persuaded him to change his mind, and then he was not ashamed to retract his former opinion. Then they objected his having been twice married, his keeping his wife secretly in king Henry's time, and openly in king Edward's reign ; his setting out heretical books and articles, and compelling others to subscribe them ; his forsaking the catholic church, and denying Christ's presence in the sacrament of the altar, and disputing against it so publicly lately at Oxford. He confessed his living in marriage, and that he thought it was lawful for all men to marry ; and that it was certainly better to do so, than to lie with other men's wives, as many priests did : he confessed all the other articles ; only he said, he had never forced any to subscribe.

After this Brooks made a long speech to him, with many of the common arguments concerning the pope's power and the presence in the sacrament ; to which Cranmer made another large answer. Then many witnesses were examined upon the points they had heard Cranmer defend in the schools ; and in conclusion, they cited him to appear before the pope within eighty days, to answer for all those things which were now objected to him. He said he would do it most willingly, if the king and queen would send him ; but he could not go if he were still detained a prisoner.

After this he was sent back to prison, where he lay till the 14th of February this year ; and then Bonner and Thirleby were sent down to degrade him. Bonner desired this employment as a pleasant revenge on Cranmer, who had before deprived him ; but it was forced on the other, who had lived in great friendship with Cranmer formerly, and was a gentle and good-natured man, but very inconstant and apt to change. They had Cranmer brought before them, and then they caused to read their commission, which declared him *contumax* for not coming to Rome, and required them to degrade him. They clothed him in pontifical robes, a mitre, and the other garments, with a crosier in his hand ; but the robes were made of canvas, to make him show more ridiculous in them. Then Bonner made a speech full of jeers : " This is the man that despised the pope, and is now judged by him : this is the man that pulled down churches, and is now judged in a church : this is the man that contemned the sacrament, and is now condemned before it : " with other such expressions, at which Thirleby was much offended, and pulled him oft by the sleeve, desiring him to make an end ; and challenged him afterwards, that he had broke the promise he had made him before of treating him with respect. And he was observed to weep much all the while ; he protested to Cranmer that it was the most sorrowful action of his whole life, and acknowledged the great love and friendship that had been between them ; and that no earthly consideration but the queen's command, could have induced him to come and do what they were then about ; he shed so many tears, that oft he stopped, and could not go on in his discourse for the abundance of them. But Cranmer said, his degradation was no trouble to him at all ; he reckoned himself as long ago cut off from all dependence and communion with the see of Rome, so their doing it now with so much pageantry did not much affect him ; only he put in an appeal from the pope to the next free general council. He said he was cited to Rome, but all the while kept a prisoner ; so there was no reason to proceed against him in his absence, since he was willing to have gone

thither and defended his doctrine; he also denied any authority the pope had over him, or in England, and therefore appealed from his sentence. But notwithstanding that he was degraded, and all that ludicrous attire was taken, piece after piece, from him, according to the ceremonies of degradation which are in use in the church of Rome.

But there were new engines contrived against him. Many had been sent to confer with him, both English and Spanish divines, to persuade him to recant; he was put in hopes of life and preferment again, and removed out of prison to the dean's lodgings at Christ Church, where all the arguments that could be invented, were made use of to turn him from his former persuasion: and in conclusion, as St. Peter himself had with curses denied his Saviour, so he who had resisted now almost three years, was at last overcome; and human infirmity, the fears of death, and the hopes that were given him, prevailed with him to set

his hand to a paper, renouncing all the errors of Luther and Zuinglius, acknowledging the pope's supremacy, the seven sacraments, the corporal presence in the eucharist, purgatory, prayer for departed souls, the invocation of saints; to which was added, his being sorry for his former errors; and concluded, exhorting all that had been deceived by his example or doctrine to return to the unity of the church; and protesting that he had signed it willingly, only for the discharge of his own conscience.

Fox, and other later writers from him, have said, that one reason of this compliance was, that he might have time to finish his answer to Gardiner's book, against that which he had written concerning the sacrament: and Fox has printed the letter which he avouches to prove this by. But the good man (it seems) read the letter very carelessly; for Cranmer says no such thing in it; but only, that he had appealed to the next general council, to try if that could procure him a longer delay, in which he might have time to finish his book; and between these two there is a great difference. How long this was signed before his execution I find it nowhere marked, for there is no date put to his subscription.

Cranmer's recantation was presently printed, and occasioned almost equally great insultings on the one hand, and dejection on the other. But the queen was not at all wrought on by it, and was now forced to discover that her private resentments governed her in this matter; which before she had disowned. She was resolved he should be made a sacrifice for giving the judgment of divorce in her mother's marriage; and hitherto though she had pretended only zeal for religion, yet now when that could be no more alleged, yet she persisted in her resolution of having him burnt: she said, since he had been the great promoter of heresy that had corrupted the whole nation, that must not serve his turn, which would be sufficient in other cases: it was good for his own soul, and might do good to others, that he repented;

but yet she ordered the sentence to be executed. The writ went out the 24th of February, which will be found in the Collection. Heath took care not only to enrol the writ, but the warrant sent to him for issuing it, which is not ordinary. It is like he did it, to leave it on record to posterity, that he did it not in course, as he did other writs, but had a special order from the queen for it. The long time that passed between the date of the writ and the execution of it, makes it probable that he made the formerly mentioned recantation after the writ was brought down; and that the fears of death, then before his eyes, did so far work on him, that he signed the writing: but when the second order was sent down to execute the former, he was dealt with to renew his subscription, and then to write the whole over again, which he also did; all this time being under some small hopes of life: but conceiving likewise some jealousies that they might burn him, he writ secretly a paper, containing a sincere confession of his faith, such as flowed from his conscience, and not from his weak fears; and being brought out, he carried that along with him. He was carried to St. Mary's, and set on a place raised higher for him to be more conspicuously seen. Cole, provost of Eton, preached: he ran out in his sermon on the mercy and justice of God, which two attributes do not oppose or jostle out one another; he applied this to princes that were gods on earth, who must be just as well as merciful; and therefore they had appointed Cranmer that day to suffer. He said it was he that had dissolved the marriage between the queen's father and mother, had driven out the pope's authority, had been the fountain of all the heresies in

England; and since the bishop of Rochester and sir Thos. More had suffered for the church, it was meet that others should suffer for heresy; and as the duke of Northumberland had suffered in More's room, so there was no other clergyman that was equal or fit to be balanced with Fisher but he. Then he turned to Cranmer, and magnified his conversion, which he said was the immediate hand of God; that none of their arguments had done it, but the inward working of God's Spirit; he gave him great hopes of Heaven, and assured him there should be dirges and masses said for his soul in all the churches in Oxford.

All this while Cranmer expressed great inward confusion, lifting up his eyes often to heaven, and then letting them fall downward, as one ashamed of himself; and he often poured out floods of tears. In the end, when Cole bid him declare his faith, he first prayed with many moving expressions of deep remorse and inward horror; then he made his exhortation to the people, first, "Not to love or set their hearts on the things of the world; to obey the king and queen out of conscience to God; to live in mutual love; and to relieve the poor according to their abundance. Then he came to that on which, he said, all his past life, and that which was to come, did hang, being now to enter either into the joys of heaven, or the pains of hell. He repeated the Apostles' creed, and declared his belief of the Scriptures; and then he spake to that which, he said, troubled his conscience more than anything he had ever done in his whole life; which was, the subscribing a paper contrary to the truth, and against his conscience, out of the fear of death and the love of life; and when he came to the fire, he was resolved that hand that had signed it should burn first. He rejected the pope, as Christ's enemy and antichrist; and said, he had the same belief of the sacrament which he had published in the book he writ about it."

Upon this there was a wonderful confusion in the assembly. Those who hoped to have gained a great victory that day, seeing it turning another way, were in much disorder: they called to him to dissemble no more. He said he had ever loved simplicity, and before that time had never dissembled in his whole life. And going on in his discourse with abundance of tears, they pulled him down, and led him away to the stake, which was set in the same place where Ridley and Latimer were burnt. All the way the priests upbraided him for his changing; but he was minding another thing.

When he came to the stake, he first prayed, and then undressed himself; and being tied to it, as the fire was kindling he stretched forth his right hand towards the flame, never moving it, save that once he wiped his face with it, till it was burnt away, which was consumed before the fire reached his body. He expressed no disorder for the pain he was in; sometimes saying, "That unworthy hand!" and oft crying out, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" He was soon after quite burnt. But it was no small matter of astonishment to find his heart entire, and not consumed among the ashes; which, though the reformed would not carry so far as to make a miracle of it, and a clear proof that his heart had continued true, though his hand had erred; yet they objected it to the papists that it was certainly such a thing that, if it had fallen out in any of their church, they had made it a miracle.

Thus did Thomas Cranmer end his days, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. He was a man raised of God for great services, and well fitted for them. He was naturally of a mild and gentle temper, not soon heated, nor apt to give his opinion rashly of things or persons; and yet his gentleness, though it oft exposed him to his enemies, who took advantages from it to use him ill, knowing he would readily forgive them, did not lead him into such a weakness of spirit as to consent to everything that was uppermost: for as he stood firmly against the Six Articles in king Henry's time, notwithstanding all his heat for them, so he also opposed the duke of Somerset in the matter of the sale and alienation of the chantry lands, and the duke of Northumberland during his whole government; and now resisted unto blood: so that his meekness was already a virtue in him, and not a pusillanimity in his temper. He was a man of great candour; he never dissembled his opinion, nor disowned his friend: two rare qualities in that age, in which there was a continued course of dissimulation almost in the whole English clergy and nation, they going backward and forward as the court turned. But this had got him that esteem with king Henry, that it always preserved him in his days. He knew what complaints never were brought against him, he would freely tell him the truth; so instead of asking it

He suffers
Martyrdom
with great
constancy of
Mind.

His Character.

from other hands, he began at himself. He neither disowned his esteem of queen Anne, nor his friendship to Cromwell and the duke of Somerset in their misfortunes; but owned he had the same thoughts of them in their lowest condition that he had in their greatest state.

He being thus prepared, by a candid and good nature, for the searches into truth, added to these a most wonderful diligence—for he drew out of all the authors that he read everything that was remarkable, digesting these quotations into common-places,—this begat in king Henry an admiration of him: for he had often tried it, to bid him bring the opinions of the fathers and doctors upon several questions, which he commonly did in two or three days' time. This flowed from the copiousness of his common-place books. He had a good judgment, but no great quickness of apprehension; nor closeness of style, which was diffused and unconnected; therefore, when anything was to be penned that required more nerves, he made use of Ridley. He laid out all his wealth on the poor and pious uses: he had hospitals and surgeons in his house for the king's seamen; he gave pensions to many of those that fled out of Germany into England; and kept up that which is hospitality indeed at his table, where great numbers of the honest and poor neighbours were always invited, instead of the luxury and extravagance of great entertainments which the vanity and excess of the age we live in has honoured with the name of hospitality, to which too many are led by the authority of custom to comply too far. He was so humble and affable, that he carried himself in all conditions at the same rate. His last fall was the only blemish of his life; but he expiated it with a sincere repentance, and a patient martyrdom. He had been the chief advancer of the Reformation in his life; and God so ordered it, that his death should bear a proportion to the former parts of his life, which was no small confirmation to all that received his doctrine when they heard how constantly he had at last sealed it with his blood. And though it is not to be fancied that king Henry was a prophet, yet he discovered such things in Cranmer's temper as made him conclude he was to die a martyr for his religion; and therefore he ordered him to change his coat-of-arms, and to give pelicans instead of cranes, which were formerly the arms of his family; intimating withal, that as it is reported of the pelican that she gives her blood to feed her young ones, so he was to give his blood for the good of the church. That king's kindness to him subjected him too much to him; for great obligations do often prove the greatest snares to generous and noble minds. And he was so much overborne by his respects to him, and was so affected with king Henry's death, that he never after that shaved his beard, but let it grow to a great length; which I the rather mention, because the pictures that were afterwards made for him, being taken according to what he was at his death, differ much from that which I have put in my former volume*. Those who compared modern and ancient times, found in him so many and excellent qualities, that they did not doubt to compare him to the greatest of the primitive bishops; not only to the Chrysostoms, Ambroses, and Austins, but to the fathers of the first rate that immediately followed the apostles—to the Ignatiuses, Policarps, and Cyprians. And it seemed necessary that the reformation of this church, which was indeed nothing else but restoring of the primitive and apostolical doctrine, should have been chiefly carried on by a man so eminent in all primitive and apostolical virtues. And to those who upbraided the reformed with his fall, it was answered, that Liberius, whom they so much magnify, had fallen as foully upon a much slighter temptation, only out of a desire to re-enter to his see, from which he had been banished; and that he persisted much longer in it.

But now I shall give account of the rest that were burnt this year. On the 27th of January, Thomas Wirtle, a priest, Bartlet Green, a gentleman, Thos. Brown, John Othersuffer-
ed on the like
account. Tudson, and John Went, three tradesmen, Isabel Foster, and Joan Warne, having all been presented because they came not to church; articles were put to them, and upon their answers they were all condemned, and burnt in Smithfield at the same stake. And on the 31st of that month, John Lomas and four women were burnt at Canterbury. They were presented because they came not to confession; whereupon articles being given them, they were found guilty of heresy, and burnt in one fire. In the beginning of March, two women were burnt at Ipswich; three tradesmen were burnt in Salisbury on the 24th of March. On the 29th of April, Robert Drakes, a priest, William Tynms, a deacon, and four tradesmen that were sent out of Essex because they came not to church, were condemned,

* The author here refers to the first edition of his work.—Ed.

and all burnt together in Smithfield. John Hanpole and Joan Boock were burnt at Rochester on the 1st of April; and on the 2d, John Hallier, a priest, was burnt in Cambridge.

Six tradesmen were sent up from Colchester; and the bishop of London, who had hitherto kept his prisoners for some time to see if he could prevail with them, growing weary of that fruitless labour, and becoming by many acts of cruelty less sensible of those affections which belong to human nature, did, without any more ado, exhibit the articles to them; and they answering in the way he accounted heresy, he gave them time to consider if they would recant till the afternoon; but they continuing in the same mind, he condemned them, and sent them back to Colchester, where they were all burnt in one fire.

On the 15th of May, he gave yet a more astonishing instance of his barbarity. Laverock, an old cripple, a man of sixty-eight years old, and Jo. Apprice, a blind man, were upon the like account condemned, and burnt in the same fire at Stratford-le-Bow, they comforting one another that they were now to be freed of their lameness and blindness. The day after, three women were burnt in Smithfield; another blind man, with a tradesman, were burnt at Gloucester this month. On the 21st of the month, three were burnt at Beccles, in Suffolk. On the 6th of June, four men were burnt at Lewes, in Sussex; another was burnt there on the 20th; and one was burnt at Leicester on the 26th. But on the 27th of June, Bonner made an unheard-of execution of thirteen, whereof eleven were men and two women, all burnt in one fire in Stratford-le-Bow. He had condemned in all sixteen, but, by what intercession I do not know, three of them were preserved by a warrant from cardinal Pole. It seems Bonner thought it not worth the while to burn those singly, and therefore sent them in such droves to the stake: but whether the horror of this action, or the discontent because the cardinal had saved some of them, wrought on him, I know not, the latter being the more likely, he burnt no more till April next year.

The 30th of June three were burnt at Bury, in Suffolk. On the 16th of July, three men were burnt at Newbury: but this July, there was done in Guernsey an act of as great inhumanity as ever was recorded in any age. A mother and her two daughters were burnt at the same stake; and one of them, a married woman, big with child, when she was in the fire, the violence of it bursting her belly, a boy fell out into the flame, that was snatched out of it by one that was more merciful than the rest; but after they had a little consulted about it, the infant was thrown in again, and there was literally baptised with fire. There were many eye-witnesses of this, who attested it afterwards in queen Elizabeth's time, when the matter was inquired into, and special care was taken to have full and evident proofs of it: for, indeed, the fact was so unnatural, that a man must either be possessed with a very ill opinion of the actors, or be well satisfied about the number and credibility of the witnesses, before he could believe it. But lies and forgeries are seldom made of actions done in the face of the sun, and before so great an assembly as was present at this. Therefore complaint being made of it to queen Elizabeth, the dean of Guernsey was put in prison for it; and afterwards he, and nine more that were all accessory to it, took out their pardons: so merciful was the government then to pardon an action of such a monstrous nature, because done with some colour of law; since, it was said, the mother was condemned to be burnt, and no exception was made of her belly. On the 18th of July, two women and one man were burnt at Greenstead. On the 1st of August, Joan Wast, a blind woman, was burnt at Derby. On the 8th of September, one was burnt at Bristol; and another in the same place on the 25th of that month. On the 24th, four were burnt at Mayfield, in Sussex; on the 27th a man and woman were burnt at Bristol; and on the 12th of October, a man was burnt at Nottingham. And thus ended the burning this year: those that suffered were in all eighty-five. All these persons were presented as suspect of heresy, and were required to answer the questions that the bishop put to them; which related to the corporal presence in the sacrament, the necessity of auricular confession, or the sacrifice of the mass; and upon the answers they made were condemned to the fire. But none of them were accused of any violence committed on the persons of any churchmen, or of any affront put on their religion; and all their sufferings were merely for their conscience, which they kept as private as they could: so that it rather appeared in their abstaining from the communion of a church which they thought had corrupted the chief parts of worship, than in anything they had said or

A strange barbarity at Guernsey of burning a Child born in the Fire.

done. It was an unusual and an ungrateful thing to the English nation, that is apt to compassionate all in misery, to see four, five, six, seven, and once thirteen, burning in one fire : and the sparing neither sex nor age, nor blind nor lame, but making havoc of all equally ; and above all, the barbarity of Guernsey raised that horror in the whole nation, that there seems, ever since that time, such an abhorrence to that religion to be derived down from father to son, that it is no wonder an aversion so deeply rooted, and raised upon such grounds, does, upon every new provocation, or jealousy of returning to it, break out in most violent and convulsive symptoms.

But all those fires did not extinguish the light of the Reformation, nor abate the love of it. They spread it more, and kindled new heats in men's minds ; so that what they had read of the former persecutions under the heathens, seemed to be now revived. This made those who loved the gospel meet oft together, though the malice of their enemies obliged them to do it with great caution and secrecy : yet there were sometimes at their meetings about two hundred. They were instructed and watched over by several faithful shepherds, who were willing to hazard their lives in feeding this flock committed to their care. The chief of these were Scambler and Bentham, afterwards promoted by queen Elizabeth to the sees of Peterborough and Litchfield ; Foule, Bernher, and Rough, a Scotchman, that was afterwards condemned, and burnt by Bonner. There was also care taken, by their friends beyond sea, to supply them with good books, which they sent over to them for their instruction and encouragement. Those that fled beyond sea went at first for the most part to France, where, though they were well used in opposition to the queen, yet they could not have the free exercise of their religion granted them : so they retired to Geneva, and Zurich, and Arraw, in Switzerland ; and to Strasburgh and Frankfort, in the upper Germany, and to Emden in the lower.

At Frankfort an unhappy difference fell in among some of them who had used before the English liturgy, and did afterwards comply with it when they were in England, where it had authority from the law ; yet they thought that, being in foreign parts, they should rather accommodate their worship to those among whom they lived : so, instead of the English liturgy, they used one near the Geneva and French forms. Others thought that when those in England, who had compiled their liturgy, were now confirming what they had done with their blood, and many more were suffering for it, it was an high contempt of them and their sufferings to depart from these forms. This contradiction raised that heat that Dr. Cox, who lived in Strasburgh with his friend Peter Martyr, went thither ; and being a man of great reputation, procured an order from the senate that the English forms should only be used in their church. This dissension being once raised, went further than perhaps it was at first intended ; for those who at first liked the Geneva way better, that, being in foreign parts, they might all seem to be united in the same forms, now began to quarrel with some things in the English liturgy. And Knox, being a man of a hot temper, engaged in this matter very warmly ; and got his friend Calvin to write somewhat sharply of some things in the English service. This made Knox and his party leave Frankfort, and go to Geneva. Knox had also written indecently of the emperor, which obliged the senate of Frankfort to require him to be gone out of their bounds. There fell in other contests about the censuring of offences, which some of the congregation would not leave in the hands of the ministers only, but would have it shared among the whole congregation. Upon these matters there arose great debates ; and many papers were written on both sides, to the great grief of Parker and others, who lived privately in England ; and to the scandal of the strangers, who were not a little offended to see a company of people fly out of their country for their consciences, and, instead of spending their time in fasting and prayer for their persecuted brethren at home, to fall into such quarrels about matters which themselves acknowledged were not the substantials of religion, nor points of conscience : in which certainly they began the breach who departed from that way of worship which they acknowledged was both lawful and good. But there followed too much animosity on both sides, which were the seeds of all those differences that have since distracted this church.

They who reflected on the contests that the Novatians raised, both at Rome and Carthage, in Cyprian's time, and the heats the Donatists brought into the African churches soon after



JOHN KNOX.

OB. 1572

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

HOLYROOD PALACE, EDINBURGH

the persecution was over, found somewhat parallel both to these schisms now during the persecution, and to those afterwards raised when it was over.

I now return to the affairs of England. On the 22d of March, the very day after Cranmer Pole is made was burnt, Pole was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury by the archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Ely, Worcester, Lincoln, Rochester, and St. Asaph. He had come over only a cardinal deacon, and was last winter made a priest, and now a bishop. It seems he had his *congé d'élire* with his election, and his bulls from Rome already despatched before this time. The pope did not know with what face to refuse them, being pressed by the queen on his account, though he wanted only a colour to wreak his revenge on him; to which he gave vent upon the first opportunity that offered itself. It seems Pole thought it indecent to be consecrated as long as Cranmer lived; yet his choosing the next day for it, brought him under the suspicion of having procured his death: so that the words of Elijah to Ahab, concerning Naboth, were applied to him, "Thou hast killed, and taken possession." On the 28th of that month, he came in state through London to Bow church, where the bishops of Worcester and Ely, after the former had said mass, put the pall about him. This was a device set up by pope Paschal II. in the beginning of the twelfth century, for the engaging of all archbishops to a more immediate dependence on that see, they being, after they took the pall, to act as the pope's *legates born* (as the phrase was), of which it was the ensign. But it was at the first admitted with great contradiction, both by the kings of Sicily and Poland, the archbishops of Palermo and Gnesna being the first to whom they were sent; all men wondering at the novelty of the thing, and of the oath which the popes required of them at the delivery of it. This being put on Pole, he went into the pulpit, and made a cold sermon about the beginning, the use, and the matter of the pall, without either learning or eloquence. The subject could admit of no learning; and for eloquence, though in his younger days, when he writ against king Henry, his style was too luxuriant and florid, yet being afterwards sensible of his excess that way, he turned as much to the other extreme, and cutting off all the ornaments of speech, he brought his style to a flatness that had neither life nor beauty in it.

All the business of England this year was the raising of religious houses. Greenwich was begun with last year: the queen also built a house for the Dominicans in Smithfield, and another for the Franciscans; and, they being begging orders, these endowments did not cost much. At Sion, near Brainford, there had been a religious house of women of the order of St. Bridget. That house was among the first that had been dissolved by king Henry VIII., as having harboured the king's enemies, and been complices to the business of the Maid of Kent. The queen anew founded a nunnery there. She also founded a house for the Carthusians at Sheen, near Richmond, in a gratitude to that order for their suffering upon her mother's account. From these she went to a greater foundation, but that which cost her less; for she suppressed the deanery and the cathedral of Westminster, and in September this year turned it into a monastery; and made Feckenham, dean of Paul's, the first abbot of it. On the 23d of September, she gave warrants for pensions to be paid to the prebends of Westminster till they were otherwise provided: and about that time Feckenham was declared abbot, though the solemn instalment of him, and fourteen other monks with him, was not done till the 21st of November.

There had been many searches and discoveries made in the former reign of great disorders in these houses; and at the dissolution of them, many had made confession of their ill lives and gross superstition; all which were laid up and recorded in the Augmentation-office. There had been also in that state of things, which they now called the late schism, many professions made by the bishops and abbots, and other religious men, of their renouncing the pope's authority, and acknowledging the king's supremacy: therefore it was moved, that all these should be gathered together and destroyed. So on the 23rd of September, there was a commission granted to Bonner and Cole (the new dean "of Paul's in Feckenham's room) and Dr. Martin, to search all registers, to find out both the professions made against the pope, and the scrutinies made in abbeys; which, as the commission that is in the Collection sets forth, tended to the sub-

carry to the cardinal, that they might be disposed of as the queen should give order. It is not upon record how they executed this commission, but the effects of it appear in the great defectiveness of the records in many things of consequence, which are razed and lost. This was a new sort of expurgation, by which they intended to leave as few footsteps to posterity as they could of what had been formerly done. Their care of their own credits led them to endeavour to suppress the many declarations themselves had formerly made, both against the see of Rome, the monastic orders, and many of the old corruptions, which they had disclaimed. But many things escaped their diligence, as may appear by what I have already collected; and considering the pains they were at in vitiating registers and destroying records, I hope the reader will not think it strange if he meets with many defects in this work. In this search they not only took away what concerned themselves, but every collateral thing that might inform or direct the following ages how to imitate those precedents; and therefore, among other writings, the commission that Cromwell had,

Collection,
Number 29.

to be vice-gerent, was destroyed: but I have since that time met with it in a copy that was in the Cotton library, which I have put in the Collection. How far this resembled the endeavours that the heathens used in the last and hottest

persecution to burn all the registers of the church, I leave to the reader. The abbey of Westminster being thus set up, some of the monks of Glastonbury, who were yet alive, were put into it. And all the rest of the old monks that had been turned out of Glaston-

Endeavours
to raise the
Abbey of
Glastonbury.

bury, and who had not married since, were invited to return to this monastery. They began to contrive how to raise their abbey again, which was held the ancientest, and was certainly the richest in England: and therefore they moved the queen and the cardinal, that they might have the house and site restored

and repaired, and they would by labour and husbandry maintain themselves, not doubting but the people of the country would be ready to contribute liberally to their subsistence. The queen and cardinal liked the proposition well; so the monks wrote to the lord Hastings, then lord chamberlain, to put the queen in mind of it, and to follow the business till it were brought to a good issue; which would be a great honour to the memory of Joseph of

Collection,
Number 30.

Arimathea who lay there, whom they did heartily beseech to pray to Christ for good success to his lordship. This letter I have put in the Collection copied from the original. What followed upon it I cannot find. It is probable the

monks of other houses made the like endeavours, and every one of them could find some rare thing belonging to their house, which seemed to make it the more necessary to raise it speedily. These of St. Alban's could say, the first martyr of England lay in their abbey: those of St. Edmundbury had a king that was martyred by the heathen Danes: those of Battel could say, they were founded for the remembrance of William the Conqueror's victory, from whence the queen derived her crown: and those of St. Austin's in Canterbury had the apostle of England laid in their church. In short, they were all in hopes to be speedily restored. And though they were but few in number, and to begin upon a small revenue, yet as soon as the belief of purgatory was revived, they knew how to set up the old trade anew, which they could drive with the greater advantage; since they were to deal with the people by a new motive, besides the old ones formerly used, that it was sacrilege to possess the goods of the church, of which it had been robbed by their ancestors. But in this it was necessary to advance slowly, since the nobility and gentry were much alarmed at it; and at the last parliament, many had laid their hands to their swords in the house of commons, and said they would not part with their estates, but would defend them: yet some that hoped to gain more favour from the queen by such compliance, did found chantries for masses for their souls. In the records of the last years of queen Mary's reign, there are many warrants granted by her for such endowments: for though the statute of *mortmain* was repealed, yet for greater security, it was thought fit to take out such licences. This is all I find of our home affairs this year.

Foreign
Affairs.

Foreign affairs were brought to a quieter state. For by the mediation of England, a truce for five years was concluded between France and Spain: and the new king of Spain was inclined to observe it faithfully, that so he might be well settled in his kingdoms before he engaged in war: but the violent pope broke all this. He

was much offended with the decree made at Augsburg for the liberty of religion, and with Ferdinand for ordering the chalice to be given to his subjects, and chiefly for his assuming the title of emperor without his approbation. Upon this last provocation the pope sent him word, that he would let him know, to his grief, how he had offended him. He came to talk in as haughty a style as any of all his predecessors had ever done, that he would

The Pope is change kingdoms at his pleasure. He boasted that he had made Ireland a kingdom: that all princes were under his feet (and as he said, that he used to tread with his feet against the ground); and he would allow no prince to be his companion, nor be too familiar with him: nay, rather than be driven to a mean action, he would set the whole world on fire. But to pretend to do somewhat for a reformation, he appointed a congregation to gather some rules for the condemning of simony. These he published and said, having now reformed his own court, he would next reform the courts of princes: and because they had complained much of the corruptions of the clergy and court of Rome, he resolved to turn the matter on them, and said he would gather all the abuses that were in their courts and reform them. But he was much provoked by an embassy that came from Poland, to desire of him, that they might have the mass in their own tongue, and the communion in both kinds; that their priests might be allowed to marry, that they might pay annates no more to Rome, and call a national council in their own kingdom. These things put him out of all patience, and with all the bitterness he could use, he expressed how detestable they were to him. He then said, he would hold a council; not that he needed one, for himself was above all: but it should never meet in Trent, to which it had been a vain thing to send about sixty bishops of the least able, and forty doctors of the most insufficient, as had been twice done already: that he would hold it in the Lateran, as many of his predecessors had done: he gave notice of this to the ambassadors of all princes: he said he did that only in courtesy, not intending to ask their advice or consent, for he would be obeyed by them all. He intended in this council to reform them and their courts, and to discharge all impositions which they had laid on the clergy: and therefore he would call it whether they would or not, and if they sent no prelates to it, he would hold it with those of his own court: and would let the world see what the authority of that see was, when it had a pope of courage to govern it.

But after all these imperious humours of his, which sometimes carried him to excesses, that seemed not much different from madness; he was heartily troubled at the truce between the French and the Spaniards. He hated the Spaniards most, because they supported the Colonesi, whom he designed to ruin. And therefore he sent his nephew into France with a sword and hat which he had consecrated, to persuade the king to break the truce; offering his assistance for the conquest of the kingdom of Naples, to the use of one of the younger sons of France: though it was believed he designed it for his own nephew. He also sent the French king an absolution from his oath that he had sworn for the maintaining of the truce, and promised to create what cardinals he pleased, that so he might be sure of a creature of his own to succeed in the popedom. Yet the pope dissembled his design in this so closely, that he persuaded sir Edward Carew, that was then the queen's ambassador at Rome, that he desired nothing so much as a general peace: and he hoped, as the queen had mediated in the truce, she would continue her endeavours till a perfect peace were made. He said he had sent two legates to procure it; and since he was the common father of Christendom, God would impute to him, even his silence in that matter, if he did not all he could to obtain it. He complained much of the growth of heresy in Poland, and in the king of the Romans' dominions. For the repressing of it he said, he intended to have a general council: and in order to that it was necessary there should be a peace, since a truce would not give sufficient encouragement to those who ought to come to the council. He said he intended to be present at it himself, and to hold it in the church of St. John in the Lateran: for he thought Rome, being the common country of all the world, was the meetest place for such an assembly: and he being so very old, could go nowhere out of Rome; therefore he was resolved to hold it there. But he said, he relied chiefly on the assistance of the queen, whom he called, "That blessed queen, and his most gracious and loving daughter:"

He breaks the Truce between France and Spain, absolving the French King from his Oath.

that seemed not much different from madness; he was heartily troubled at the truce between the French and the Spaniards. He hated the Spaniards most, because they supported the Colonesi, whom he designed to ruin. And therefore he sent his nephew into France with a sword and hat which he had consecrated, to persuade the king to break the truce; offering his assistance for the conquest of the kingdom of Naples, to the use of one of the younger sons of France: though it was believed he designed it for his own nephew. He also sent the French king an absolution from his oath that he had sworn for the maintaining of the truce, and promised to create what cardinals he pleased, that so he might be sure of a creature of his own to succeed in the popedom. Yet the pope dissembled his design in this so closely, that he persuaded sir Edward Carew, that was then the queen's ambassador at Rome, that he desired nothing so much as a general peace: and he hoped, as the queen had mediated in the truce, she would continue her endeavours till a perfect peace were made. He said he had sent two legates to procure it; and since he was the common father of Christendom, God would impute to him, even his silence in that matter, if he did not all he could to obtain it. He complained much of the growth of heresy in Poland, and in the king of the Romans' dominions. For the repressing of it he said, he intended to have a general council: and in order to that it was necessary there should be a peace, since a truce would not give sufficient encouragement to those who ought to come to the council. He said he intended to be present at it himself, and to hold it in the church of St. John in the Lateran: for he thought Rome, being the common country of all the world, was the meetest place for such an assembly: and he being so very old, could go nowhere out of Rome; therefore he was resolved to hold it there. But he said, he relied chiefly on the assistance of the queen, whom he called, "That blessed queen, and his most gracious and loving daughter:"

and holding her letters in his hand, he said they were so full of respect and kindness to him, that he would have them read in the consistory; and made a cross over her subscription. It was no wonder such discourses, with that way of deportment, deceived so honest and plain-hearted a man as Carew was; as it will appear from the letter that he writ over upon this occasion to the queen, which I have put in the Collection. But it soon appeared on what design he had sent his legate to France; for he pressed that king vehemently to break the truce, and renew the war. To this the French king being persuaded by the cardinal of Lorraine and duke of Guise, consented, though all the rest about him dissuaded him from such a dishonourable breach of faith, or meddling more in the war of Italy, which had been always fatal to their people. The Colonesi had been furnished with assistance from Naples; upon which the pope had it proposed in the consistory, that the king of Spain, by giving them assistance, had lost his territories: and being then assured of assistance from France, he began the war, imprisoning the cardinals and prelates of the Spanish faction; and the ambassadors of Spain and England, pretending they kept correspondence with the Colonesi that were traitors. He also sent to raise some regiments among the Grisons. But when they came, some told him they were all heretics, and it would be a reproach for him to use such soldiers: he understanding they were good troops, said, he was confident God would convert them, and that he looked on them as angels sent by God for the defence of his person. Upon this breaking out of the pope's, the duke of Alva, that was then in Naples, being himself much devoted to the papacy, did very unwillingly engage in the war. He first used all ways to avoid it; and made several protestations of the indignities that his master had received, and his unwillingness to enter into a war with him that should be the common father of Christendom. But these being all to no purpose, he fell into Campania, and took all the places in it, which he declared he held for the next pope: he might also have taken Rome itself, but the reverence he had for the papacy restrained him.

This being known in England, was a great grief to the queen and cardinal, who saw what advantages those of the Reformation would take from the pope's absolving princes from the most sacred ties of human societies; since the breach of faith and public treaties was a thing abhorred by the most depraved nations: and when he, who pretended to be the vicar of Christ who was the prince of peace, was kindling a new flame in Christendom, these things were so scandalous, that they knew they would much obstruct and disorder all their designs. And indeed the protestants everywhere were not wanting to improve this all they could. It seemed a strange thing, that in the same year, a great conqueror, that had spent his life in wars and affairs, should in the fifty-sixth year of his age retire to a monastery: and that a bishop at eighty, who had pretended to such abstraction from the world, that he had formerly quitted a bishopric to retire into a monastery, should now raise such a war, and set Europe again in a flame.

In the beginning of the next year was the visitation of the universities. To Cambridge, Pole sent Scot, bishop of Chester, his Italian friend Ormaneto, with Watson and Christopherson, the two elect bishops of Lincoln and Chichester (in the rooms of White, removed to Winchester, out of which Pole reserved a pension of 1000*l.*, and of Day that was dead), with some others. When they came thither, on the 11th of January, they put the churches of St. Mary's and St. Michael's under an interdict, because the bodies of Bucer and Fagius, two heretics, were laid in them. The university orator received them with a speech that was divided between an invective against the heretics and a commendation of the cardinal who was then their chancellor. They went through all the colleges, and gathered many heretical books together, and observed the order used in their chapels. When they came to Clare-hall, they found no sacrament: Ormaneto asked the head, Swinburn, how that came. He answered, the chapel was not yet consecrated. Then Ormaneto chid him more for officiating so long in it: but trying him further, he found he had many benefices in his hands; for which he reproved him so severely, that the poor man was so confounded that he could answer nothing to the other questions he put to him. But Christopherson himself, being master of Trinity college, did not escape. Ormaneto found he had misapplied the revenues of the house and had made a lease of some of their

1557.

The Visitation of the Universities.

lands to his brother-in-law below the value. Ormaneto tore the lease to pieces, and chid him so sharply, that he, fearing it might stop his preferment, fell sick upon it.

Then followed the pageantry of burning the two bodies of Bucer and Fagius. They were cited to appear, or if any would come in their name, they were required to defend them: so after three citations, the dead bodies not rising to speak for themselves, and none coming to plead for them (for fear of being sent after them), the visitors thought fit to proceed. On the 26th of January, the bishop of Chester made a speech, showing the earnestness of the university to have justice done; to which they, the commissioners, though most unwilling, were obliged to condescend. Therefore, having examined many witnesses of the heresies that Bucer and Fagius had taught, they judged them obstinate heretics, and appointed their bodies to be taken out of the holy ground, and to be delivered to the secular power. The writ being brought from London, on the 6th of February their bodies were taken up, and carried in coffins and tied to stakes, with many of their books and other heretical writings, and all were burnt together. Pern preached at it, who, as he was that year vice-chancellor, so he was in the same office four years after this, when, by queen Elizabeth's order, public honours were done to the memories of those two learned men, and sermons and speeches were made in their praise: but Pern had turned so oft, and at every one was so zealous, that such turnings came to be nicknamed from him. On the Feast of Purification, Watson preached at Cambridge, where, to extol the rites and processions of the catholics, and their carrying candles on that day, he said Joseph and the blessed Virgin had carried wax candles in procession that day, as the church had still continued to do from their example: which was heard not without the laughter of many.

The cardinal did also send Ormaneto, and Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, with some others, to visit the university of Oxford. They went over all the colleges as they had done at Cambridge, and burnt all the English bibles, with such other heretical books as could be found. Then they made a process against the body of Peter Martyr's wife that lay buried in one of the churches: but she being a foreigner that understood no English, they could not find witnesses that had heard her utter any heretical points; so they gave advertisement of this to the cardinal, who thereupon writ back, that since it was notoriously known that she had been a nun, and had married contrary to her vow, therefore her body was to be taken up*, and buried in a dunghill, as a person dying under excommunication. This was accordingly done: but her body was afterwards taken up again in queen Elizabeth's time, and mixed with St. Fridiswide's bones, that she might run the same fortune with her in all times coming.

While these things were doing, there was great complaints made that the inferior magistrates grew everywhere slack in the searching after and presenting of heretics: they could not find in the counties a sufficient number of justices of peace that would carefully look after it; and in towns they were generally harboured. Letters were written to some towns, as Coventry and Rye, which are entered in the council-books, recommending some to be chosen their mayors, who were zealous catholics. It is probable that the like letters might have been written to other towns; for the council-books for this reign are very imperfect and defective: but all this did not advance their design. The queen understood that the numbers of the heretics rather increased than abated; so new councils were to be taken. I find it said, that some advised that courts of inquisition, like those in Spain, might be set up in England. In Spain the inquisitors, who were then all Dominicans, received private informations; and upon these, laid hold on any that were delated or suspected of heresy, and kept them close in their prisons till they formed their processes; and by all the ways of torture they could invent, forced from them confessions either against themselves or others whom they had a mind to draw within their toils. They had so unlimited a jurisdiction, that there was no sanctuary that could secure any from their warrants; nor could princes preserve or deliver men out of their hands; nor were their prisoners brought to any public trial, but tried in secret. One of the advocates of the court was, for form's sake, assigned to plead for them,

* The reason given in the cardinal's letter for raising her body is, "*Quoniam juxta corpus sanctissimę Fridiswide jacebat corpus Catherine uxoris P. Martyris.*"—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

Great Endeavours used to set forward the Persecution most vigorously.

but was always more careful to please the court than to save his client. They proceeded against them both by articles, which they were to answer, and upon presumptions; and it was a rare thing for any to escape out of their hands, unless they redeemed themselves either by great presents or by the discovery of others. These had been set up first in the county of Thoulouse for the extirpation of the Albigenes; and were afterwards brought into Spain upon Ferdinand of Arragon's driving the Moors out of it, that so none of those might any longer conceal themselves in that kingdom; who being a false and crafty sort of men, and certainly enemies to the government, it seemed necessary to use more than ordinary severity to drive them out. But now those courts examined men suspected of heresy as well as of Mahometanism, and had indeed effectually preserved Spain from any change in religion. This made the present pope earnest with all the princes of Christendom to set up such courts in their dominions; and Philip was so much of the same mind, that he resolved to have them set up in Flanders, which gave the first rise to those wars that followed afterwards there, and ended in the loss of the Seven Provinces.

In England they made now, in February, a good step towards it. For a commission was given to the bishops of London and Ely, the lord North, secretary Bourne, sir John Mordant, sir Francis Englefield, sir Edward Walgrave, sir Nicholas Hare, sir Thos. Pope, sir Roger Cholmly, sir Richard Read, sir Thos. Stradling, sir Rowland Hall, and serjeant Rastall; Cole, dean of Paul's, William Roper, Randolph Cholmley, and William Cook; Tho. Martin, John Story, and John Vaughan, doctors of the law: "That since many false rumours were published among the subjects, and many heretical opinions were also spread among them; therefore they, or any three of them, were to inquire into those, either by presentments, by witnesses, or any other politic way they could devise; and to search after all heresies, the bringers-in, the sellers, or readers, of all heretical books: they were to examine and punish all misbehaviours or negligences in any church or chapel, and to try all priests that did not preach of the sacrament of the altar; all persons that did not hear mass, or come to their parish-church to service; that would not go in processions, or did not take holy bread or holy water: and if they found any that did obstinately persist in such heresies, they were to put them into the hands of their ordinaries, to be proceeded against according to the laws, giving them full power to proceed as their discretions and consciences should direct them; and to use all such means as they could invent for the searching of the premises: empowering them also to call before them such witnesses as they pleased, and to force them to make oath of such things as might discover what they sought after." This commission I have put in the Collection. It will show how high they intended to raise the persecution, when a power of such a nature was put into the hands of any three of a number so selected. Besides this, there were many subordinate commissions issued out. This commission seems to have been granted the former year, and only renewed now: for in the rolls of that year I have met with many of those subaltern commissions relating to this as superior to them. And on the 8th of March after this, a commission was given to the archbishop of York, the bishop suffragan of Hull, and divers others, to the same effect; but with this limitation, that if anything appeared to them so intricate that they could not determine it, they were to refer it to the bishop of London and his colleagues, who had a larger commission. So now all was done that could be devised for extirpating of heresy, except courts of inquisition had been set up; to which, whether this was not a previous step to dispose the nation to it, the reader may judge.

I shall next give an account of the burnings this year. On the 15th of January, six men were burnt in one fire at Canterbury; and at the same time, two were burnt at Wye, and two at Ashford, that were condemned with the other six. Soon after the fore-mentioned commission, two-and-twenty were sent up from Colchester to London; yet Bonner, though seldom guilty of such gentleness, was content to discharge them. As they were led through London the people did openly show their affection to them, above a thousand following them. Bonner, upon this, writ to the cardinal, that he found they were obstinate heretics, yet, since he had been offended with him for his former proceedings, he would do nothing till he knew his pleasure. This letter is to be found in Fox. But the cardinal stopped him, and made some deal with the prisoners to sign a paper

A Design to
set up the In-
quisition in
England.

Collection,
Number 32.

Proceedings
against the
Heretics.

of their professing that they believed that Christ's body and blood was in the sacrament, without any further explanation; and that they did submit to the catholic church of Christ, and should be faithful subjects to the king and queen, and be obedient to their superiors both spiritual and temporal according to their duties. It is plain this was so contrived that they might have signed it without either prevaricating or dissembling their opinions: for it is not said, "that they were to be subject to the church of Rome, but to the church of Christ; and they were to be obedient to their superiors according to their duties," which was a good reserve for their consciences. I stand the longer on this, that it may appear how willing the cardinal was to accept of any show of submission from them, and to stop Bonner's rage. Upon this they were set at liberty: but Bonner got three men and two women presented to him in London, in January, and after he had allowed them a little more time than he had granted others, they standing still firm to their faith, were burnt at Smithfield on the 12th of April. After that White, the new bishop of Winchester, condemned three, who were burnt on the 3rd of May in Southwark: one of these, Stephen Gratwick, being of the diocese of Chichester, appealed from him to his own ordinary. Whether he expected more favour from him, or did it only to gain time, I know not; but they brought in a counterfeit, who was pretended to be the bishop of Chichester (as Fox has printed it from the account written with the man's own hand), and so condemned him. On the 7th of May three were burnt at Bristol; on the 18th of June two men and five women were burnt at Maidstone; and on the 19th three men and four women were burnt at Canterbury: fourteen being thus in two days destroyed by Thornton and Harpsfield; in which it may seem strange that the cardinal had less influence to stop the proceedings in his own diocese than in London: but he was now under the pope's disgrace, as shall be afterwards shown. On the 22nd of June six men and four women were burnt at Lewes, in Sussex, condemned by White; for Christopherson, bishop elect of Chichester, was not yet consecrated. On the 13th of July two were burnt at Norwich; on the 2nd of August ten were burnt at Colchester, six in the morning, and four in the afternoon: they were some of those who had been formerly discharged by the cardinal's orders; but the priests in the country complained that the mercy showed to them had occasioned great disorders among them, heretics, and the favourers of them, growing insolent upon it; and those who searched after them being disheartened: so now Bonner being under no more restraints from the cardinal, new complaints being made that they came not to church, condemned them upon their answers to the articles which he objected to them.

At this time one George Eagle, a tailor, who used to go about from place to place, and to meet with those who stood for the Reformation, where he prayed and discoursed with them about religion; and from his indefatigable diligence was nicknamed Trudge-over, was taken near Colchester, and was condemned of treason for gathering the queen's subjects together; though it was not proved that he had ever stirred them up to rebellion, but did it only (as himself always protested) to encourage them to continue steadfast in the faith: he suffered as a traitor. On the 5th of August one was burnt at Norwich; and on the 20th, a man and a woman more were burnt at Rochester: one was also burnt at Lichfield in August, but the day is not named.

The same month, a complaint was brought to the council of the magistrates of Bristol, that they came seldom to the sermons at the cathedral; so that the dean and chapter used to go to their houses in procession, with their cross carried before them, and to fetch them from thence: upon which a letter was written to them, requiring them to conform themselves more willingly to the orders of the church, to frequent the sermons, and go thither of their own accord. On the 17th of September, three men and one woman were burnt at Islington near London: and on the same day two women were burnt at Colchester. On the 20th a man was burnt at Northampton; and in the same month one was burnt at Laxo-field in Suffolk. On the 23rd a woman was burnt at Norwich. There were seventeen burnt in the diocese of Chichester about this time; one was a priest, thirteen were laymen, and three women: but the day is not marked. On the 18th of November, three were burnt in Smithfield. On the 22nd of December, John Rough, a Scotchman, was burnt, whose suffering was on this occasion. On the 12th of December, there was a private meeting of such as continued to worship God according to the service set out by king

Edward at Islington, where he was to have administered the sacrament, according to the order of that book. The new inquisitors had corrupted one of this congregation to betray his brethren, so that they were apprehended as they were going to the communion. But Rough being a stranger, it was considered by the council whether he should be tried as a native. He had a benefice in Yorkshire in king Edward's days, so it was resolved, and signified to the bishop of London, that he should be proceeded against as a subject. Thereupon Bonner objected to him, his condemning the doctrine of the church, and setting out the heresies of Cranmer and Ridley concerning the sacrament, and his using the service set out by king Edward; that he had lived much with those who for their heresies had fled beyond sea; that he had spoken reproachfully of the pope and cardinals, saying, that when he was at Rome, he had seen a bull of the pope's that licensed stewes, and a cardinal riding openly with his whore with him: with several other articles. The greatest part of them he confessed, and thereupon he, with a woman that was one of the congregation, was burnt in Smithfield. And thus ended the burnings this year; seventy-nine in all being burnt.

These severities against the heretics made the queen show less pity to the lord Stourton, than perhaps might have been otherwise expected. He had been all king Edward's time a most zealous papist, and did constantly dissent in parliament from the laws then made about religion. But he had the former year murdered one Argall and his son, with whom he had been long at variance: and after he had knocked them down with clubs, and cut their throats, he buried them fifteen foot under ground, thinking thereby to conceal the fact; but it breaking out, both he and four of his servants were taken and indicted for it. He was found guilty of felony, and condemned to be hanged with his servants in Wiltshire, where the murder was committed. On the 6th of March they were hanged at Salisbury. All the difference that was made in their deaths, being only thus, that whereas his servants were hanged in common halters, one of silk was bestowed on their lord. It seemed an indecent thing, when they were proceeding so severely against men for their opinions, to spare one that was guilty of so foul a murder, killing both father and son at the same time. But it is strange that neither his quality nor his former zeal for popery, could procure a change of the sentence from the more infamous way of hanging to beheading, which had been generally used to persons of his quality. It has been said, and it passes for a maxim of law, that though in judgments of treason the king can order the execution to be by cutting off the head, since it being a part of the sentence, that the head shall be severed from the body, the king may in that case remit all the other parts of the sentence except that; yet in felonies the sentence must be executed in the way prescribed by law; and that if the king should order beheading instead of hanging, it would be murder in the sheriff and those that execute it: so that in such a case they must have a pardon under the great seal for killing a man unlawfully. But this seems to be taken up without good grounds, and against clear precedents: for in the former reign the duke of Somerset, though condemned for felony, yet was beheaded. And in the reign of king Charles the First, the lord Audley, being likewise condemned for felony, all the judges delivered their opinions, that the king might change the execution from hanging to beheading, which was done, and was not afterwards questioned. So it seems the hanging the lord Stourton flowed not from any scruple as to the queen's power of doing it lawfully, but that on this occasion she resolved to give a public demonstration of her justice and horror at so cruel a murder; and therefore she left him to the law, without taking any further care of him. On the last of February he was sent from London with a letter to the sheriff of Wiltshire to receive his body, and execute the sentence given against him and his servants, which was accordingly done, as has been already shown. Upon this the papists took great advantage to commend the strictness and impartiality of the queen's justice, that would not spare so zealous a catholic when guilty of so foul a murder. It was also said, that the killing of men's bodies was a much less crime than the killing of souls, which was done by the propagators of heresy; and therefore if the queen did thus execute justice on a friend, for that which was a lesser degree of murder, they who were her enemies, and guilty of higher crimes, were to look for no mercy. Indeed, as the poor protestants looked for none, so they met with very little, but what the cardinal showed them; and he was now brought

under trouble himself, for favouring them too much, it being that which the pope made use of to cover his malice against him.

Now the war had again broken out between France and Spain, and the king studied to engage the English to his assistance. The queen had often complained to the French court, that the fugitives who left her kingdom had been well entertained in France. She understood that the practices of Wiat, and of her other rebellious subjects, were encouraged from thence: particularly of Ashton, who went often between the two kingdoms, and had made

Collection, use of the lady Elizabeth's name to raise seditions, as will appear by a letter Number 33. (that is in the Collection), which some of the council writ to one that attended that princess. She was indeed the more strictly kept and worse used upon

that occasion. But besides, it so happened, that this year one Stafford had gone into France, and gathered some of the English fugitives together, and with money and ships that were secretly given him by that court, had come and seized on the castle of Scarborough: from whence he published a manifesto against the queen, that by bringing in the Spaniards, she had fallen from her right to the kingdom, of which he declared himself protector. The earl of Westmoreland took the castle on the last of April, and Stafford, with three of his com-

The Queen plices, being taken, suffered as traitors on the 28th of May. His coming out of becomes jealous of the French. France added much to the jealousy, though the French king disowned that he had given him any assistance. But Dr. Wotton, who was then ambassador there, resolved to give the queen a more certain discovery of the inclinations of

the French, that so he might engage her in the war, as was desired by Philip: he therefore caused a nephew of his own to come out of England, whom when he had secretly instructed, he ordered him to desire to be admitted to speak with the French king, pretending that he was sent from some that were discontented in England, and desired the French protection. But the king would not see him till he had first spoken with the constable. So Wotton was brought to the constable, and Melvill, from whose memoirs I draw this, was called to interpret. The young man first offered him the service of many in England; that, partly upon the account of religion, partly for the hatred they bore the Spaniards, were ready, if assisted by France, to make stir there. The constable received and answered this but coldly, and said, he did not see what service they could do his master in it. Upon which he replied, they would put Calais into his hands. The constable not suspecting a trick, started at that, and showed great joy at the proposition; but desired to know how it might be effected. Young Wotton told him there were a thousand protestants in it, and gave him a long formal project of the way of taking it, with which the constable seemed pleased, and had much discourse with him about it; he promised him great rewards, and gave him directions how to proceed in the design. So the ambassador having found out what he had designed to discover, sent his nephew over to the queen, who was thereupon satisfied that the French were resolved to begin with her if they found an opportunity. Her husband, king Philip, finding it was not so easy by letters or messages to draw her into the war, came over himself about the 20th of May, and staid with her till the beginning of July.

In that time he prevailed so far with her and the council, that she sent over a herald with a formal denunciation of war, who made it at Rheims, where the king then was, on the 7th of June. Soon after she sent over eight thousand

men, under the command of the earl of Pembroke, to join the Spanish army, that consisting of near fifty thousand men, sate down before St. Quintin. The constable was sent to raise the

The great defeat given the French at St. Quintin. siege with a great force, and all the chief nobility of France. When the two armies were in view of one another, the constable intended to draw back his army; but by mistake in the way of it, they fell in some disorder. The Spaniards

upon that, falling on them, did, with the loss only of fifty of their men, gain an entire victory: two thousand five hundred were killed on the place, the whole army was dispersed, many of the first quality were killed, the constable with many others were taken prisoners. The French king was in such a consternation upon it, that he knew not which way to turn himself. Now all the French cursed the pope's counsels, for he had persuaded their king to begin this war, and that with a manifest breach of his faith. This action lost the constable that great reputation which he had acquired and preserved in a course of much

success; and raised the credit of the duke of Guise, who was now sent for in all haste to come with his army out of Italy for the preservation of his own country. France, indeed, was never in greater danger than at that time. For if king Philip had known how to have used his success, and marched on to Paris, he could have met with no resistance. But he sate down before St. Quintin's, which Coligny kept out so long, till the first terror was over, that so great a victory had raised: and then, as the French took heart again, so the Spaniards grew less, as well in strength as reputation, and the English, finding themselves not well used, returned home into their country.

As soon as the pope heard that England had made war upon France, he was not a little inflamed with it: and his wrath was much heightened when he heard of the defeat at St. Quintin's, and that the duke of Guise's army was recalled out of Italy, by which he was

The Pope is
offended with
Cardinal
Pole. exposed to the mercy of the Spaniards. He now said openly, they might see how little cardinal Pole regarded the apostolic see, when he suffered the queen to assist their enemies against their friends. The pope being thus incensed against Pole, sought all ways to be revenged of him. At first he made a decree

(in May this year) for a general revocation of all legates and nuncios in the king of Spain's dominions, and among these cardinal Pole was mentioned with the rest. But Carne understanding this, went first to the cardinals and informed them what a prejudice it would be to their religion to recal the cardinal, while things were yet in so unsettled a state in England. Of this they were all very sensible, and desired him to speak to the pope about it. So in an audience he had of him, he desired a suspension might be made of that revocation. The pope pretended he did it in general in all the Spanish dominions; yet he promised Carne to propose it to the congregation of the inquisition, but he was resolved not to recal it; and said it did not consist with the majesty of the place he sate in to revoke any part of a decree which he had solemnly given. In the congregation the pope endeavoured to have got the concurrence of the cardinals, but they were unwilling to join in it. So he told Carne, that though he would recal no part of his decree, yet he would give orders that there should be no intimation made of it to cardinal Pole: and that if the queen writ to him to desire his continuance in England, it might be granted. He also let fall some words to Carne of his willingness to make peace with king Philip; and indeed at that time he was much distasted with the French. Of this Carne advertised the king, though he was then so much better acquainted with the pope's dissimulation than formerly that he did not lay much weight on what he said to him, as will appear by the despatch he made upon this occasion, which is in the Collection. Whether the queen did upon this write to the pope or not, I do not know*.

Collection,
Number 34. It is probable she did: for this matter lay asleep till September, and then the pope did not only recal Pole, but intended to destroy him. He did not know where to find a person to set up against the cardinal, since Gardiner was dead, and none of the other bishops in England were great enough, or sure enough to him, to be raised to so high a dignity. Peyto, the Franciscan friar, seemed a man of his own temper, because he had railed against king Henry so boldly to his face: and he being chosen by the queen to be her confessor, was looked on as the fittest to be advanced. So the pope wrote for him into England; and when he came to Rome, made

And recalls
his Legatine
Power. him a cardinal; and sent over his bulls, declaring that he recalled Pole's legatine power, and required him to come to Rome, to answer for some accusations he had received of him as a favourer of heretics. This might have perhaps been grounded on his discharging that year so many delated of heresy †, upon so ambiguous a submission as they had made. The pope also wrote to the queen, that he was to send over cardinal Peyto with full power, requiring her to receive him as the legate of the apostolic see. The queen called for the bulls, and according to the way formerly practised in England, and still continued in Spain, when bulls that were unacceptable were sent over, she ordered them to be laid up without opening them. It has been shown in the former part, how

* The queen and Philip both wrote to the pope in favour of cardinal Pole; the letter is dated May 21, showing how serviceable he had been in restoring religion in England; the parliament seconded this by another letter.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

† They were twenty-two in number; their submission is in Fox, p. 17, 92.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

archbishop Chicheley, when he was so proceeded against by pope Martin, appealed to the next general council; and some that desired to see the form of such appeals in those ages, have thought it an omission in me, that I had not published his appeal in the collection of

Collection,
Number 35.

records at the end of that work; therefore upon this occasion I shall refer the reader to it, which he will find in the Collection. But now cardinal Pole resolved to behave himself with more submission. For though the queen had ordered the pope's breve to him not to be delivered, yet of himself he laid down the ensigns of his legatine power; and sent Ormaneto, who had the title of the pope's datary, and was his friend and confidant, to give an account of his whole behaviour in England, and to clear him of these imputations of heresy. This he did with so much submission, that he mollified the pope: only he said, that Pole ought not to have consented to the queen's joining in

The Queen
refuses to ad-
mit of Cardi-
nal Peyto the
new Legate.

war with the enemies of the holy see. Peyto had begun his journey to England*; but the queen sent him word not to come over, otherwise she would bring him and all that owned his authority within the *premunire*. So he stopped in his journey; and dying in April following, enjoyed but a short while his new dignity, together with the bishopric of Salisbury, to which the pope had advanced him, clearly contrary to the old law then in force against provisions from Rome.

This storm against Pole went soon over by the peace that was made between Philip and the pope, of which it will not be unpleasant to give the relation. The duke of Guise having carried his army out of Italy, the duke of Alva marched towards Rome, and took and spoiled all places on his way. When he came near Rome, all was in such confusion, that he might have easily taken it; but he made no assault. The pope called the cardinals together, and setting out the danger he was in, with many tears said, he would undauntedly suffer martyrdom: which they, who knew that the trouble he was in flowed only from his restless ambition and fierceness, could scarce hear without laughter. The duke of Alva was

A Peace made
between the
Pope and the
King of Spain.

willing to treat. The pope stood high on the points of honour, and would needs keep that entire, though he was forced to yield in the chief matters: he said, rather than lose one jot that was due to him, he would see the whole world ruined; pretending it was not his own honour but Christ's that he sought. In fine, the duke of Alva was required by him to come to Rome, and on his knees to ask pardon for invading the patrimony of the church, and to receive absolution for himself and his master. He being superstitiously devoted to the papacy, and having got satisfaction in other things, consented to this. So the conqueror was brought to ask pardon, and the vain pope received him, and gave him absolution, with as much haughtiness and state as if he had been his prisoner. This was done on the 14th of September, and the news of it being brought into England on the 6th of October, letters were written by the council to the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, requiring them to come to St. Paul's, where high mass was to be said for the peace now concluded between the pope and the king, after which bonfires were ordered. One of the secret articles of the peace was the restoring Pole to his legatine power.

War being now proclaimed between England and France, the French sent to the Scottish queen-regent, to engage Scotland in the war with England. Hereupon a convention of the estates was called. But in it there were two different parties. Those of the clergy liked now the English interest as much as they had been formerly jealous of it, and so refused to engage in the war, since they were at peace with England. They had also a secret dislike to the regent for her kindness to the heretical lords. On the other hand, those lords were ready enough to gain the protection of the regent and the favour of France, and therefore were ready to enter into the war, hoping that thereby they should have their party made the stronger in Scotland, by the entertainment that the queen-regent would be obliged to give to such as should fly

The begin-
nings of a
War between
England and
Scotland.

* From the answer to the English justice, supposed to be written by sir William Cecil, or by his order, it appears that Peyto was now in England (p. 20, 23, &c. *Ed. Eat.* p. 48), as likewise from the answer, p. 147, 149. Ciacconius says the same thing, anno 1537; and Pallavicini, *Hist. Conc. Prid.* lib. xiv. cap. 2, 5, and that

he was then an old decrepit man; besides other authorities that might be named. The bulls were stopped at Calais with the nuncio or bearer, which may have occasioned the mistake of Godwin and others.—ANON. CORRECT.

out of England for religion. Yet the greater part of the convention were against the war. The queen-regent thought at least to engage the kingdom in a defensive war, by forcing the English to begin with them. Therefore she sent D'Oisel, who was in chief command, to fortify Aymouth, which, by the last treaty with England, was to be unfortified. So the governor of Berwick making inroads into Scotland for the disturbing of their works, upon that D'Oisel began the war, and went into England, and besieged Warke Castle. The Scottish lords upon this met at Edinburgh, and complained that D'Oisel was engaging them in a war with England without their consent, and required him to return back, under pain of being declared an enemy to the nation; which he very unwillingly obeyed. But while he lay there, the duke of Norfolk was sent down with some troops to defend the marches. There was only one engagement between him and the Kers; but after a long dispute, they were defeated, and many of them taken. The queen-regent seeing her authority was so little considered, writ to France to hasten the marriage of her daughter to the dauphin; for that he being thereupon invested with the crown of Scotland, the French would become more absolute. Upon this a message was sent from France to a convention of estates that sate in December, to let them know that the dauphin was now coming to be of age, and therefore they desired they would send over some to treat about the articles of the marriage. They sent the archbishop of Glasgow, the bishop of Orkney, the prior of St. Andrew's, who afterwards was earl of Murray, the earls of Rothes and Cassils, the lord Fleming, and the provosts of Edinburgh and Montrose; some of every estate, that in the name of the three estates they might conclude that treaty.

These wars coming upon England when the queen's treasure was quite exhausted, it was not easy to raise money for carrying them on. They found such a backwardness in the last parliament, that they were afraid the supply from thence would not come easily, or at least that some favour would be desired for the heretics. Therefore they tried first to raise money by sending orders under the privy seal for the borrowing of certain sums: but though the council writ many letters to set on those methods of getting money, yet they being without, if not against law there was not much got this way: so that, after all, it was found necessary to summon a parliament, to assemble on the 20th of January. In the end of the year the queen had advertisements sent her from the king, that he understood the French had a design on Calais; but she, either for want of money, or that she thought the place secure in the winter, did not send these supplies that were necessary; and thus ended the affairs of England this year.

In Germany there was a conference appointed to bring matters of religion to a fuller settlement. Twelve papists and twelve protestants were appointed to manage it. Julius Pflugius, that had drawn the Interim, being the chief of the papists, moved, that they should begin first with condemning the heresy of Zuinglius. Melancthon, upon that, said it was preposterous to begin with the condemnation of errors till they had first settled the doctrines of religion: yet that which the papists expected, followed upon this; for some of the fiercer Lutherans, being much set against the Zuinglians, agreed to it. This raised heats among themselves, which made the conference break up without bringing things to any issue. Upon this occasion men could not but see that artifice of the Roman church which has been often used before and since with too great success. When they cannot bear down those they call heretics with open force, their next way is to divide them among themselves, and to engage them into heats about those lesser matters in which they differ; hoping that by those animosities their endeavours, which being united would be dangerous to the common enemy, may not only be broken, but directed one against another. This is well enough known to all the reformed; and yet many of them are so far from considering it, that upon every new occasion they are made use of to serve the same designs, never reflecting upon the advantages that have been formerly taken from such contentions.

In France the number of the protestants was now increased much; and in Paris, in September this year, there was a meeting of about two hundred of them in St. Germain's to receive the sacrament according to the way of Geneva; which being known to some of their neighbours, they furnished themselves with stones to throw at them when they broke up their meeting. So when it was late, as

The Affairs of
Germany.

A Persecution of Protestants in France.

they went home, stones were cast at some of them ; and the enraged zealots forced the doors, and broke in upon the rest. The men, drawing their swords, made their way through them, and most of them escaped ; but 160 women, with some few men, delivered themselves prisoners to the king's officers that came to take them. Upon this there were published all the blackest calumnies that could be devised of the loose and promiscuous embraces that had been in this meeting ; and so exactly had their accusers copied from what the heathens had anciently charged on the meetings of the Christians, that it was said they found the blood of a child whom they had sacrificed and eaten among them. These things were confidently told at court, where none durst contradict them for fear of being judged a favourer of them. But afterwards there was printed an Apology for the Protestants. In it they gloried much that the same false accusations by which the heathens had defamed the primitive Christians were now cast on them. Those that were taken were proceeded against : six men and one woman were burnt. It had gone further if there had not come envoys, both from the German princes and the Cantons of Switzerland, to interpose for them ; upon which, since the king needed assistance in his wars, especially from the latter, the prosecution was let fall. The pope was much troubled when he heard that the king would exercise no further severity on the heretics ; and though himself had hired them in his wars, yet he said the affairs of France could not succeed as long as their king had so many heretics in his army. That king had also made two constitutions that gave the pope great offence : the one, that marriages made by sons under thirty, and daughters under twenty-five, without their father's consent, should be void ; the other was for charging the ecclesiastical benefices with a tax, and requiring all bishops and curates to reside on their benefices. So scandalous a thing was non-residence then held, that everywhere the papists were ashamed of it. Upon which the pope complained anew, that the king presumed to meddle with the sacraments, and to tax the clergy.

The beginning of the next year was famous for the loss of Calais. The lord Wentworth
 1558. had then the command of it ; but the garrison consisted only of 500 men, and there were not above 200 of the townsmen that could be serviceable in a siege.

Calais is be- The duke of Guise, having brought his army out of Piedmont, was now in
 sieged. France, and being desirous, when the constable was a prisoner, to do some great action which might raise him in reputation above the other, who was his only competitor in France, set his thoughts on Calais, and the territory about it. There were two forts on which the security of the town depended : the one Newnambridge, a mile from it, that commanded the avenues to it from the land ; from which to the town there was a way raised through a marsh lying on both hands of it. On the other side, to the sea, the fort of Risbank commanded the harbour ; so that the whole strength of the place lay in those two forts.

On the 1st of January the duke of Guise came and sate down before it. The governor, having but a small force within, did not think fit to weaken it by sending such supplies as those forts required ; so they were taken without any opposition. Then the town being thus shut up, the enemy pressed it hard, and drew the water out of its current, by which the ditches about the town and castle were drained ; and having prepared devices for their soldiers to pass them without sticking in the mire, they made the assault. After they had opened a great breach by their ordnance, and when the sea was out, others crossed on that side, and so carried the castle by storm, which the governor had looked on as impregnable, and so had brought his chief force to the defence of the town. Seeing the castle thus unexpectedly lost, he did all he could with his small force to regain it ; but being still repulsed, and having lost

200 of his best men, he was forced to render the place on the 7th of January.

And taken. By their articles all the townsmen and soldiers were to go whither they pleased, only he and fifty more were to be prisoners of war. Thus in one week's time, and in winter, was so strong a town lost by the English, that had been for many ages in their hands. It was taken 210 years ago by Edward III. after the battle of Cressy ; and was still called the key of France as long as it continued in English hands. But now, in a time of war, it was in as ill a condition as if they had been in the profoundest peace ; and though Philip had offered to put men into it, yet the English, being jealous that those advertisements were but artifices of his to persuade them to admit a Spanish garrison into it, left it in so naked a condition that the governor could do little to preserve it. But yet, that it might appear he had

not been too careful of himself, he was content to agree that he should be a prisoner of war.

From this the duke of Guise went to Guisnes, commanded by the lord Gray, whose garrison consisted of about 1100 men: but the loss of Calais had much disheartened them. At the first impression the French carried the town, and the garrison retired into the castle; but Gray, breaking out on the soldiers that were fallen to plundering, did beat them out again, and burnt the town. The French battered the castle till they made a breach in the outworks of it, which they carried after a long resistance, in which the English lost 300. So the lord Gray was fain to render it; he and all the officers being made prisoners of war. There was another castle in that little county, Hammes, which lay in such a marsh that it was thought inaccessible; but the garrison that was in it abandoned it without staying till the enemy came before them. The French writers speak more meanly of the resistance made by the lord Gray than of that made by the lord Wentworth; for there went out of Guisnes about 800 soldiers, whereas there went not out of Calais above 300. But one of our own writers magnifies the lord Gray, and speaks dishonourably of the lord Wentworth; adding, which was an invention of his own, that he was attainted for the losing of Calais. All that historian's ground for it is only this, that there was indeed a mock citation issued out against the lord Wentworth, to which he could not appear, being not freed from his imprisonment by the French all this reign: but he came over in the beginning of the next, when, the treaty of peace being on foot, he obtained his liberty, and was tried by his peers in the first parliament in queen Elizabeth's reign, and acquitted. It was, as he alleged for himself, his misfortune to be employed in a place where he had not so much as a fourth part of that number of men that was necessary to hold out a siege. But in the declinations of all governments, when losses fall out, they must be cast on those that are entrusted, to excuse those who are much more guilty by neglecting to supply them as the service required. Among the prisoners, one of the chief was sir Edward Grimston, the comptroller of Calais, and a privy-councillor. He had often, according to the duty of his place, given advertisement of the ill condition the garrison was in: but whether those to whom he writ were corrupted by French money, or whether the low state of the queen's treasury made that they were not supplied, is not certain. It was intended he should not come over to discover that; and therefore he was let lie a prisoner in the Bastile, and no care was taken of him or the other prisoners. The ransom set on him was so high that, having lost a great estate which he had purchased about Calais, he resolved not to do any further prejudice to his family by redeeming his liberty at such a rate, and intended either to continue a prisoner or make his escape. He lay above two years in the Bastile, and was lodged in the top of it: at the end of that time he procured a file, and so cut out one of the bars of the window, and having a rope conveyed to him, he changed clothes with his servant, and went down on the rope, which proving a great deal too short, he leaped a great way; and having done that before the gates were shut, made his escape without being discovered. But his beard, which was grown long, made him fear he should be known by it; yet, by a happy providence, he found in the pockets of his servant's clothes a pair of scissors, and going into the fields did so cut his beard that he could not have been known; and having learnt the art of war in the company of the Scotch guard de Mauche, he spake that dialect. So he passed as a Scotch pilgrim, and by that means escaped into England. And there he offered himself to a trial, where, after the evidence was brought, his innocence did so clearly appear, that the jury were ready to give their verdict without going from the bar. So he was acquitted, and lived to a great age, dying in his ninety-eighth year. He was great-grandfather to my noble patron and benefactor, sir Harbottle Grimston, which has made me the more willing to enlarge thus concerning him, to whose heir I owe the chief opportunities and encouragements I have had in composing this work.

Now the queen had nothing left of all those dominions that her ancestors had once in France, but the isles of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, and Sarke. The last of these, being a naked place, only inhabited by some hermits, but having the advantage of a harbour, the French made themselves masters of it. The strength of it consisted in the difficulty of the ascent; the little fort they had being accessible but in one place,

Guisnes and the rest of that Territory taken by the French.

Sarke taken by the French.

where two could only go up abreast: so an ingenious Fleming resolved to beat them out of it. He came thither, and pretending he had a friend dead in his ship, offered them a good present if he might bury him within their chapel. The French consented to it, if he would suffer himself and his men to be so narrowly searched that they might not bring so much as a knife ashore. This he consented to; and as he landed with his coffin, the Frenchmen were to send some to his ship to receive the present. So the coffin being carried into the chapel, and the French apprehending nothing from unarmed men, the coffin was opened, which was full of good arms, and every man furnishing himself, they broke out upon the French, and took them all; as their companions in the ship did those who went aboard to bring the present.

The news of the loss of Calais filled England with great discontent. Those who were otherwise dissatisfied with the conduct of affairs took great advantages from it to disparage the government, which the queen had put into the hands of priests who understood not war, and were not sensible of the honour of the nation. It was said they had drained her treasury by the restitutions and foundations they got her to make; and being sensible how much the nation hated them, they had set the queen on other ways of raising money than by a parliament: so that never did the parliament meet with greater disorder and trouble than now. But that loss affected none so deeply as the queen herself, who was so sensible of the dishonour of it that she was much oppressed with melancholy, and was never cheerful after it. Those who took on them to make comments on Divine Providence, expounded this loss as their affections led them. Those of the Reformation said, it was God's heavy judgment upon England for rejecting the light of his gospel, and persecuting such as still adhered to it. But on the other hand the papists said, Calais could not prosper, since it had been a receptacle of heretics, where the laws against them had never been put in execution. King Philip, as soon as he heard of this loss, wrote over to England, desiring them to raise a great force with all possible haste, and send it over to recover Calais before it was fortified, and he would draw out his army and join with them: for if they did not retake it before the season of working about it came on, it was irrecoverably lost. Upon which there was a long consultation held about it. They found they could not to any purpose send over under 20,000 men; the pay of them for five months would rise to 170,000*l.*; garrisons, and an army against the Scots, and securing the coasts against the French, would come to 150,000*l.*; the setting out of a fleet and an army by sea would amount to 200,000*l.*; and yet all that would be too little, if the Danes and Swedes, which they were afraid of, should join against them. There was also great want of ammunition and ordnance, of which they had lost vast quantities in Calais and Guisnes. All this would rise to be above 520,000*l.*; and they doubted much whether the people would endure such impositions, who were now grown stubborn, and talked very loosely. So they did not see how they could possibly enter into any action this year. One reason, among the rest, was suggested by the bishops: they saw a war would oblige them to a greater moderation in their proceedings at home: they had not done their work, which they hoped a little more time would perfect; whereas a slackening in that would raise the drooping spirits of those whom they were now pursuing. So they desired another year to prosecute them, in which time they hoped so to clear the kingdom of them, that with less danger they might engage in a war the year after. Nor did they think it would be easy to bring new-raised men to the hardships of so early a campaign; and they thought the French would certainly work so hard in repairing the breaches, that they would be in a good condition to endure a strait and long siege. All this they wrote over to the king on the 1st of February, as appears from their letter, which will be found in the Collection.

Collection,
Number 36.

The parliament was opened on the 20th of January, where the convocation, to be a good example to the two houses, granted a subsidy of eight shillings in the pound, to be paid in four years. In the house of peers, the abbot of Westminster and the prior of St. John of Jerusalem took their places according to their writs. Tresham, that had given great assistance to the queen upon her first coming to the crown, was now made prior. But how much was done towards the endowing of that house, which had been formerly among the richest of England, I do not know. On the 24th of January

A Parliament
is called.

the lords sent a message to the commons, desiring that the speaker, with ten or twelve of that house, should meet with a committee of the lords; which being granted, the lords proposed that the commons would consider of the defence of the kingdom. What was at first demanded does not appear; but after several days' arguing about it, they agreed to give one subsidy, a fifteenth, and a tenth; and ordered the speaker to let the queen know what they had concluded, who sent them her hearty thanks for it. Then complaints being made of some Frenchmen that were not denizens, it was carried that they should go out of the kingdom, and not return during the war*. The abbot of Westminster, finding the revenues of his house were much impaired, thought that if the old privileges of the sanctuary were confirmed, it would bring him in a good revenue from those that fled to it: so he pressed for an act to confirm it. He brought a great many ancient grants of the kings of England which the queen had confirmed by her letters-patents; but they did not prevail with the house, who proceeded no further in it. In this parliament the procurers of wilful murder were denied the benefit of clergy, which was carried in the house of lords by the greater number, as it is in their Journals. The bishops did certainly oppose it, though none of them entered their dissent. Sir Ambrose and sir Robert Dudley, two sons of the late duke of Northumberland, were restored in blood. The countess of Sussex's jointure was taken from her for her living in adultery so publicly, as was formerly mentioned. In the end of the session, a bill was put in for the confirming of the queen's letters-patents: it was designed chiefly for confirming the religious foundations she had made. As this went through the house of commons, one Copley said, he did not approve such a general confirmation of those she had given, or might give, lest this might be a colour for her to dispose of the crown from the right inheritors. The house was much offended at this, and expressed such dislike at the imagination that the queen would alienate the crown, that they both showed their esteem for the queen and their resolution to have the crown descend after her death to her sister. Copley was made to withdraw, and voted guilty of great irreverence to the queen. He asked pardon, and desired it might be imputed to his youth: yet he was kept in the serjeant's hands till they had sent to the queen to desire her to forgive his offence. She sent them word, that at their suit she forgave it, but wished them to examine him from whence that motion sprung. There is no more entered about it in the Journal, so that it seems to have been let fall. The parliament was, on the 7th of March, prorogued to the 7th of November.

Soon after this, the king of Sweden sent a message secretly to the lady Elizabeth, who was then at Hatfield, to propose marriage to her. King Philip had once designed to marry her to the duke of Savoy, when he was in hope of children by the queen; but that hope vanishing, he broke it off, and intended to reserve her for himself. How far she entertained that motion, I do not know; but for this from Sweden she rejected it, since it came not to her by the queen's direction. But to that it was answered, the king of Sweden would have them begin with herself, judging that fit for him, as he was a gentleman; and her good liking being obtained, he would next, as a king, address himself to the queen. But she said, as she was to entertain no such propositions, unless the queen sent them to her, so, if she were left to herself, she assured them she would not change her state of life. Upon this, the queen sent sir Tho. Pope to her, in April, to let her know how well she approved of the answer she had made to them: but they had now delivered their letters, and made the proposition to her, in which she desired to know her mind. She thanked the queen for her favour to her, but bade Pope tell her, that there had been one or two noble propositions made for her in her brother king Edward's time; and she had then desired to continue in the state she was in, which of all others pleased her best; and she thought there was no state of life comparable to it. She had never before heard of that king, and she desired never to hear of that motion more. She would see his messenger no more, since he had presumed to come to her without the queen's leave. Then Pope said, he did believe, if the queen offered her some honourable marriage, she would not be averse to it. She answered, what she might do afterwards, she did not know; but protested solemnly, that, as she was then inclined, if she could have the greatest prince in Christendom,

* The complaint was against all the French denizens as well as others; but the act was more favourable.—
STURGE'S CORRECT.

she would not accept of him ; though, perhaps, the queen might think this flowed rather from a maid's modesty than any settled determination in her. This I take from a letter Pope wrote about it, which is in the Collection : yet her life at this time was neither so pleasant nor so well secured, but that, if her aversion to a married state had not been very much rooted in her, it is not unlikely she would have been glad to be out of the hands of her unkind keepers, who grew the more apprehensive of her the more they observed her sister to decay ; and as the bishops did apprehend she would overthrow all that they had been building and cementing with so much blood, so some of them did not spare to suggest the putting of her out of the way : and now that she is so near the throne in the course of this history, I shall look back through this reign to give account of what befel her in it.

When she was suspected to be accessory to Wiat's conspiracy, the day after his breaking out, the lord Hastings, sir Tho. Cornwallis, and sir Richard Southwell, were sent for her to come to court. She then lay sick at her house at Ashbridge ; but that excuse not being accepted, she was forced to go ; so being still ill she came by slow journeys to the queen. She was kept shut up in private at court from the 4th of March to the 16th, and then Gardiner, with nineteen of the council, came to examine her about Wiat's rebellion. She positively denied she knew anything of it, or of sir Peter Carew's designs in the west, which they also objected to her. In conclusion, they told her the queen had ordered her to be sent to the Tower till the matter should be further inquired into ; and though she made great protestations of her innocence, yet she was carried thither, and led in by the Traitor's-gate, all her own servants being put from her. Three men and as many women of the queen's servants were appointed to attend on her, and no person was suffered to have access to her. Sir John Gage, who was the lieutenant of the Tower, treated her very severely, kept her closely shut up, without leave to walk either in the galleries or on the leads, nor would he permit her servants to carry in her meat to her, but he did that by his own servants. The other prisoners were often examined about her, and some were put to the rack to try if they could be brought any way to accuse her : but though Wiat had done it, when he hoped to have saved his own life by so base an action, yet he afterwards denied that she knew any of their designs ; and lest those denials he made at his examinations might have been suppressed, and his former depositions be made use of against her, he declared it openly on the scaffold at his death. After some days' close imprisonment, upon great intercession made by the lord Chandos, then constable of the Tower, it was granted that she might sometimes walk in the queen's rooms, in the presence of the constable, the lieutenant, and three women, the windows being all shut. Then she got leave to walk in a little garden for some air ; but all the windows that opened to it were to be kept shut when she took her walk : and so jealous were they of her, that a boy of four years old was severely threatened, and his father sent for and chid, for his carrying flowers to her. The lord Chandos was observed to treat her with too much respect, so he was not any more trusted with the charge of her, which was committed to sir Henry Bedingfeld. About the middle of May she was sent, under the guard of the lord Williams and Bedingfeld, to Woodstock. She was so straitly kept, and Bedingfeld was so sullen to her, that she believed they intended to put her privately to death. The lord Williams treated her nobly at his house on the way, at which Bedingfeld was much disgusted. When she was at Woodstock she was still kept under guards, and but seldom allowed to walk in the gardens, none being suffered to come near her. After many months' imprisonment she obtained leave to write to the queen, Bedingfeld being to see all she wrote. It was believed that some were sent secretly to kill her ; but the orders were given so strictly that none of them could come near her without a special warrant, and so she escaped at that time. But after king Philip understood the whole case, he broke all those designs, as was formerly shown, and prevailed to have her sent for to court. When she came to Hampton-court she was kept still a prisoner. Many of the council, Gardiner in particular, dealt often with her to confess her offences, and submit to the queen's mercy. She said she had never offended her, not so much as in her thoughts, and she would never betray her own innocency by such a confession. One night, when it was late, she was sent for by the queen, before whom she kneeled down and protested she was and ever had been a most faithful subject to her. The queen seemed still to suspect her,

and wished her to confess her guilt, otherwise she must think she had been unjustly dealt with. She answered, that she was not to complain, but to bear her burden; only she begged her to conceive a good opinion of her. So they parted fairly, which king Philip had persuaded the queen to; and being afraid that the sourness of the queen's temper might lead her into passion, he was secretly in a corner of the room to prevent any further breach, in case she should have been transported into new heats; but there was no occasion given for it. Soon after that she was discharged of her guards, and suffered to retire into the country; but there were always many spies about her; and she, to avoid all suspicion, meddled in no sort of business, but gave herself wholly to study. And thus she passed these five years, under no small fears and apprehensions, which was perhaps a necessary preparation for that high degree to which she was soon after advanced, and which she held in the greatest and longest course of prosperity and glory that ever any of her sex attained to.

The Progress as soon as it was over, they fell to them afresh. On the 28th of March, of the Persecution. Cuthbert Simpson, that was in deacon's orders with two others, were burnt in Smithfield. Simpson had been taken with Rough that suffered the year before this. He was put to much torture, he lay three hours on the rack; besides two other inventions of torture were made use of to make him discover all those in London who met with them in their private assemblies: but he would tell nothing, and showed such patience, that the bishops did publicly commend him for it. On the 9th of April a man was burnt at Hereford. On the 19th of May three men were burnt at Norwich; and on the 26th of May two men and one woman were burnt at Colchester. At this time, complaints being made to the queen, that books of heresy, treason, and sedition, were either brought in from foreign parts, or secretly printed in England, and dispersed among her subjects; she set out, on the 6th of June, a proclamation of a strange nature: "That whosoever had any of these, and did not presently burn them without reading, or showing them to any other person, they should be esteemed rebels, and, without any further delay, be executed according to the order of the martial law." On the 27th of that month, when seven were to be led out to be burnt in Smithfield, it was proclaimed in the queen's name, that no man should pray for them, or speak to them, or say, "God help them;" which was thought a strain of barbarity beyond all the examples of former times, to deprive dying men of the good wishes and prayers of their friends. But however this might restrain men from giving outward signs of their praying for them, it could not bind up their inward and secret devotions. Those seven had been taken at a meeting in Islington with many others; of whom some died in prison, and six others were burnt at Brainford the 14th of July. The rest of them were kept by Bonner, who now seemed to have been glutted with the blood of so many innocents, and therefore to have put a stop to the effusion of more: yet those that were kept prisoners by him, did not so entirely escape his fury, but that he disciplined them himself with rods, till he was weary; and so gave over that odd way of pastoral correction, rather to ease himself, than in pity to them whom he whipped. On the 10th of July a minister was burnt at Norwich: on the 2nd or 3rd of August a gentleman was burnt near Winchester: in August four were burnt at Bury; and in November three more were burnt there. On the 4th of November a man and a woman were burnt at Ipswich: at that time a woman was burnt at Exeter: and, to close up all, on the 10th of November three men and two women were burnt at Canterbury, which made in all thirty-nine this year. There had been seventy-nine burnt the former year, ninety-four the year before that, and seventy-two the first year of the persecution; which in all come to two hundred and eighty-four. But he that writ the preface to bishop Ridley's book, *De Cœna Domini*, who is supposed to be Grindal*, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, says, that in the two first years of the queen's persecution there were above eight hundred put to most cruel kinds of death for religion: by which it seems Fox, on whom I depend in the numbers I have assigned, has come far short in his account†. Besides those that were burnt, many others

* The author of the preface to Ridley's book was William Wittingham, according to Bale (pp. 684, 731), who knew the man very well, as well as his writings.—
ANON. CORRECT.

† Lord Burleigh, in the "Execution of Justice," says, there died by imprisonments, torments, famine, and fire, near four hundred. On this we may depend.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

died in bonds, of whom there are sixty reckoned. There were also great numbers of those who were vexed with long and grievous imprisonment: and though they redeemed their lives by the renouncing, or rather the dissembling of their consciences, yet this being but forced from them, they carried with them their old opinions; and the wound they gave their consciences to save their lives, as it begot in many of them great horror for what they had done, so it raised in them the most mortal hatred to those who had driven them to such straits: so that if that religion was hateful before to the nation, for the impostures and scandals that were discovered in the clergy, and some few instances of their cruelty, the repeated burnings, and other cruelties, of which now they saw no end, did increase their aversion to it beyond all expression.

At first the bishops dealt earnestly with those who were brought before them to recant, and were ready at any time to receive them: the queen's pardon was also sent to them as they were ready to be tied to the stake, if they would then turn. But now it was far otherwise. For in the council-books there is an entry made of a letter, written on the 1st of August this year, to sir Richard Pexall, sheriff of Hampshire, signifying, "That the queen thought it very strange that he had delayed the execution of the sentence against one Bembridge, condemned of heresy, because he had recanted: requiring him to execute it out of hand, and if he still continued in the catholic faith, which he outwardly pretended, he was then to suffer such divines as the bishop of Winchester should appoint, to have access to him for confirming him in the faith, and to attend on him at his death, that he might die God's servant: and as soon as the sheriff had thus burnt him, he was to come to the council, and answer for his presumption in delaying it so long." The matter of fact was thus: Bembridge being tied to the stake, and the fire taking hold on him, he, through the violence of it, yielded, and cried out, "I recant." Upon which, the sheriff made the fire be put out, and Bembridge signed such a recantation as doctor Seton, who was near him, writ for him: but for all that, upon this order of council, he was burnt, and the sheriff was put in the Fleet: so that now it appeared that it was not so much the conversion of those they called heretics, as their destruction, that the bishops desired: and so much were their instruments set on these severities, that though they saw the queen declining so fast, that there was no appearance of her living many days; yet the week before she died, they burnt, as hath been said, five together in one fire at Canterbury.

There was nothing done in the war with France this year, but the sending out a fleet of one hundred and twenty ships, with seven thousand landmen in it, under the command of the lord Clinton, who landed at Port Conquet in the point of Brittany, where after a small resistance made by the French he burnt the town; but the country being gathered together, the English were forced to return to their ships, having lost above six hundred of their men. The design was to have seized on Brest and fortified it, which was proposed by king Philip, who had sent thirty of his ships to their assistance. This the French knowing by some of the prisoners whom they took, went and fortified Brest, and kept a great body of men together to resist in case the English should make a second impression. But the lord Clinton seeing he could do nothing, returned, having made a very expensive and unprosperous attempt. The English had lost their hearts; the government at home was so little acceptable to them, that they were not much concerned to support it; they began to think Heaven was against them.

There were many strange accidents at home that struck terror in them. In July, thunder broke near Nottingham, with such violence, that it beat down two little towns, with all the houses and churches in them: the bells were carried a good way from the steeples, and the lead that covered the churches was cast four hundred foot from them, strangely wreathed. The river of Trent, as it is apt upon deluges of rain to swell and overrun the country, so it broke out this year with extraordinary violence; many trees were plucked up by the roots, and with it there was such a wind, that carried several men and children a great way, and dashed them against trees or houses, so that they died. Hailstones fell that were fifteen inches about in other places: and, which was much more terrible, a contagious intermitting fever, not unlike the plague,

The Method
of the Perse-
cutions of this
Reign.

An unhappy
Expedition
against
France.

Strange and
unusual Acci-
dents.

raged everywhere: so that three parts of four of the whole nation were infected with it. So many priests died of it, that in many places there were none to be had for the performing of the offices. Many bishops died also of it, so that there were many vacancies made by the hand of Heaven, against queen Elizabeth came to the crown: and it spreading most violently in August, there were not men enough, in many counties, to reap the harvest; so that much corn was lost. All these symptoms concurred to increase the aversion the people had to the government, which made the queen very willing to consent to a treaty of peace that was opened at Cambray in October, to which she sent the earl of Arundel, the bishop of Ely, and Dr. Wotton, as her plenipotentiaries.

The occasion of the peace was from a meeting that the bishop of Arras had with the cardinal of Lorraine at Peronne; in which he proposed to him how much Philip was troubled at the continuance of the war; their forces being so much engaged in it that they could make no resistance to the Turk, and the meanwhile heresy increasing and spreading in their own dominions, while they were so taken up that they could not look carefully to their affairs at home, but must connive at many things: therefore he pressed the cardinal to persuade the king of France to an accommodation. The cardinal was easily induced to this, since besides his own zeal for religion, he saw that he might thereby bear down the constable's greatness; whose friends, chiefly his two nephews, the admiral and Dandelot, who went then among the best captains in France, were both suspect of being protestants, upon which the latter was shortly after put in prison; so he used all his endeavours to draw the king to consent to it; in which he had the less opposition, since the court was now filled with his dependants and his four brothers, who had got all the great officers of France into their hands; and the constable and admiral being prisoners, there was none to oppose their councils. The king thinking that, by the recovery of Calais and the places about it, he had gained enough to balance the loss of St. Quintin, was very willing to hearken to a treaty; and he was in an ill state to continue the war, being much weakened both by the loss he suffered last year and the blow that he received in July last: the marshal de Thermes being inclosed by the count of Egmont near Graveling, where the French army being set on by the count, and galled with the English ordnance from their ships that lay near the land, was defeated, five thousand killed, the marshal and the other chief officers being taken prisoners. These losses made him sensible that his affairs were in so ill a condition, that he could not gain much by the war.

The cardinal was the more earnest to bring on a peace, because the protestants did not only increase in their numbers, but they came so openly to avow their religion, that in the public walks without the suburbs of St. Germain, they began to sing David's Psalms in French verse. The newness of the thing amused many; the devotion of it wrought on others; the music drew in the rest; so that the multitudes that used to divert themselves in those fields, instead of their ordinary sports, did now nothing for many nights but go about singing psalms: and that which made it more remarkable was, that the king and queen of Navarre came and joined with them. That king, besides the honour of a crowned head, with the small part of that kingdom that was yet left in their hands, was the first prince of the blood. He was a soft and weak man; but his queen, in whose right he had that title, was one of the most extraordinary women that any age hath produced, both for knowledge far above her sex, for a great judgment in affairs, an heroic greatness of mind, and all other virtues, joined to a high measure of devotion and true piety; all which, except the last, she derived to her son Henry the Great. When the king of France heard of this psalmody, he made an edict against it, and ordered the doers of it to be punished: but the numbers of them, and the respect to those crowned heads, made the business to go no further.

On the 24th of April was the dauphin married to the queen of Scotland. Four cardinals, Bourbon, Lorraine, Chastilion, and Bertrand, with many of the princes of the blood, and the other great men of France, and the commissioners sent from Scotland, were present. But scarce anything adorned it more than the Epithalamium written upon it by Buchanan, which was accounted one of the

A Treaty of Peace between England, France, and Spain.

The Battle of Graveling.

The Number of the Protestants growing in France.

The Dauphin marries the Queen of Scotland.

perfectest pieces of Latin poetry. After the marriage was over, the Scotch commissioners were desired to offer the dauphin the ensigns of the regality of Scotland, and to acknowledge him their king; but they excused themselves, since that was beyond their commission, which only empowered them to treat concerning the articles of the marriage, and to carry an account back to those that sent them. Then it was desired that they would promote the business at their return to their country; but some of them had expressed their aversion to those propositions so plainly, that it was believed they were poisoned by the brethren of the house of Guise. Four of them died in France, the bishop of Orkney, and the earls of Rothes and Cassils, and the lord Fleming. The prior of St. Andrew's was also very sick; and though he recovered at that time, yet he had never any perfect health after it. When the other four returned into Scotland, a convention of the estates was called, to consult about the propositions they brought.

This assembly consists of all those members that make up a parliament, who were then the bishops, and abbots, and priors, who made the first estate; the noblemen, that were the second estate; and the deputies from the towns—one from every town, only Edinburgh sends two—were the third estate. Anciently, all that held lands of the crown were summoned to parliaments, as well the greater as the lesser barons. But in king James the First's time, the lesser barons finding it a great charge to attend on such assemblies, desired to be excused from it; and procured an act of parliament exempting them, and giving them power to send from every county, two, three, four, or more, to represent them: but they afterwards thought this rather a charge than a privilege, and did not use it; so that now the second estate consisted only of the nobility. But the gentry finding the prejudice they suffered by this, and that the nobility grew too absolute, procured, by king James the Sixth's favour, an act of parliament restoring them to that right of sending deputies, two from every county, except some small counties that send only one. But according to the ancient law, none has a vote in the elections but those who hold lands immediately of the crown of such a value. The difference between a parliament and a convention of estates is, that the former must be summoned forty days before it sits, and then it meets in state and makes laws, which are to be prepared by a committee of all the estates, called the lords of the articles: but a convention may be called within as few days as are necessary for giving notice to all parts of the nation to make their elections: they have no power of making laws, being only called for one particular emergent, which, during the division of the island, was chiefly upon the breaking out of war betwixt the two nations, and so their power was confined to the giving of money for the occasion which then brought them together.

In the convention now held, after much debate and opposition whether they should consent to the demand made by the ambassador sent from France, it was carried, that the dauphin should be acknowledged their king: great assurances being given, that this should be only a bare title, and that he should pretend to no power over them. So the earl of Argyle and the prior of St. Andrew's, who had been the main sticklers for the French interest, upon the promises that the queen-regent made them, that they should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, were appointed to carry the matrimonial crown into France. But as they were preparing for their journey, a great revolution of affairs fell out in England.

The parliament met on the 5th of November. On the 7th the queen sent for the speaker of the house of commons, and ordered him to open to them the ill condition the nation was in: for though there was a treaty begun at Cambray, yet it was necessary to put the kingdom in a posture of defence, in case it should miscarry. But the commons were now so dissatisfied, that they could come to no resolution. So on the 14th day of November, the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer, the duke of Norfolk, the earls of Shrewsbury and Pembroke, the bishops of London, Winchester, Lincoln, and Carlisle, the viscount Mountacute, the lords Clinton and Howard, came down to the house of commons, and sate in that place of the house where the privy-councillors used to sit. The speaker left his chair, and he with the privy-councillors that were of the house, came and sate on low benches before them. The lord chancellor showed the necessity of granting

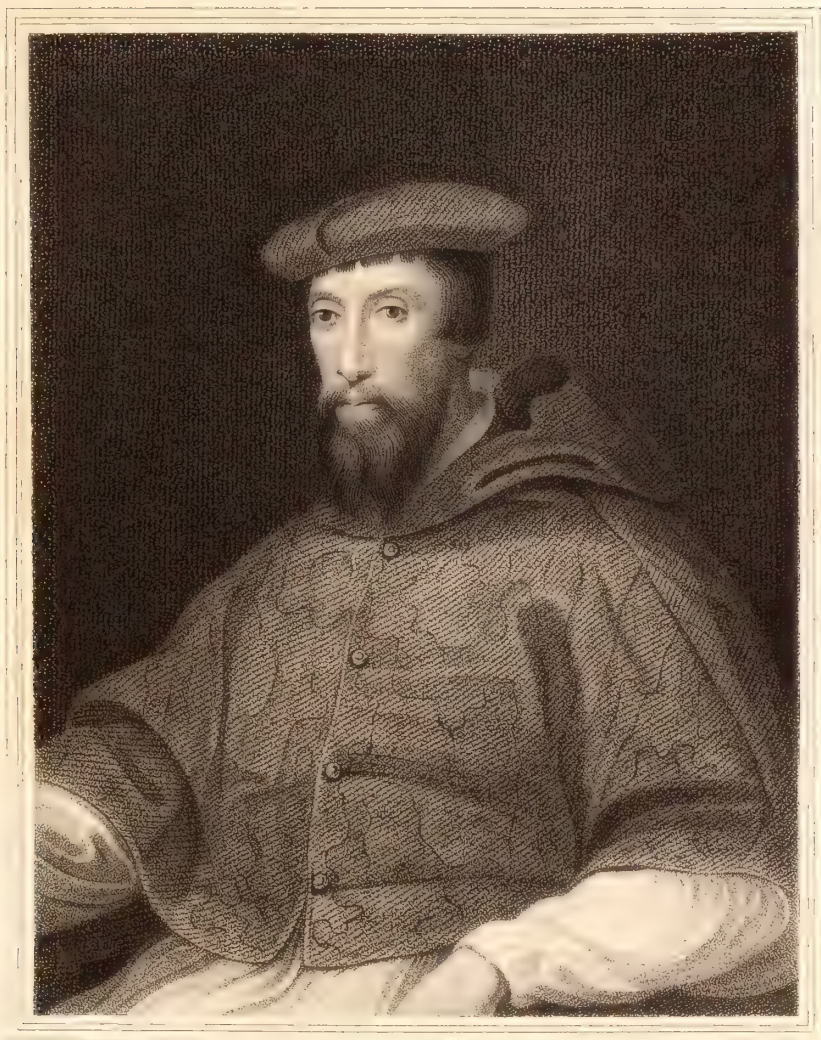
a subsidy to defend the nation, both from the French and the Scots. When he had done, the lords withdrew; but though the commons entered, both that and the two following days, into the debate, they came to no issue in their consultations.

The queen had never enjoyed her health perfectly since the false conception that was formerly spoken of; upon which followed the neglect from her husband, and the
 The Queen's Sickness. despair of issue, that increased her melancholy; and this receiving a great addition from the loss of Calais, and the other misfortunes of this year, she, by a long declination of health, and decay of her spirits, was now brought so low, that it was visible she had not many days to live: and a dropsy coming on her put a conclusion to her unhappy reign and unfortunate life, on the 17th of November, in the
 And death. 43d year of her age, after she had reigned five years, four months, and eleven days.

At the same time cardinal Pole, as if one star had governed both their natiivities, was also dying; and, his end being hastened by the queen's death, he followed her
 Cardinal Pole dies. within sixteen hours, in the 59th year of his age. He left his whole estate to Aloisi Prioli, a noble Venetian, with whom he had lived six-and-twenty years in so entire a friendship, that as nothing could break it off, so neither was anything able to separate them from one another's company. Prioli, being invited by pope Julius to come and receive a cardinal's hat, preferred Pole's company before it; and as he had supplied him in his necessities in Italy, so he left his country now to live with him in England. Pole made him his executor; but Prioli was of a more noble temper than to enrich himself by his friend's wealth; for as he took care to pay all the legacies he left, so he gave away all that remained, reserving nothing to himself but Pole's breviary and diary*. And indeed the cardinal was not a man made to raise a fortune, being, by the greatness of his birth, and his

His Character. excellent virtues, carried far above such mean designs. He was a learned, modest, humble, and good-natured man; and had indeed such qualities, and such a temper, that if he could have brought the other bishops to follow his measures, or the pope and queen to approve of them, he might have probably done much to have reduced this nation to popery again. But God designed better things for it; so he gave up the queen to the bloody councils of Gardiner, and the rest of the clergy. It was the only thing in which she was not led by the cardinal: but she imputed his opinion in that particular rather to the sweetness of his temper than to his wisdom and experience: and he, seeing he could do nothing of what he projected in England, fell into a languishing, first of his mind, that brought after it a decay of his health, of which he died. I have dwelt the more copiously on his character, being willing to deny to none of whom I write the praises that are due to them: and he being the only man of that whole party of whom I found any reason to say much good, I was the more willing to enlarge about him, to let the world see how little I am biassed, in the account I give, by interest or opinion. So that if I have written sharply of any others that have been mentioned in this reign, it was the force of truth, and my abhorrence of their barbarous cruelties, that led me to it, more than my being of a contrary persuasion to them. It is certain that Pole's method, of correcting the manners of the clergy, and being gentle to the reformed, would in all appearance have been much more fatal to the progress of the reformation, that was set forward by nothing more, than by the severities showed to those that differed from them, and the indulgence of the bishops to the vices of their own party. Yet Pole had a vast superstition to the see of Rome; and though his being at the council of Trent had opened his eyes to many things which he had not observed before, yet he still retained his great submission to that see, and thought it impossible to maintain the order and unity of the church, but by holding communion with it, which carried him, in opposition to many apprehensions himself had of some theological points, still to support the interests of the papacy. His neglect of the offer of it, when it was made to him, showed this flowed from no aspirings of his own, but purely from his judgment: so that what mistakes soever his education, and heats with king Henry, and the disasters of his family, might have involved him in, it cannot be denied that he was a man of as great probity and virtue as most of the age, if not all of that church, in which he lived.

* Ex quibus Polus Deum precari solitus erat, Breviarum vocamus et diurnale.—BECATELL., p. 80.



CARDINAL POLE.

OB 1557

THE R^H HON^{BLE} LORD ARUNDEL OF WARDOUR

For the queen herself, her character has appeared so manifestly in her reign, that I need make no further description of her. She was a woman of a strict and innocent life, that allowed herself few of the diversions with which courts abound. She was bred to learning, and understood the Latin tongue well; but what further knowledge she had does not appear to me*. She was constant at her devotions, and was as much addicted to the interests and humours of the clergy as they could have wished her. She had great resentments of her own ill usage in her father's and brother's times, which made her be easily induced to take her revenge, though she coloured it with her zeal against heresy. She did not much mind any other affairs but those of the church; so that if she could have extirpated heresy, she seemed to regard all other things very little; and being given up to follow the dictates of Rome, with a nice scrupulosity of conscience, it was no wonder she went on in these designs very vigorously. For as the pope was ever calling on all princes that were under his obedience to set up the courts of inquisition, so the fourth general council of Lateran, to which with the other general councils she paid no less reverence than to the Scriptures, charged Catholic princes to extirpate all heretics out of their dominions; such as were slack must be required to do it by their bishops; and if that prevailed not, they were to be excommunicated by them; and if they continued negligent, and under that censure a year, they were to be deprived by the pope, and their dominions to be given to others, who should take more care to extirpate heresy. The pope had also in February this year published a Constitution, to which he had made all the cardinals set their hands, confirming all former decrees and canons against heretics; declaring that all prelates, princes, kings, and emperors, that had fallen into heresy, should be understood to be deprived of their dominions, without any further sentence; and that any Catholics who would take the forfeiture should have a good title to all that they invaded and seized. The bishops, besides the other canons binding them to proceed against heretics, were, by the words of the oath of obedience which they swore to the pope at their consecration, engaged to "oppose and persecute the heretics with all their might;" so that their giving severe counsels, and the queen's following them, flowed mainly from the principles of their religion; in which the sourness of her temper made it the more easy to persuade her to a compliance to those courses, to which her inclination led her without any such motives. To conclude, her death was as little lamented as any of all our princes ever was, the popish clergy being almost the only mourners that were among her own people.

Thus lived and died Mary, queen of England by inheritance, and of Spain by marriage.

* She understood and wrote well both in Spanish and French.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

PART II.—BOOK III.

OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION IN THE BEGINNING OF QUEEN ELIZABETH'S REIGN.

QUEEN MARY'S death was concealed for some hours. What the secret consultations were upon it is not known; but the issue of them appeared about nine o'clock. Then the lord chancellor went to the house of lords, and first imparted to them the news of the queen's death, which, as it struck the bishops with no small fear, so those councillors, who had been severe in their advices about her sister, did apprehend she might remember it against them. Yet they all agreed to proclaim her queen; and by the zeal they expressed for her coming to the crown, intended to balance the errors they had formerly been led to, rather in compliance to the late queen's resentments, than out of any ill-will they bore herself. They sent for the house of commons, and the lord chancellor signified to them the queen's death, which he said would have been a much more sorrowful loss to them if they had not such a successor, that was the next and indisputed heir to the crown; Elizabeth, of whose right and title none could make any question: therefore they intended to proclaim her queen, and desired their concurrence. This was echoed with many and long repeated cries, "God save queen Elizabeth!" "Long and happily may she reign!"

The parliament being declared to be dissolved by the late queen's death, the lords proclaimed Elizabeth queen; and went into London, where it was again done by the lord mayor, and received everywhere with such excessive joy that there was no sign of sorrow expressed for the death of queen Mary but what the priests showed; who, in so public and universal a joy, were forced to betake themselves to secret groans, since they durst not vent them in public. Never did any before her come to the throne with so many good wishes and acclamations, which the horror of the cruelties, and the reflection of the disasters of the former reign, drew from the people, who now hoped to see better times.

The queen was then at Hatfield*, where, having received the news of her sister's death, and of her being proclaimed queen, she came from thence to London. On the 19th, at Highgate, all the bishops met her, whom she received civilly, except Bonner, on whom she looked as defiled with so much blood that she could not think it fit to bestow any mark of her favour on him. She was received into the City with throngs much greater than even such occasions used to draw together, and followed with the loudest shouts of joy that they could raise. She lay that night at the duke of Norfolk's house in the Charter-house, and next day went to the Tower. There, at her entry, she kneeled down, and offered up thanks to God for that great change in her condition; that whereas she had been formerly a prisoner in that place, every hour in fear of her life, she was now raised to so high a dignity. She soon cleared all people's apprehensions as to the hardships she had formerly met with, and showed she had absolutely forgot from whom she had received them: even Bedingfeld himself not excepted, who had been the chief instrument of her sufferings. But she called him always her jailor, which though she did in a way of raillery, yet it was so sharp that he avoided coming any more to the court.

She presently despatched messengers to all the princes of Christendom, giving notice of her sister's death and her succession. She writ in particular to king Philip a large acknowledgment of his kindness to her, to whom she held herself much bound for his interposing so

* Queen Elizabeth staid some days at Hatfield. She came to the Charter-house on the 21st of November. On the 28th she went to the Tower, and came to Westminster on the 23rd of December.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

effectually with her sister for her preservation. She also sent to sir Edward Carne, that had been her sister's resident at Rome, to give the pope the news of her succession. She sends a Despatch to Rome. The haughty pope received it in his ordinary style, declaring, "that England was held in fee of the apostolic see; that she could not succeed, being illegitimate; nor could he contradict the declarations made in that matter by his predecessors, Clement VII. and Paul III." He said, "it was great boldness in her to assume the crown without his consent, for which in reason she deserved no favour at his hands; yet if she would renounce her pretensions, and refer herself wholly to him, he would show a fatherly affection to her, and do everything for her that could consist with the dignity of the apostolic see." When she heard of this, she was not much concerned at it; for she had written to Carne as she did to her other ministers, and had renewed his powers upon her first coming to the crown, being unwilling in the beginning of her reign to provoke any party against her. But hearing how the pope received this address, she recalled Carne's powers, and commanded him to come home. The pope, on the other hand, required him not to go out of Rome, but to stay and take the care of an hospital over which he set him; which it was thought that Carne procured to himself because he was unwilling to return into England, apprehending the change of religion that might follow, for he was himself zealously addicted to the see of Rome.

As soon as Philip heard the news, he ordered the duke of Feria, whom he had sent over in his name to comfort the late queen in her sickness, to congratulate the new queen, and in secret to propose marriage to her; and to assure her he should procure a dispensation from Rome; and at the same time he sent thither to obtain it. But the queen, though very sensible of her obligation to him, had no mind to the marriage. It appeared, by what hath been said in the former Book, and by the sequel of her whole life, that though upon some occasions, when her affairs required it, she treated about her marriage, yet she was firmly resolved never to marry. Besides this, she saw her people were generally averse to any foreigner, and particularly to a Spaniard; and she made it the steady maxim of her whole reign, from which she never departed, to rule in their affections as well as over their persons. Nor did she look on the pope's dispensation as a thing of any force to warrant what was otherwise forbidden by God; and the relation between king Philip and her being the reverse of that which was between her father and queen Katharine, it seeming to be equally unlawful for one man to marry two sisters as it was for one woman to be married to two brothers, she could not consent to this marriage without approving king Henry's with queen Katharine: and if that were a good marriage, then she must be illegitimate, as being born of a marriage which only the unlawfulness of that could justify. So inclination, interest, and conscience, all concurred to make her reject king Philip's motion. Yet she did it in terms so full of esteem and kindness for him, that he still insisted in the proposition; in which she was not willing to undeceive him so entirely as to put him out of all hopes while the treaty of Cambray was in dependence, that so she might tie him more closely to her interests.

The French, hearing of queen Mary's death, and being alarmed at Philip's design upon the new queen, sent to Rome to engage the pope to deny the dispensation, and to make him declare the queen of Scotland to be the right heir to the crown of England, and the pretended queen to be illegitimate. The cardinal of Lorraine prevailed also with the French king to order his daughter-in-law to assume that title, and to put the arms of England on all her furniture.

But now to return to England: Queen Elizabeth continued to employ some of the same counsellors that had served queen Mary; namely, Heath, the lord chancellor; the marquis of Winchester, lord treasurer; the earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Derby, and Pembroke; the lords Clinton and Howard; sir Thomas Cheyney, sir William Petre, sir John Mason, sir Richard Sackville; and Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York. Most of these had complied with all the changes that had been made in religion backward and forward since the latter end of king Henry's reign; and were so dexterous at it, that they were still employed in every new revolution. To them, who were all papists, the queen added the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Bedford, sir Thomas

Parry, sir Edward Rogers, sir Ambrose Cave, sir Francis Knolles, and sir William Cecil, whom she made secretary of state, and soon after she sent for sir Nicolas Bacon, who were all of the reformed religion. She renewed all the commissions to those formerly entrusted, and ordered that such as were imprisoned on the account of religion should be set at liberty. After this, a man that used to talk pleasantly said to her, that he came to supplicate in behalf of some prisoners not yet set at liberty. She asked who they were: he said they were Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, that were still shut up; for the people longed much to see them abroad. She answered him as pleasantly, she would first talk with themselves, and see whether they desired to be set at such liberty as he requested for them.

Now the two great things under consultation were religion and peace. For the former, some were appointed to consider how it was to be reformed. Beal, a clerk of the council, gave advice to Cecil that the parliaments under queen Mary should be declared void; the first being under a force (as was before related), and the title of Supreme Head being left out of the summons to the next parliament before it was taken away by law: from whence he inferred that both these were not lawfully held or duly summoned; and this being made out, the laws of king Edward were still in force. But this was laid aside as too high and violent a way of proceeding, since the annulling of parliaments upon little errors in writs, or some particular disorders, was a precedent of such consequence, that to have proceeded in such a manner would have unhinged all the government and security of the nation. More moderate courses were thought on. The queen had been bred up from her infancy with a hatred of the papacy and a love to the Reformation; but yet, as her first impressions in her father's reign were in favour of such old rites as he had still retained, so in her own nature she loved state and some magnificence in religion as well as in everything else. She thought that in her brother's reign they had stripped it too much of external ornaments, and had made their doctrine too narrow in some points; therefore she intended to have some things explained in more general terms, that so all parties might be comprehended by them. She inclined to keep up images in churches; and to have the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament left in some general words, that those who believed the corporal presence might not be driven away from the church by too nice an explanation of it. Nor did she like the title of Supreme Head; she thought it imported too great a power, and came too near that authority which Christ only had over the church. These were her own private thoughts. She considered nothing could make her power great in the world abroad so much as the uniting all her people together at home: her father's and her brother's reign had been much distracted by the rebellions within England, and she had before her eyes the instance of the coldness that the people had expressed to her sister on all occasions for the maintaining or recovering of the dominions beyond sea. Therefore she was very desirous to find such a temper in which all might agree. She observed that, in the changes formerly made, particularly in renouncing the papacy, and making some alterations in worship, the whole clergy had concurred; and so she resolved to follow and imitate these by easy steps.

There was a long consultation had about the method of the changes she should make, the substance of which shall be found in the Collection, in a paper where, in the way of question and answer, the whole design of it is laid down. This draught of it was given to sir William Cecil, and does exactly agree with the account that Camden gives of it. That learned and judicious man has written the history of this queen's reign, with that fidelity and care, in so good a style, and with so much judgment, that it is without question the best part of our English history: but he himself often says, that he had left many things to those who should undertake the history of the church; therefore in the account of the beginnings of this reign, as I shall in all things follow him with the credit that is due to so extraordinary a writer, so having met with some things which he did not know, or thought not necessary in so succinct a history to enlarge on, I shall not be afraid to write after him, though the esteem he is justly in may make it seem superfluous to go over these matters any more.

"It seemed necessary for the queen to do nothing before a parliament were called, for The Heads of it, only from that assembly could the affections of the people be certainly gathered.

A Consulta-
tion about the
Change of
Religion.

A Method of
doing it pro-
posed.

Collection,
Number 1.

The next thing she had to do was to balance the dangers that threatened her both from abroad and at home. The pope would certainly excommunicate and depose her, and stir up all Christian princes against her: the king of France would lay hold of any opportunity to embroil the nation; and by the assistance of Scotland and of the Irish, might perhaps raise troubles in her dominions. Those that were in power in queen Mary's time, and remained firm to the old superstition, would be discontented at the reformation of religion; the bishops and clergy would generally oppose it; and since there was a necessity of demanding subsidies, they would take occasion, by the discontent the people would be in on that account, to inflame them: and those who would be dissatisfied at the retaining of some of the old ceremonies, would, on the other hand, disparage the changes that should be made, and call the religion a cloaked papistry, and so alienate many of the most zealous from it. To remedy all these things, it was proposed to make peace with France, and to cherish those in that kingdom that desired the Reformation: the courses and practices of Rome were not much to be feared. In Scotland those must be encouraged who desired the like change in religion; and a little money among the heads of the families in Ireland would go a great way. And for those that had borne rule in queen Mary's time, ways were to be taken to lessen their credit throughout England: they were not to be too soon trusted or employed, upon pretence of turning; but those who were known to be well affected to religion and the queen's person, were to be sought after and encouraged. The bishops were generally hated by the nation: it would be easy to draw them within the statute of *præmunire*, and upon their falling into it, they must be kept under it, till they had renounced the pope, and consented to the alterations that should be made. The commissions of the peace, and for the militia, were to be carefully reviewed, and such men were to be put in them as would be firm to the queen's interests. When the changes should be made, some severe punishments would make the rest more readily submit. Great care was to be had of the universities and other public schools, as Eton and Winchester, that the next generation might be betimes seasoned with the love and knowledge of religion. Some learned men, as Bill. Parker, May, Cox, Whitehead, Grindall, Pilkington, and sir Thomas Smith, were to be ordered to meet and consider of the Book of Service. In the meanwhile the people were to be restrained from innovating without authority; and the queen, to give some hope of a reformation, might appoint the communion to be given in both kinds. The persons that were thought fit to be trusted with the secret of these consultations, were the marquis of Northampton, the earls of Bedford and Pembroke, and the lord John Gray. The place that was thought most convenient for the divines to meet in, was sir Thomas Smith's house in Channon-row, where an allowance was to be given for their entertainment."

As soon as the news of the queen's coming to the crown was known beyond sea, all those who had fled thither for shelter did return into England: and those who had lived in corners during the late persecution, now appeared with no small assurance: and these, having notice of the queen's intentions, could not contain themselves, but in many places begun to make changes, to set up king Edward's service, to pull down images, and to affront the priests. Upon this the queen, to make some discovery of her own inclinations, gave order that the gospels and epistles, and the Lord's prayer, the Apostles' creed, and the ten commandments, should be read in English, and that the litany should be also used in English: and she forbade the priests to elevate the host at mass. Having done this, on the 27th of December she set out a proclamation against all innovations, requiring her subjects to use no other forms of worship than those she had in her chapel, till it should be otherwise appointed by the parliament, which she had summoned to meet on the 23rd of January. The writs were issued out by Bacon, into whose hands she had delivered the great seal. On the 13th of December, she performed her sister's funeral rites with great magnificence at Westminster. The bishop of Winchester being appointed to preach the sermon, did so mightily extol her and her government, and so severely taxed the disorders which he thought the innovators were guilty of, not without reflections on the queen, that he was thereupon confined to his house until the 19th of January, when the council set him at liberty.

One of the chief things under consultation was, to provide men fit to be put into the sees

that were now vacant, or that might fall to be so afterwards, if the bishops should continue intractable. Those now vacant were the sees of Canterbury, Hereford, Bristol, and Bangor : and in the beginning of the next year the bishops of Norwich and Gloucester died ; so that, as Camden hath it, there were but fourteen bishops living when the parliament met. It

Parker de- was of great importance to find men able to serve in these employments, chiefly
signed to be in the see of Canterbury. For this, Dr. Parker was soon thought on. Whether
Archbishop of others had the offer of it before him or not I cannot tell : but he was writ to by
Canterbury. sir Nicholas Bacon on the 9th of December to come up to London ; and after-
wards, on the 30th of December, by sir William Cecil ; and again by sir Nicholas Bacon on
the 4th of January. He understood that it was for some high preferment ; and being a man
of an humble temper, distrustful of himself, that loved privacy, and was much disabled by
sickness, he declined coming up all he could : he begged he might not be thought of for any
public employment, but that some prebend might be assigned him, where he might be
free both from care and government ; since the infirmities which he had contracted by his
flying about in the nights in queen Mary's time, had disabled him from a more public
station. That to which he pretended, shows how moderate his desires were ; for he pro-
fessed an employment of twenty nobles a year would be more acceptable to him than one
of two hundred pound. He had been chaplain to queen Anne Boleyn, and had received a
special charge from her a little before she died, to look well to the instruction of her
daughter in the principles of the Christian religion ; and now the queen had a grateful re-
membrance of those services. This, joined with the high esteem that sir Nicholas Bacon had
of him, soon made her resolve to raise him to that great dignity. And since such high
preferments are generally if not greedily sought after, yet very willingly undertaken by
most men, it will be no unfit thing to lay open a modern precedent, which indeed savours
more of the ancient than the latter times ; for then instead of that *ambitus*, which has given
such offence to the world in the latter ages, it was ordinary for men to fly from the offer of
great preferments. Some ran away when they understood they were to be ordained, or had
been elected to great sees, and fled to a wilderness. This showed they had a great sense of
the care of souls, and were more apprehensive of that weighty charge, than desirous to raise
or enrich themselves or their families. It hath been showed before, that Cranmer was very
unwillingly engaged in the see of Canterbury ; and now he, that succeeded him in that see
with the same designs, was drawn into it with such unwillingness, that it was almost a
whole year before he could be prevailed upon to accept of it : the account of this will appear
in the series of letters both written to him, and by him, on that head, which were commu-
nicated to me by the present most worthy and most reverend primate of this church. I
cannot mention him in this place without taking notice, that as in his other great virtues
and learning he has gone in the steps of those most eminent archbishops that went before
him ; so the whole nation is witness how far he was from aspiring to high preferment, how
he withdrew from all those opportunities that might be steps to it, how much he was
surprised with his unlooked-for advancement, how unwillingly he was raised, and how
humble and affable he continues in that high station he is now in ; but this is a subject
that I must leave for them to enlarge on that shall write the history of this present age.

In the beginning of the next year, the queen having found that Heath, archbishop of

York, then lord chancellor, would not go along with her, as he had done in the
Bacon made reigns of her father and brother ; and having therefore taken the seals from him,
Lord Keeper. and put them into sir Nicholas Bacon's hand, did now by patent create him lord
keeper. Formerly those that were keepers of the seal had no dignity nor authority annexed
to their office ; they did not hear causes, nor preside in the house of lords, but were only to
put the seals to such writs or patents as went in course ; and so it was only put in the
hands of a keeper but for some short interval. But now Bacon was the first lord keeper
that had all the dignity and authority of the lord chancellor conferred on him ; and his not
being raised to that high title, perhaps flowed from his own modesty ; for as he was one of
the most learned, most pious, and wisest men of the nation ; so he retained in all his great-
ness a modesty equal to what the ancient Greeks and Romans had carried with them to
their highest advancement. He was father to the great sir Francis Bacon, viscount St.

Albans, and lord chancellor of England, that will be always esteemed one of the greatest glories of the English nation.

The queen was now to be crowned; and having gone on the 12th of January to the Tower, she returned from thence in state on the 13th. As she went into her chariot, she lifted up her "eyes to heaven, and blessed God that had preserved her to see that joyful day, and that had saved her as he did his prophet Daniel out of the mouth of the lions. She acknowledged her deliverance was only from him to whom she offered up the praise of it." She passed through London in great triumph: and having observed that her sister, by the sullenness of her behaviour to the people, had much lost their affections; therefore she always used, as she passed through the crowds, but more especially this day, to look out of her coach cheerfully on them, and to return the respects they paid her with great sweetness in her looks, commonly saying, "God bless you, my people;" which affected them much. But nothing pleased the city more than her behaviour as she went under one of the triumphal arches; there was a rich Bible let down to her as from heaven by a child, representing Truth; she with great reverence kissed both her hands, and receiving it, kissed it, and laid it next her heart; and professed she was better pleased with that present, than with all the other magnificent ones that had been that day made her by the city: this drew tears of joy from the spectators' eyes. And indeed this queen had a strange art of insinuating herself by such ways into the affections of her people. Some said she was too theatrical in it; but it wrought her end; since by these little things in her deportment she gained more on their affections than other princes have been able to do by more real and significant arts of grace and favour. The day following she was crowned at Westminster by Oglethorp, bishop of Carlisle, all the other bishops refusing to assist at that solemnity. He and the rest of that order perceived that she would change the religion then established, and looked on the alterations she had already made as pledges of more to follow; and observed, by the favour that Cecil and Bacon had with her, that she would return to what had been set up by her brother. They had already turned so oft, that they were ashamed to be turning at every time. Heath, Tonstall, and Thirleby, had complied in king Edward's time, as well as in king Henry's; and though Thirleby had continued in credit and favour with them till the last; yet he had been one of those who had gone to Rome, where he made such public professions of his respect to the apostolic see; and he had also assisted at the degradation and condemnation of Cranmer; so that he thought it indecent for him to return to that way any more: therefore he with all the rest resolved to adhere to what they had set up in queen Mary's time. There were two of king Edward's bishops yet alive, who were come into England, yet the queen chose rather to be consecrated by a bishop actually in office, and according to the old rites, which none but Oglethorp could be persuaded to do. After that, she gave a general pardon, according to the common form.

On the 23d of January, being the day to which the parliament was summoned, it was prorogued till the 25th, and then it was opened with a long speech of the lord Bacon's, in which he laid before them "the distracted estate of the nation both in matters of religion and the other miseries that the wars and late calamities had brought upon them; all which he recommended to their care. For religion, the queen desired they would consider of it without heat or partial affection, or using any reproachful term of papist or heretic; and that they would avoid the extremes of idolatry and superstition on the one hand, and contempt and irreligion on the other; and that they would examine matters without sophistical niceties or too subtle speculations, and endeavour to settle things so as might bring the people to an uniformity and cordial agreement in them." As for the state of the nation, he showed the queen's great unwillingness to lay new impositions on them; upon which he ran out largely in her commendation, giving them all assurance "that there was nothing she would endeavour more effectually than the advancing of their prosperity and the preserving their affections." He laid open the loss of Calais, with great reflections on those who had been formerly in the government; yet spoke of it as a thing which they could not at that time hope to recover; and laid before them "the charge the government must be at, and the necessities the queen was in;" adding,

The Queen's
Coronation.

The Parlia-
ment meets.

in her name, "that she would desire no supply but what they did freely and cheerfully offer."

One of the first things that the commons considered was, whether the want of the title of Supreme Head, which the queen had not yet assumed, was a nullity in the summons for this and other parliaments in which it had been omitted: but after this had been considered some days, it was judged to be no nullity; for the annulling of a parliament, except it had under a force, or for some other error in the constitution, was a thing of dangerous consequence.

But leaving the consultations at Westminster, I shall now give an account of the treaty of peace at Cambray. That at which things stuck most was the rendering of Calais again to the English, which the French did positively refuse to do. For a great while Philip demanded it with so much earnestness, that he declared he would make peace on no other terms; since as he was bound in point of honour to see the English, who engaged in the war only on his account, restored to the condition that they were in at the beginning of it, so his interest made him desire that they might be masters of that place, by which, it being so near them, they could have the conveniency of sending over forces to give a diversion to the French at any time thereafter as their alliances with him should require. But when Philip saw there was no hope of a marriage with the queen, and perceived that she was making alterations in religion, he grew less careful of her interests, and secretly agreed a peace with the French. But that he might have some colour to excuse himself for abandoning her, he told her ambassador that the French had offered him full satisfaction in all his own concerns, so that the peace was hindered only by the consideration of Calais; and therefore, unless the English would enter into a league with him for keeping up the war six years longer, he must submit to the necessity of his affairs. The queen perceiving that she was to expect no more assistance from the Spaniard, who was so much engaged to the old superstition that he would enter into no strict league with any whom he accounted an heretic, was willing to listen to the messages that were sent her from France by the constable and others inducing her to agree to a peace. She, on the other hand, complained that the queen of Scotland, and her husband in her right, had assumed the title and arms of England. It was answered, that was done as the younger brothers in Germany carried the title of the great families from whence they were descended; and, for titles, the queen of England had little reason to quarrel about that, since she carried the title and gave the arms of France.

The queen and her council saw it was impossible for her to carry on the war with France alone. The laying heavy impositions on her subjects in the beginning of her reign might render her very ungrateful to the nation, who loved not to be charged with many subsidies: and when the war should produce nothing but some wastes on the French coasts, which was all that could be expected, since it was unreasonable to look for the recovery of Calais, it might turn all the joy they were now in at her coming to the crown into as general a discontent. It was the ruin of the duke of Somerset that he had engaged in a war in the beginning of king Edward's reign, when he was making changes in religion at home: therefore it was necessary to yield to the necessity of the time, especially since the loss of Calais was no reproach on the queen, but on her sister: So it was resolved on to make a general peace, that being at quiet with their neighbours they might with the less danger apply themselves to the correcting what was amiss in England both in religion and the civil government. At length a peace was made on these terms: that there should be free commerce between the kingdoms of England, France, and Scotland; the French should keep Calais for eight years, and at the end of that time should deliver it to the English; and if it were not then delivered they should pay to the English 500,000 crowns, for which they should give good security by merchants that lived in other parts, and give hostages till the security were given: but if during these years the queen made war on France or Scotland, she was to lose her right to that town; or if the French or Scots made war on her, Calais should be presently restored, to which she was still to reserve her right: Aymouth in Scotland was to be razed, and a commission was to be sent down to some of both kingdoms to agree all lesser differences. On these terms a peace was made, and proclaimed between those crowns; to which many of the English, that did not appre-

The Treaty at
Cambray.

A Peace with
France agreed
to.

hend what the charge of a war for the regaining of Calais would have amounted to, were very averse, thinking it highly dishonourable that they, whose ancestors had made such conquests in France, should be now beaten out of the only remainder that they had on the Continent, and thus make a peace by which it was in effect parted with for ever; for all these conditions about restoring it were understood to be only for palliating so inglorious a business. But the reformed cast the blame of this on the papists; and some moved that all the late queen's council should be questioned for their misgovernment in that particular; for it was thought nothing would make them so odious to the nation as the charging that on them. They on the other hand did cast the blame of it on the lord Wentworth, that had been governor of Calais, and was now professedly one of the reformed, and had been very gentle to those of that persuasion during his government. But he put himself on a trial by his peers, which he underwent on the 22d of April, and there did so clear himself that he was by the judgment of the peers acquitted.

The queen's government being thus quieted abroad, she was thereby at more leisure to do things at home. The first bill that was put into the house of lords to try their affections and disposition to a change in the matters of religion was, that for the restitution of the tenths and first-fruits to the crown. It was agreed to by the lords on the 4th of February, having been put in the 30th of January, and was the first bill that was read. The archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Worcester, Landaff, Litchfield, Exeter, Chester, and Carlisle, protested against it: these were all of that order that were at the session, except the bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, Ely, and the abbot of Westminster, who it seems were occasionally absent. On the 6th of February it was sent down to the commons, to which they readily agreed; and so it had the royal assent. By it not only the tenths and first-fruits were again restored to the crown, but also all impropriated benefices which had been surrendered up by queen Mary.

But the commons reflecting on the miseries in which they had been lately involved by queen Mary's marriage, had much debate about an address to the queen to induce her to marry. On the 4th of February it was argued in the house of commons; and on the 6th the speaker, with the privy-councillors of the house, and thirty members more, were sent with their desires to the queen. "They expressed the affections of the nation to her, and said, that if they could hope she might be immortal they would rest satisfied; but that being a vain imagination, they earnestly besought her to choose such a husband as might make the nation and herself happy, and by the blessing of God bring such issue as might reign after her death, which they prayed God might be very late." She said, "she looked on that as an expression both of their affection and respect,

since they had neither limited time nor place. She declared that she had hitherto lived in a single state with great satisfaction; and had neither entertained some honourable propositions which the lord treasurer knew had been made to her in her brother's time, nor had been moved by the fears of death that she was in while she was under her sister's displeasure (of which she would say little; for though she knew, or might justly suspect, by whose means it was, yet she would not utter it, nor would she charge it on the dead, or cast the burthen of it wholly upon her sister). But she assured them, if ever she married, she would make such a choice as should be to the satisfaction and good of her people. She did not know what credit she might yet have with them; but she knew well she deserved to have it, for she was resolved never to deceive them. Her people were to her instead of children; and she reckoned herself married to them by her coronation. They would not want a successor when she died; and for her part she should be well contented that the marble should tell posterity—'HERE LIES A QUEEN THAT REIGNED SO LONG, AND LIVED AND DIED A VIRGIN.' She took their address in good part, and desired them to carry back her hearty thanks for the care the commons had of her."

The journals of the house of lords are imperfect, so that we find nothing in them of this matter: yet it appears that they likewise had it before them; for the journals of the house of commons have it marked, that on the 15th of February there was a message sent from the lords desiring that a committee of thirty commoners might meet with twelve lords to consider what should be the authority of the person whom the queen should marry. The

committee was appointed to treat concerning it; but it seems the queen desired them to turn to other things that were more pressing, for I find nothing after this entered in the journals of this parliament concerning it.

On the 9th of February the lords passed a bill for the recognising of the queen's title to the crown. It had been considered whether, as queen Mary had procured a former repeal of her mother's divorce, and of the acts that passed upon it declaring her illegitimate, the like should be done now. The lord keeper said the crown purged all defects, and it was needless to look back to a thing which would at least cast a reproach on her father: the inquiring into such things too anxiously would rather prejudice than advance her title. So he advised that there should be an act passed in general words, asserting the lawfulness of her descent, and her right to the crown, rather than any special repeal. Queen Mary and her council were careless of king Henry's honour; but it became her rather to conceal than expose his weakness. This being thought both wise and pious counsel, the act was conceived in general words: "that they did assuredly believe and declare that by the laws of God and of the realm she was their lawful queen, and that she was rightly, lineally, and lawfully descended from the royal blood, and that the crown did without all doubt or ambiguity belong to her and the heirs to be lawfully begotten of her body after her; and that they, as representing the three estates of the realm, did declare and assert her title, which they would defend with their lives and fortunes." This was thought to be very wise counsel; for if they had gone to repeal the sentence of divorce which passed upon her mother's acknowledging a precontract, they must have set forth the force that was on her when she made that confession: and that as it was a great dishonour to her father, so it would have raised discourses likewise to her mother's prejudice, which must have rather weakened than strengthened her title. And, as has been formerly observed, this seems to be the true reason why in all her reign there was no apology printed for her mother. There was another act passed for the restoring of her in blood to her mother, by which she was qualified as a private subject to succeed either to her grandfather's estate or to any other's by that blood.

But for the matters of religion the commons began, and on the 15th of February brought in a bill for the English service and concerning the ministers of the church. On the 21st a bill was read for annexing the supremacy to the crown again; and on the 17th of March another bill was brought in confirming the laws made about religion in king Edward's time. And on the 21st another was brought in, that the queen should have the nomination of the bishops, as it had been in king Edward's time. The bill for the supremacy was passed by the lords on the 18th of March, the archbishop of York, the earl of Shrewsbury, the viscount Montacute, and the bishops of London, Winchester, Worcester, Landaff, Coventry, Litchfield, Exeter, Chester, and Carlisle, and the abbot of Westminster, dissenting. But afterwards the commons annexed many other bills to it, as that about the queen's making bishops, not according to the act made in king Edward's time, but by the old way of elections, as it was enacted in the 25th year of her father's reign, with several provisoes; which passed in the house of lords with the same dissent. By it "all the acts passed in the reign of king Henry for the abolishing of the pope's power are again revived; and the acts in queen Mary's time to the contrary are repealed. There was also a repeal of the act made by her for proceeding against heretics. They revived the act made in the first parliament of king Edward against those that spoke irreverently of the sacrament and against private masses, and for communion in both kinds; and declared the authority of visiting, correcting, and reforming all things in the church, to be for ever annexed to the crown, which the queen and her successors might by her letters-patents depute to any persons to exercise in her name. All bishops and other ecclesiastical persons, and all in any civil employment, were required to swear that they acknowledged the queen to be the supreme governor in all causes as well ecclesiastical as temporal within her dominions; that they renounced all foreign power and jurisdiction; and should bear the queen faith and true allegiance. Whosoever should refuse to swear it was to forfeit any office he had either in church or state, and to be from thenceforth disabled to hold any employment during life. And if within a month after the end of that session of parliament

The Acts that
were passed
concerning
Religion.

any should either by discourse or in writing set forth the authority of any foreign power, or do anything for the advancement of it, they were to forfeit all their goods and chattels: and if they had not goods to the value of twenty pounds, they were to be imprisoned a whole year; and for the second offence they were to incur the pains of a *præmunire*; and the third offence in that kind was made treason. To this a proviso was added, that such persons as should be commissioned by the queen to reform and order ecclesiastical matters should judge nothing to be heresy but what had been already so judged by the authority of the canonical Scriptures, or by the first four general councils, or by any other general council in which such doctrines were declared to be heresies by the express and plain words of Scripture. All other points not so decided were to be judged by the parliament with the assent of the clergy in their convocation."

This act was in many things short of the authority that king Henry had claimed, and the severity of the laws he had made. The title of Supreme Head was left out of the oath: this was done to mitigate the opposition of the popish party; but besides, the queen herself had a scruple about it, which was put in her head by one Lever, a famous preacher among those of the Reformation, of which Sands, afterwards bishop of Worcester, complained to Parker in a letter that is in the Collection. There was no other punishment inflicted on

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those that denied the queen's supremacy but the loss of their goods; and such as refused to take the oath did only lose their employments: whereas to refuse the oath in king Henry's time brought them into a *præmunire*; and to deny the supremacy was treason. But against this bill the bishops made speeches in the house of lords.

The Bishops
oppose the
Queen's Su-
premacy.

I have seen a speech of this kind was said to have been made by archbishop Heath; but it must be forgery put out in his name; for he is made to speak of the supremacy as a new and unheard-of thing, which he, who had sworn it so oft in king Henry's and king Edward's times, could not have the face to say. The rest of the bishops opposed it the rather because they had lately declared so high for the pope that it had been very indecent for them to have revolted so soon. The bishop of Durham * came not to this parliament. There were some hopes of gaining him to concur in the Reformation; for in the warrant the queen afterwards gave to some for consecrating the new bishops he is first named; and I have seen a letter of secretary Cecil's to Parker that gives him some hope that Tostall would join with them. He had been offended with the cruelties of the late reign; and though the resentments he had of his ill usage in the end of king Edward's time had made him at first concur more heartily to the restoring of popery, yet he soon fell off, and declared his dislike of those violent courses; and neither did he nor Heath bring any in trouble within their dioceses upon the account of religion, though it is hardly credible that there was no occasion for their being severe if they had been otherwise inclined to it. The bishop of Ely was also absent at the passing of this act †; for though he would not consent to it, yet he had done all that was prescribed by it so often before, that it seems he thought it more decent to be absent than either to consent to it or to oppose it.

The power that was added for the queen's commissionating some to execute her supremacy, gave the rise to that court which was commonly called the high commission court; and was to be in the room of a single person, to whom, with the title of lord vicegerent, king Henry did delegate his authority. It seems the clergymen with whom the queen consulted at this time thought this too much to be put into one man's hand, and therefore resolved to have it shared to more persons, of whom a great many would certainly be churchmen: so that they should not be altogether kept under by the hard hands of the laity, who having groaned long under the tyranny of an ecclesiastical yoke, seemed now disposed to revenge themselves by bringing the clergy as much under them; for so extremes do commonly rise from one another.

The popish clergy were now everywhere beginning to declaim against innovation and heresy. Harpsfield had in a sermon at Canterbury in February stirred the people much

* He came not to the parliament, for his presence was needed in the North for guarding the Marches against the Scots, and the French then ready to invade England.—
STRYPE'S CORRECT.

† The bishop of Ely was absent, being in an embassy at Cambray; but was come over on the 17th of April, and joined the other dissenting bishops.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

to sedition: and the members belonging to that cathedral had openly said, that religion should not nor could not be altered. The council also heard that the prebendaries there had bought up many arms; so a letter was written to sir Thomas Smith to examine that matter. Harpsfield was not put in prison, but received only a rebuke. There came also complaints from many other places of many seditious sermons: so the queen, following the precedent her sister had set her, did, in the beginning of March, forbid all preaching, except by such as had a licence under the great seal. But lest the clergy might now in the convocation set out orders in opposition to what the queen was about to do, she sent and required them, under the pains of a *præmunire*, to make no canons. Yet Harpsfield, that was prolocutor, with the rest of the lower house, made an address to the upper house, to be by them presented to the queen for the discharge of their consciences. They reduced the particulars into five articles. 1. That Christ was corporally present in the sacrament. 2. That there was no other substance there but his body and blood. 3. That in the mass there was a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead and the living. 4. That St. Peter and his lawful successors had the power of feeding and governing the church. 5. That the power of treating about doctrine, the sacraments, and the order of divine worship, belonged only to the pastors of the church. These they had sent to the two universities, from whence they were returned, with the hands of the greatest part in them to the first four; but it seems they thought it not fit to sign the last: for now the queen had resolved to have a public conference about religion in the abbey-church of Westminster.

The archbishop of York was continued still to be of the council; so the conference being proposed to him, he, after he had communicated it to his brethren, accepted of it, though with some unwillingness. It was appointed that there should be nine of a side, who should confer about these three points. 1. "Whether it was not against the word of God, and the custom of the ancient church, to use a tongue unknown to the people in the common prayers and the administration of the sacraments? 2. Whether every church had not authority to appoint, change, and take away ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites, so the same were done to edification. 3. Whether it could be proved by the word of God, that in the mass there was a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead and the living?" All was ordered to be done in writing. The bishops, as being actually in office, were to read their papers first upon the first point, and the reformed were to read theirs next; and then they were to exchange their papers, without any discourse concerning them, for the avoiding of jangling. The next day they were to read their papers upon the second, and after that upon the third head: and then they were to answer one another's papers. The nine on both sides were, the bishops of Winchester, Litchfield, Chester, Carlisle, and Lincoln, and doctors Cole, Harpsfield, Langdale, and Chedsey, on the popish side: and Scory, late bishop of Chichester, Cox, Whitehead, Grindal, Horn, Sands, Guest, Almer, and Jewel, for the protestants. The last of March was appointed to be the first day of conference, where the privy council was to be present, and the lord keeper was to see that they should not depart from the rules to which they had agreed.

The noise of this drew vast numbers of people to so unusual a sight: it being expected that there should be much fairer dealings now than had been in the disputes in queen Mary's time. The whole house of commons came to hear it, as no doubt the lords did also, though it is not marked in their journal. At their meeting, the bishop of Winchester said their paper was not quite ready, and pretended they had mistaken the order: but Dr. Cole should deliver what they had prepared, though it was not yet in that order that they could copy it out. The secret of this was, the bishops had in their private consultations agreed to read their paper, but not to give those they called heretics a copy of it: they could not decently refuse to give a public account of their doctrine, but they were resolved not to enter into disputes with any about it: this seemed to be the giving up of the faith, if they should suffer it again to be brought into question: besides, they looked on it as the highest act of supremacy for the queen to appoint such conferences: for she and her council would pretend to judge in these points when they had done disputing. For these reasons they would not engage to make any exchange of papers. The lord keeper took notice that this was contrary to the order laid down at the council board, to which the archbishop of York

had in their names consented. But they pretending they had mistaken the order, Cole was appointed to deliver their minds, which he did in a long discourse, the greatest part of which he read out of a book, that will be found in the Collection. For though they refused to deliver a copy of it, yet Parker some way procured it, among whose papers I found it. The substance of it was, "that although it might seem that the Scriptures had appointed the worship of God to be in a known tongue, yet that might be changed by the authority of the church, which had changed the sabbath, appointed in the Scripture, without any authority from thence. Christ washed his disciples' feet, and bid them do the like, yet this was not kept up: Christ instituted the sacrament of his body and blood after supper, and yet the church appointed it to be received fasting: so had the church also given it only in one kind, though Christ himself gave it in both: and whereas the apostles, by authority from the Holy Ghost, commanded all believers to abstain from blood, yet that was not thought to oblige any now: and though there was a community of goods in the apostles' times, it was no obligation to Christians to set up that now: so that this matter was in the power of the church. And since the church of Rome had appointed the Latin service to be everywhere used, it was schismatical to separate from it: for according to Irenæus, all churches ought to agree with her, by reason of her great pre-eminence. Upon which they run out largely to show the mischiefs of schism, both in France, Spain, Germany, and in other countries. And for the Britons and Saxons of England, their first apostles, that converted them to Christianity, were men of other nations, and did never use any service but that of their native language. All the vulgar tongues did change much, but the Latin was ever the same: and it was not fit for the church to be changing her service. The queen of Ethiopia's eunuch read Isaiah's book, though he understood it not; upon which God sent Philip to him to expound it: so the people are to come to their teachers to have those things explained to them which they cannot understand of themselves. There were many rites in the Jewish religion, the signification whereof the people understood as little then as the vulgar do the Latin now, and yet they were commanded to use them. The people were to use their private prayers in what tongue they pleased, though the public prayers were put up in Latin; and such prayers may be for their profit, though they understand them not, as absent persons are the better for the prayers which they do not hear, much less understand. They said it was not to be thought that the Holy Ghost had so long forsaken his church, and that a few lately risen up were to teach all the world. They concluded, that they could bring many more authorities; but they, being to defend a negative, thought it needless, and would refer these to the answers they were to make."

When this was done, the lord keeper turned to those of the other side, and desired them to read their paper. Horn was appointed by them to do it. He began with a short prayer to God to enlighten their minds, and with a protestation that they were resolved to follow the truth according to the word of God. Then he read his paper,

which will be also found in the Collection. "They founded their assertion on St. Paul's words, who, in the 14th chapter of his first epistle to the Corinthians, had treated on that subject of set purpose; and spake in it, not only of preaching, but of praying with the understanding; and said, that the unlearned were to say 'Amen' at the giving of thanks. From that chapter they argued, that St. Paul commanded that all things should be done to edification, which could not be by an unknown language: he also charged them that nothing should be said that had an uncertain sound; and that, as the sound of a trumpet must be distinct, so the people must understand what is said, that so they might say 'Amen' at the giving of thanks. He also required those that spake in a strange language, and could not get one to interpret, to hold their peace; since it was an absurd thing for one to be a barbarian to others in the worship of God: and though the speaking with strange tongues was then an extraordinary gift of God, yet he ordered that it should not be used where there was no interpreter. They added, that these things were so strictly commanded by St. Paul, that it is plain they are not indifferent, or within the power of the church. In the Old Testament the Jews had their worship in the vulgar tongue, and yet the new dispensation being more internal and spiritual, it was absurd that the worship of

God should be less understood by Christians than it had been by the Jews. The chief end of worship is, according to David, that we may show forth God's praises, which cannot be done if it is in a strange tongue. Prayer is the offering up of our desires to God, which we cannot do, if we understand not the language they are in. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are to contain declarations of the death and resurrection of Christ, which must be understood, otherwise why are they made? The use of speech is to make known what one brings forth to another. The most barbarous nations perform their worship in a known tongue, which shows it to be a law of nature. It is plain from Justin Martyr's Apology, that the worship was then in a known tongue, which appears also from all the ancient liturgies: and a long citation was brought out of St. Basil for the singing of psalms, duly weighing the words with much attention and devotion; which, he says, was practised in all nations. They concluded, wondering how such an abuse could at first creep in, and be still so stiffly maintained; and why those who would be thought the guides and pastors of the church, were so unwilling to return to the rule of St. Paul, and the practice of the primitive times."

There was a great shout of applause when they had done. They gave their paper, signed with all their hands, to the lord keeper, to be delivered to the other side as he should think fit; but he kept it till the other side should bring him theirs. The papists, upon this, said they had more to add on that head, which was thought disingenuous by those that had heard them profess they had nothing to add to what Cole had said. Thus the meeting broke up for that day, being Saturday; and they were ordered to go forward on Monday, and to prepare what they were to deliver on the other two heads. The papists, though they could complain of nothing that was done, except the applause given to the paper of the reformers, yet they saw by that how much more acceptable the other doctrine was to the people; and therefore resolved to go no further in that matter. At the next meeting they desired that their answer to the paper read by the reformed might be first heard. To this the lord keeper said, that they had delivered their mind the former day, and so were not to be heard till they had gone through the other points; and then they were to return on both sides to the answering of papers. They said that what Cole had delivered the former day was extempore and of himself; but it had not been agreed on by them. This appeared to all the assembly to be very foul dealing; so they were required to go on to the second point. Then they pressed that the other side might begin with their paper, and they would follow: for they saw what an advantage the others had the former day by being heard last. The lord keeper said the order was that they should be heard first, as being bishops now in office: but both Winchester and Lincoln refused to go any further if the other side did not begin. Upon which there followed a long debate, Lincoln saying that the first order, which was that all should be in Latin, was changed, and that they had prepared a writing in Latin: but in this not only the councillors, among whom sate the archbishop of York, but the rest of his own party, contradicted him. In conclusion all, except Feckenham, refused to read any more papers: he said he was willing to have done it, but he could not undertake such a thing alone; and so the meeting broke up.

But the bishops of Winchester and of Lincoln said the doctrine of the catholic church was already established, and ought not to be disputed, except it were in a synod of divines; that it was too great an encouragement to heretics to hear them thus discourse against the faith before the unlearned multitude; and that the queen by so doing had incurred the sentence of excommunication: and they talked of excommunicating her and her council. Upon this they were both sent to the Tower. The reformed took great advantage from the issue of this debate to say their adversaries knew that, upon a fair hearing, the truth was so manifestly on their side that they durst not put it to such hazard. The whole world saw that this disputation was managed with great impartiality, and without noise or disorder; far different from what had been in queen Mary's time: so they were generally much confirmed in their former belief by the papists flying the field. They on the other hand said, they saw the rude multitude were now carried with a fury against them; the lord keeper was their professed enemy; the laity would take on them to judge after they had heard them; and they perceived they were

The Conference between the Papists and Protestants breaks up.

already determined in their minds : and that this dispute was only to set off the changes that were to be made with the pomp of a victory ; and they blamed the bishops for undertaking it at first, but excused them for breaking it off in time. And the truth is, the strength of their cause in most points of controversy resting on the authority of the church of Rome, that was now a thing of so odious a sound, that all arguments brought from thence were not like to have any great effect. Upon this whole matter there was an act of state made, and Collection, signed by many privy-councillors, giving an account of all the steps that were Number 5. made in it, which will be found in the Collection.

This being over, the parliament was now in a better disposition to pass the bill for the uniformity of the service of the church. Some of the reformed divines were appointed to review king Edward's liturgy, and to see if in any particular it was fit to change it. The only considerable variation was made about the Lord's supper, of which somewhat will appear from the letter of Sandys to Parker. It was proposed to have the communion-book so contrived that it might not exclude the belief of the corporal presence ; for the chief design of the queen's council was to unite the nation in one faith ; and the greatest part of the nation continued to believe such a presence. Therefore it was recommended to the divines to see that there should be no express definition made against it ; that so it might lie as a speculative opinion not determined, in which every man was left to the freedom of his own mind. Hereupon the rubrick, that explained the reason for kneeling at the sacrament, " that thereby no adoration is intended to any corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood," because " that is only in heaven," which had been in king Edward's liturgy, was now left out. And whereas, at the delivery of the elements in king Edward's first liturgy, there was to be said, " The body or blood of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy body and soul to everlasting life ;" which words had been left out in his second liturgy as favouring the corporal presence too much, and instead of them these words were ordered to be used in the distribution of that sacrament, " Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving ;" and, " Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful." They now joined both these in one. Some of the collects were also a little altered : and thus was the book presented to the house. But for the Book of Ordination, it was not in express terms named in the act, which gave an occasion afterwards to question the lawfulness of the ordinations made by that book. But by this act the book that was set out by king Edward, and confirmed by parliament in the fifth year of his reign, was again authorised by law ; and the repeal of it in queen Mary's time was made void. So the Book of Ordinations being in that act added to the Book of Common-prayer, it was now legally in force again, as was afterwards declared in parliament upon a question that was raised about it by Bonner.

The bill that was put in on the 15th of February, concerning the new service, being laid Debates about the Act of Uniformity. aside, a new one was framed, and sent up by the commons on the 18th of April, and debated in the house of lords. Heath* made a long speech against it, rather elegant than learned. He enlarged much on " the several changes which had been made in king Edward's time." He said, " that both Cranmer and Ridley changed their opinions in the matter of Christ's presence." He called Ridley " the most notable learned man that was of that way." These changes he imputed to " their departing from the standard of the catholic church." He complained much of " the robbing of churches, the breaking of images, and the stage-plays made in mockery of the catholic religion." Upon all these reasons he was against the bill. The bishop of Chester spake also to it. He said, " the bill was against both faith and charity ; that points once defined were not to be brought again into question ; nor were acts of parliament foundations for a church's belief." He enlarged on the antiquity of their forms, and said " it was an insolent thing to pretend that our fathers had lived in ignorance. The prophets oftentimes directed the Israelites to ask of their fathers. Matters of religion could not be understood by the laity. It was of great consequence to have their faith well grounded. Jeroboam made Israel to sin when he set up

* Abbot Feckenham made that speech, and not Heath.—STRYFF'S CORRECT. [Heath spoke in the house of lords against the bill of *supremacy* ; but the speech attributed to him in the text was made by Feckenham, and is given at length in lord Somers' Tracts, &c., vol. i. p. 53.—ED.]

a new way of worship : and not only the orthodox, but even the Arian emperors, ordered that points of faith should be examined in councils. Gallio, by the light of nature, knew that a civil judge ought not to meddle with matters of religion. In the Service-book that was then before them they had no sacrifice for their sins, nor were they to adore Christ in the host : and for these reasons he could not agree to it. But if any thought he spoke this because of his own concern, or pitied him for what he might suffer by it, he would say, in the words of our Saviour, ‘ Weep not for me, weep for yourselves.’”

After him spake Feckenham*, abbot of Westminster. “ He proposed three rules by which they should judge of religion ; its antiquity, its constancy to itself, and the influence it had on the civil government. He said the old religion began in the time of king Lucius, according to Gildas : the book now proposed was not used before the two last years of king Edward. The one was always the same ; the other was changed every second year, as appeared in the point of the presence of Christ in the sacrament. There had been great order and obedience in queen Mary’s reign ; but now everywhere great insolences were committed by the people, with some very indecent profanations of the most holy things. He recommended to them, in St. Austin’s words, the adhering to the catholic church : the very name catholic, which heretics had not the confidence to assume, showed their authority. The consent of the whole church in all ages, with the perpetual succession of pastors in St. Peter’s chair, ought to weigh more with them than a few new preachers who had distracted both Germany and England of late.”

Thus I have given the substance of their speeches, being all that I have seen of that side. I have seen none at all on the other side, though it is not probable but some were made in defence of the service as well as these were against it. But upon this occasion I shall set down the substance of the second paper which the reformed divines had prepared on the second point for the conference about the authority of every particular church to change or take away ceremonies. I do not put it in the Collection, because I have not that which the papists prepared in opposition to it : but the heads of this paper were as followeth.

“ It is clear, by the epistles which St. Paul writ to the Corinthians and other churches, that every church has power in itself to order the forms of their worship and the administration of the sacraments among them so as might best tend to order, edification, and peace. The like power had also the seven angels of the churches to whom St. John writ. And for the first three ages there was no general meeting of the church in synods ; but in those times the neighbouring pastors and bishops, by mutual advice rather than authority, ordered their affairs ; and when heresies sprung up they condemned them without staying for a general determination of the whole church. There were also great differences among them in their customs, as about observing Lent and Easter. Ceremonies grew too soon to a great number. When errors or abuses appeared, private bishops reformed their own dioceses : so those who came in the room of Arian bishops, even when that heresy was spread over all the East, and the see of Rome itself was defiled with it, yet reformed their own churches. Ambrose, finding the custom of feasting in churches on the anniversaries of the martyrs gave occasion to great scandals, took it away. Even in queen Mary’s time many of the old superstitions of pilgrimages and relics, which had been abolished in king Henry’s time, were not then taken up again. From which they argued, that if some things might be altered, why not more ? So that if there was good reason to make any changes, it could not be doubted but that as Hezekiah and Josiah had made by their own power, so the queen might make reformati-
Arguments for the Changes made in the Service.
ons, which were not so much the setting up of new things as the restoring of the state of religion to what it was anciently ; which had been brought in by consent of parliament and convocation in king Edward’s time.” The rules they offered in this paper about ceremonies were, that they should not be made necessary parts of worship ; that they should not be too many, nor dumb and vain, nor should be kept up for gain and advantage.

These were the arguments used on both sides : but the reformed being superior in number, the bill passed in the house of lords ; the archbishop of York, the marquis of Winchester, the earl of Shrewsbury, the viscount Montacute, the bishops of London, Worcester, Ely,

* See note in preceding page.

Coventry, Chester, and Carlisle; and the lords Morley, Stafford, Dudley, Wharton, Rich, and North; and the abbot of Westminster, dissenting. By this act the new book was to take place by St. John Baptist's Day.

Another act passed, that the queen might reserve to herself the lands belonging to bishoprics as they fell void, giving the full value of them in impropriated tithes in lieu of them. To this the bishops dissented, on the 7th of April, when it passed in the house of lords. But when this came to the commons, there was great opposition made to it: many had observed that in Edward VI.'s time, under a pretence of giving some endowments to the crown, the courtiers got all the church lands divided amongst themselves; so it was believed the use to be made of this would be the robbing of the church without enriching the crown. After many days' debate, on the 17th of April the house divided, and 90 were against it, but 133 were for it, and so it passed.

On the 5th of May, another bill passed with the like opposition. It was for annexing of all religious houses to the crown. After that there followed some private acts for declaring the deprivation of the popish bishops in king Edward's time to have been good. When they were restored by queen Mary, the sentences passed against them were declared to have been void from the beginning; and so all leases that were made by Ridley, Poinet, and Hooper, and the patents granted by the king, of some of their lands, were annulled. It was particularly remembered in the house of commons, that Ridley had made the confirming of these leases his last desire, when he was going to be tied to the stake. The ground on which the sentences were declared void was, because the parties had appealed, though in the commission, by virtue of which the delegates deprived them, they were empowered to proceed notwithstanding any appeal. To this, not only the bishops, but the marquis of Winchester, and the lords Stafford, Dudley, and North, dissented.

It shows the great moderation of this government, that this marquis, notwithstanding his adhering to the popish interest in the house of lords, was still continued lord treasurer; which employment he held fourteen years after this, and died in the 97th year of his age, leaving one hundred and three issued from his own body behind him. He was the greatest instance of good fortune and dexterity that we find in the English history; who continued lord treasurer in three such different reigns, as king Edward's, queen Mary's, and queen Elizabeth's were.

There were a subsidy and two tenths and two fifteenths given by the parliament, with the tonnage and poundage for the queen's life; and so on the 8th of May it was dissolved.

There was three bills that did not pass in the house of commons, but upon what account they were laid aside it does not appear. The one was for the restoring of the bishops that had been deprived by queen Mary. There were but three of these alive, Barlow, Scory, and Coverdale; the first of these had resigned, and the last being old, had no mind to return to his bishopric: so perhaps it was not thought worth the while to make an act for one man's sake, especially since there were so many vacant bishoprics in the queen's hands, and more were like to fall. The other bill was for the restoring of all persons that were deprived from their benefices because they were married. This the queen ordered to be laid aside, of which Sands complained much in his letter to Parker: but yet the queen took no notice of the laws formerly made against their marriage, and promoted many married priests, particularly Parker himself. There was no law now in force against clergymen's marrying; for queen Mary had only repealed the laws of Edward the Sixth, which allowed it, but had made none concerning that matter: so there was nothing but the canon law against it; and that was resolved to be condemned, by continuing that article of religion concerning the lawfulness of their marriage among those that should be set out. The next bill that came to nothing, was a new act for giving authority to thirty-two persons to revise the ecclesiastical laws, and digest them into a body; it was laid aside at the second reading in the house of commons, and has slept ever since.

When the parliament was over, the oath of supremacy was soon after put to the bishops and clergy. They thought, if they could stick close to one another in refusing it, the queen

would be forced to dispense with them, and would not at one stroke turn out all the bishops in England. It does not appear how soon after the dissolution of the parliament the oath was put to them; but it was not long after, for the last collocation Bonner gave of any benefice, was on the 6th of May this year*. The oath being offered to Heath, archbishop of York, to Bonner of London, Thirleby of Ely, Bourn of Bath and Wells, Bain of Litchfield, White of Winchester, and Watson of Lincoln, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, Turberville of Exeter, Pool of Peterborough, Scot of Chester, Pates of Worcester, and Goldwell of St. Asaph, they did all refuse to take it: so that only Kitchin, bishop of Landaff, took it. There was some hope of Tonstall; so it was not put to him till September, but he being very old, chose to go out with so much company, more for the decency of the thing, than out of any scruple he could have about the supremacy for which he had formerly writ so much. They were upon their refusal put in prison for a little while; but they had all their liberty soon after, except Bonner, White, and Watson. There were great complaints made against Bonner, that he had, in many things, in the prosecution of those that were presented for heresy, exceeded what the law allowed; so that it was much desired to have him made an example. But as the queen was of her own nature merciful, so the reformed divines had learned in the gospel, not "to render evil for evil," nor to seek revenge; and as Nazianzen had of old exhorted the orthodox, when they had got an emperor that favoured them, not to retaliate on the Arians for their former cruelties, so they thought it was for the honour of their religion, to give this real demonstration of the conformity of their doctrine to the rules of the gospel, and of the primitive church, by avoiding all cruelty and severity, when it looked like revenge.

All this might have been expected from such a queen and such bishops. But it showed a great temper in the whole nation, that such a man as Bonner had been, was suffered to go about in safety, and was not made a sacrifice to the revenge of those who had lost their near friends by his means. Many things were brought against him and White, and some other bishops; upon which the queen promised to give a charge to the visitors, whom she was to send over England to inquire into these things; and after she had heard their report, she said, she would proceed as she saw cause: by this means she did not deny justice, but gained a little time to take off the edge that was on men's spirits, who had been much provoked by the ill-usage they had met with from them.

Heath was a man of a generous temper, and so was well used by the queen, for as he was suffered to live securely at his own house in Surrey, so she went thither sometimes to visit him. Tonstall and Thirleby lived in Lambeth with Parker, with great freedom and ease; the one was learned and good-natured, the other was a man of business, but too easy and flexible. White and Watson† were morose and sullen men; to which their studies as well as their tempers had disposed them, for they were much given to scholastical divinity, which inclined men to be cynical, to overvalue themselves, and despise others. Christopherson was a good Grecian, and had translated Eusebius and the other church historians into Latin, but with as little fidelity as may be expected from a man violently addicted to a party. Bain was learned in the Hebrew, which he had professed at Paris in the reign of Francis the First. All these chose to live still in England; only Pates, Scot, and Goldwell, went beyond sea. After them went the lord Morley, sir Francis Englefield, sir Robert Peckham, sir Richard Shelley, and sir John Gage; who it seems desired to live where they might have the free exercise of their religion: and such was the queen's gentleness, that this was not denied them, though such favour had not been showed in queen Mary's reign. Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, was a charitable and generous man, and lived in great esteem in England. Most of the monks returned to a secular course of life, but the nuns went beyond sea.

Now the queen intended to send injunctions over England, and in the end of June

* The oath was tendered to them in July.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

† Watson, who was fellow and master of St. John's

College, was noted for polite learning; I suppose it was Dr. John Watson that was given to ecclesiastical divinity, styled "Scotist" by Erasmus.—ANON. CORRECT.

they were prepared. There was great difficulty made about one of them; the queen seemed to think the use of images in churches might be a means to stir up devotion, and that at least it would draw all people to frequent them the more: for the great measure of her councils was to unite the whole nation into one way of religion. The reformed bishops and divines opposed this vehemently; they put all their reasons in a long writing which they gave her concerning it; the preface and conclusion of which will be found in the Collection. "They protested they could not comply with that, which, as it was against their own consciences, so it would prove a snare to the ignorant: they had often pressed the queen in that matter; which, it seems, stuck long with her: they prayed her not to be offended with that liberty they took, thus to lay their reasons before her, it being a thing which Christian princes had at all times taken well from their bishops. They desired her to commit that matter to the decision of a synod of bishops and divines, and not to do such a thing merely upon some political considerations; which, as it would offend many, so it would reflect much on the reign of her most godly brother, and on those who had then removed all images, and had given their lives afterwards for a testimony to the truth."

The substance of their reasons (which for their length I have not put in the Collection) is, "That the second commandment forbids the making of any images as a resemblance of God. And Deut. xxvii. there was a curse pronounced on those 'who made an image, an abomination to the Lord, and put it in a secret place;' which they expounded of some sacraria in private houses: and Deut. iv. among the cautions Moses gives to the people of Israel to beware of idolatry; this is one, 'that they do not make an image,' for the use of these does naturally degenerate into idolatry: the Jews were so sensible of this after the captivity, that they would die rather than suffer an image to be put in their temple. The Book of Wisdom calls an image a 'Snare for the feet of the ignorant.' St. John charged those he writ to 'beware of idols.' So Tertullian said, it was not enough to beware of idolatry towards them, but of the very images themselves. And as Moses had charged the people not to lay a stumbling-block in the way of the blind; so it was a much greater sin to leave such a trap for the weak multitude. This was not for edification, since it fed the superstition of the weak and ignorant, who would continue in their former dotage upon them, and would alienate others from the public worship; so that between those that would separate from them if they were continued, and the multitude that would abuse them, the number of those that would use them aright would be very inconsiderable: the outward splendour of them would be apt to draw the minds of the worshippers, if not to direct idolatry, yet to staring and distraction of thoughts. Both Origen and Arnobius tell us, that the primitive Christians had no images at all. Irenæus accused the Gnostics for carrying about the image of Christ. St. Austin commends Varro for saying that the old Romans worshipped God more chastely without the use of any images. Epiphanius tore a veil with an image on it; and Serenus broke images in Gregory the Great's time. Valens and Theodosius made a law against the painting or graving of the image of Christ: and the use of images in the eastern churches brought those distractions on that empire, that laid it open to the invasions of the Mahometans."

These reasons prevailed with the queen, to put it into her injunctions to have all images removed out of the church.

The injunctions given by king Edward, at his first coming to the crown, were all renewed, with very little variation. To these some things were added, of which I shall give account.

"It was nowhere declared, neither in the Scriptures nor by the primitive church, that priests might not have wives, upon which many in king Edward's time had married. Yet great offence was given by the indecent marriages that some of them then made. To prevent the like scandals for the future, it was ordered, that no priest or deacon should marry without allowance from the bishop of the diocese, and two justices of the peace, and the consent of the woman's parents or friends. All the clergy were to use habits according to their degrees in the universities; the queen declaring

The Heads of
the Injunctions.

that this was not done for any holiness in them, but for order and decency. No man might use any charm, or consult with such as did. All were to resort to their own parish churches, except for an extraordinary occasion. Innkeepers were to sell nothing in the times of divine service. None were to keep images or other monuments of superstition in their houses. None might preach but such as were licensed by their ordinary. In all places they were to examine the causes why any had been in the late reign imprisoned, famished, or put to death upon the pretence of religion; and all registers were to be searched for it. In every parish the ordinary was to name three or four discreet men, who were to see that all the parishioners did duly resort on Sundays and holidays to church; and those who did it not, and upon admonition did not amend, were to be denounced to the ordinary. On Wednesdays and Fridays the Common-prayer and litany was to be used in all churches. All slanderous words, as papist, heretic, schismatic, or sacramentary, were to be forborne, under severe pains. No books might be printed without a licence from the queen, the archbishop, the bishop of London, the chancellor of the universities, or the bishop or archdeacon of the place where it was printed. All were to kneel at the prayers, and to show a reverence when the name of Jesus was pronounced. Then followed an explanation of the oath of supremacy, in which the queen declared that she did not pretend to any authority for the ministering of divine service in the church, and that all that she challenged was that which had at all times belonged to the imperial crown of England; that she had the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons under God, so that no foreign power had any rule over them; and if those who had formerly appeared to have scruples about it, took it in that sense, she was well pleased to accept of it, and did acquit them of all penalties in the act. The next was about altars and communion tables; she ordered, that for preventing of riots no altar should be taken down, but by the consent of the curate and church-wardens; that a communion-table should be made for every church, and that on sacrament days it should be set in some convenient place in the chancel; and at other times should be placed where the altar had stood. The sacramental bread was ordered to be round and plain, without any figure on it, but somewhat broader and thicker than the cakes formerly prepared for the mass. Then the form of bidding prayer was prescribed with some variation from that in king Edward's time: for whereas to the thanksgiving for God's blessings to the church in the saints departed this life, a prayer was added, 'That they with us, and we with them, may have a glorious resurrection;' now those words, 'they with us,' as seeming to import a prayer for the dead, were left out."

For the rule about churchmen marrying, those who reflected on it said they complained not of the law, but as St. Jerome did in the making a law in his time, they complained of those that had given occasion for it. Ministers wearing such apparel as might distinguish them from the laity was certainly a means to keep them under great restraint upon every indecency in their behaviour, laying them open to the censures of the people; which could not be, if they were habited so as that they could not be distinguished from other men: and human nature being considered, it seems to be a kind of temptation to many when they do but think their disorders will pass unobserved. Bowing at the name of Jesus was thought a fit expression of their grateful acknowledging of our Saviour and an owning of his divinity; and as standing up at the Creed or at the *Gloria Patri* were solemn expressions of the faith of Christians, so, since Jesus is the name by which Christ is expressed to be our Saviour, it seemed a decent piece of acknowledging our faith in him to show a reverence when that was pronounced: not as if there were a peculiar sanctity or virtue in it, but because it was his proper name, Christ being but an application added to it. By the queen's care to take away all words of reproach, and to explain the oath of supremacy, not only clearing any ambiguity that might be in the words, but allowing men leave to declare in what sense they swore it, the moderation of her government did much appear; in which, instead of inventing new traps to catch the weak, which had been practised in other reigns, all possible care was taken to explain things so that they might be as comprehensive to all interests as was possible. They reckoned, if that age could have been on any terms separated from the papacy, though with allowance for many other superstitious conceits, it would once unite them all; and in the next age they would be so educated

that none of those should any more remain. And indeed this moderation had all the effect that was designed by it for many years, in which the papists came to church and to the sacraments. But afterwards, it being proposed to the king of Spain, then ready to engage in a war with the queen upon the account of her supporting of the United Provinces, that he must first divide England at home, and procure from the pope a sentence against the queen, and a condemnation of such papists as went to the English service; and that for the maintaining and educating of such priests as should be his tools to distract the kingdom, he was to found seminaries at Douay, Louvain, and St. Omer's, from whence they might come over hither and disorder the affairs of England. The prosecution of those counsels raised the popish party among us, which has ever since distracted this nation, and has oftener than once put it into most threatening convulsive motions, such as we feel at this day.

After the injunctions were thus prepared, the queen gave out commissions for those who should visit all the churches of England: in which they lost no time; for the new Book of Service was by law to take place on St. John Baptist's Day, and these commissions were signed that same day. One of those commissions, which was for the archbishopric and province of York, is put into the Collection. It was granted to the earls of Shrewsbury and Derby, and some others, among whom

The first high
Commission.

Collection,
Number 7.

Dr. Sands is one.

The preamble sets forth, "That God having set the queen over the nation, she could not render an account of that trust without endeavouring to propagate the true religion with the right way of worshipping God in all her dominions; therefore she, intending to have a general visitation of her whole kingdom, empowered them, or any two of them, to examine the true state of all the churches in the northern parts; to suspend or deprive such clergymen as were unworthy, and to put others into their places; to proceed against such as were obstinate by imprisonment, church censure, or any other legal way. They were to reserve pensions for such as would not continue in their benefices, but quitted them by resignation; and to examine the condition of all that were imprisoned on the account of religion, and to discharge them; and to restore all such to their benefices as had been unlawfully turned out in the late times."

This was the first high commission * that was given out: that for the province of Canterbury was, without doubt, of the same nature. The prudence of reserving pensions for such priests as were turned out was much applauded, since thereby they were kept from extreme want, which might have set them on to do mischief; and by the pension which was granted them upon their good behaviour they were kept under some awe, which would not have been otherwise. That which was chiefly condemned in these commissions was the queen's giving the visitors authority to proceed by ecclesiastical censures, which seemed a great stretch of her supremacy: but it was thought that the queen might do that as well as the lay-chancellors did it in the ecclesiastical courts; so that one abuse was the excuse for another.

These visitors having made report to the queen of the obedience given to the laws and her injunctions, it was found that, of 9400 beneficed men in England, there were no more but 14 bishops, 6 abbots, 12 deans, 12 archdeacons, 15 heads of colleges, 50 prebendaries, and 80 rectors of parishes, that had left their benefices upon the account of religion; so compliant were the papists generally. And indeed the bishops, after this time, had the same apprehension of the danger into which religion was brought by the jugglings of the greatest part of the clergy who retained their affections to the old superstition that those in king Edward's time had: so that if queen Elizabeth had not lived so long as she did, till all that generation was dead, and a new set of men better educated and principled were grown up and put in their rooms, and if a prince of another religion had succeeded before that time, they had probably turned about again to the old superstitions as nimbly as they had done before in queen Mary's days. That which supported the superstitious party in king Edward's time most was, that many great bishops did secretly favour and encourage them; therefore it was now resolved to look well to the filling of the vacant sees.

It has been said before, that Parker was sent for to London by the queen's order, and the

* This was not a high commission, warranted by act of parliament, but a commission for a royal visitation by virtue of the queen's supremacy.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

archbishopric of Canterbury was offered him. He was upon that cast into such a perplexity of mind that he was out of measure grieved at it. As soon as he was returned home, he writ a letter to the lord-keeper, which, with all the other letters that passed in this matter, I have put into the Collection. “He professed he never had less joy of a journey to London, and was never more glad to get from it, than upon his last being there.” He said, “It was necessary to fill that see with a man that was neither arrogant, faint-hearted, nor covetous: an arrogant man would perhaps divide from his brethren in doctrine, whereas the whole strength of the church depended on their unity; but if there should be heart-burnings among them, and the private quarrels that had been beyond sea should be brought home, the peace of the church would be lost, and the success of all their design would be blasted: and if a faint-hearted man were put in, it would raise the spirits of all their adversaries. A covetous man was good for nothing. He knew his own unfitness both of body and mind so well, that though he should be sorry to offend him and secretary Cecil, whom he honoured above all men in the world, and more sorry to displease the queen, yet he must above all things avoid God’s indignation, and not enter into a station into which he knew he could not carry himself so as to answer it either to God or the world for his administration. And if he must go to prison for his obstinate untowardness (with which it seems they had threatened him), he would suffer it rather with a quiet conscience than accept of an employment which he could not discharge. He said he intended, by God’s grace, never to be of that order, neither higher nor lower. He knew what he was capable of: he was poor, and not able to enter on such a station; he had a rupture, which made him that he could not stir much; therefore he desired some place in the university where he might wear out his life tolerably. He knew he could not answer their expectation, which made him so importunate not to be raised so high. He said he had great apprehensions of differences like to fall out among themselves, which would be a pleasant diversion to those of the church of Rome: he saw some men were men still, even after all their teaching in the school of affliction. He protested he did not seek his own private gain or ease; he had but two or three years more of life before him, and did not intend to heap up for his children.” This he writ the 1st of March.

The business of the parliament made this motion to be laid aside till that was dissolved; and then on the 17th of May the lord-keeper wrote to him concerning it. He told him that he saw, by a resolution taken that day in the queen’s presence, that it would be very hard for his friends to get him delivered from that charge. For his own part, if he knew a man to whom the characters in his letter did agree better than to himself, he should be for preferring such a one; but knowing no such, he must be still for him. On the 19th, after that, the lord-keeper and secretary Cecil signed a letter in the queen’s name requiring him to come up; and after that they sent a second command to him to come to court, on the 28th of the month. He came up, but again excused himself: yet at last, being so often pressed, he writ to the queen herself, “protesting that extreme necessity forced him to trouble her, both out of conscience to God and regard to her service: he knew his great unworthiness for so high a function; therefore as on his knees he humbly besought her to discharge him of that office, which did require a man of more learning, virtue, and experience than he perfectly knew was in himself. He lamented his being so meanly qualified that he could not serve her in that high station; but in any other inferior office he should be ready to discharge his duty to her in such a place as was suitable to his infirmity. But in the conclusion he submitted himself to her pleasure.” In the end he was with great difficulty brought to accept of it. So on the 18th day of July the *congé-d’élire* was sent to Canterbury; and upon that, on the 22d of July, a chapter was summoned to meet the 1st of August, where, the dean and prebendaries meeting, they, according to a method often used in their elections*, did, by a compromise, refer it to the dean to name whom he pleased; and he naming doctor Parker, according to the queen’s letter, they all confirmed it, and published their election, singing *Te Deum* upon it. On the 9th of September the great seal was put to a warrant for his consecration, directed to the bishops of Durham, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, Llandaff,

* There had been but one election since the prior and monks had been changed into a dean and prebendaries.—GRANGER’S CORRECT.



MATTHEW PARKER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

OB. 1575.

FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE

HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

and to Barlow and Scory (styled only bishops, not being then elected to any sees), requiring them to consecrate him. From this it appears that neither Tonsal, Bourn, nor Pool, were at that time turned out. It seems there was some hope of gaining them to obey the laws, and so to continue in their sees.

This matter was delayed to the 6th of December. Whether this flowed from Parker's unwillingness to engage in so high a station, or from any other secret reason, I do not know: but then, the three bishops last named refusing to do it, a new warrant passed under the great seal to the bishop of Llandaff, Barlow bishop elect of Chichester, Scory bishop elect of Hereford, Coverdale late bishop of Exeter, Hodgkins bishop suffragan of Bedford, John suffragan of Thetford, and Bale bishop of Ossory, that they, or any four of them, should consecrate him. So by virtue of this, on the 9th of December, Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins met at the church of St. Mary-le-Bow, where, according to the custom, the *congé-d'élire*, with the election, and the royal assent to it, were to be brought before them: and these being read, witnesses were to be cited to prove the election lawfully made; and all who would object to it were also cited. All these things being performed according to law, and none coming to object against the election, they confirmed it according to the usual manner. On the 17th of December, Parker was consecrated in the chapel at Lambeth by Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins, according to the Book of Ordinations made in king Edward's time; only the ceremony of putting the staff in his hands was left out of the office in this reign. He being thus consecrated himself, did afterwards consecrate bishops for the other sees; namely, Grindal, bishop of London; Cox, that had been king Edward's almoner, bishop of Ely; Horn, bishop of Winchester; Sandys, bishop of Worcester; Merick, bishop of Bangor; Young, bishop of St. David's; Bullingham, bishop of Lincoln; Jewel, bishop of Salisbury (the great ornament of that age for learning and piety); Davis, bishop of St. Asaph; Guest, bishop of Rochester; Berkley, bishop of Bath and Wells; Bentham, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield; Alley, bishop of Exeter; and Scambler, bishop of Peterborough. Barlow and Scory were put into the sees of Chichester and Hereford. And some time after this, in February 1561, Young was translated from St. David's to York, there being now no hopes of gaining Heath to continue in it, which it seems had been long endeavoured; for it was now two years that that see had been in vacancy*. In like manner, after so long waiting to see if Tonsal would conform, there being now no more hope of it, in March 1561 Pilkington was made bishop of Durham. Best was afterwards made bishop of Carlisle, and Downham bishop of Chester†.

I have given the more distinct account of these promotions, because of a most malicious slander with which they were aspersed in aftertimes. It was not thought on for forty years after this. But then it was forged and published, and spread over the world with great confidence, that Parker himself was not legally or truly consecrated. The author of it was said to be one Neale, that had been some time one of Bonner's chaplains. The contrivance was, that the bishop of Llandaff being required by Bonner not to consecrate Parker, or to give orders in his diocese, did thereupon refuse it: upon that the bishops elect being met in Cheapside at the Nag's-head tavern, Neale, that had watched them thither, peeped in through a hole of the door, and saw them in great disorder, finding the bishop of Llandaff was intractable. But (as the tale goes on) Scory bids them all kneel, and he laid the Bible upon every one of their heads or shoulders, and said, "Take thou authority to preach the word of God sincerely," and so they rose up all bishops. This tale came so late into the world, that Sanders, and all the other writers in queen Elizabeth's time, had never heard of it; otherwise we may be sure they would not have concealed it. And if the thing had been true, or if Neale had but pretended that he had seen any such thing, there is no reason to think he would have suppressed it. But when it might be presumed that all those persons were dead that had been present at Parker's consecration, then was the time to invent such a story; for then it might be hoped

* May, dean of St. Paul's, was elected archbishop, but died before he was consecrated.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

† Thomas Davis, of St. Asaph, and Richard Cheiney, of Gloucester, should have been remembered, though consecrated a while after.—GRANGER'S CORRECT.

that none could contradict it. And who could tell but that some who had seen bishops go from Bow church to dine at that tavern with their civilians, as some have done after their confirmation, might imagine that then was the time of this Nag's-head consecration. If it were boldly said, one or other might think he remembered it. But as it pleased God, there was one then living that remembered the contrary. The old earl of Nottingham, who had been at the consecration, declared it was at Lambeth, and described all the circumstances of it, and satisfied all reasonable men that it was according to the form of the church of England. The registers both of the see of Canterbury, and of the records of the crown, do all fully agree with his relation. For as Parker's *congé-d'élire*, with the queen's assent to his election, and the warrant for his consecration, are all under the great seal; so upon the certificate made by those who consecrated him, the temporalities were restored by another warrant also enrolled, which was to be showed in the house of lords when he took his place there. Besides that the consecrations of all the other bishops made by him show that he alone was first consecrated without any other. And above all other testimonies, the original instrument of archbishop Parker's consecration lies still among his other papers in the library of Corpus Christi college at Cambridge, which I saw and read. It is as manifestly an original writing as any that I ever had in my hands: I have put it in the

Collection,
Number 9.

Collection, for the more full discovery of the impudence of that fiction. But it served those ends for which it was designed. Weak people, hearing it so positively told by their priests, came to believe it; and I have myself met with many that seemed still to give some credit to it, after all that clear confutation of it made by the most ingenious and learned bishop Bramhall, the late primate of Ireland. Therefore I thought it necessary to be the larger in the account of this consecration; and the rather, because of the influence it hath into all the ordinations that have been since that time derived down in this church.

Some excepted against the canonicalness of it, because it was not done by all the bishops of the province, and three of the bishops had no sees when they did it, and the fourth was only a suffragan bishop. But to all this it was said, that after a church had been overrun with heresy, those rules which were to be observed in its more settled state were always superseded, as appears particularly when the Arian bishops were turned out of some great sees, for the orthodox bishops did then ordain others to succeed them, without judging themselves bound by the canons in such cases. And bishops that had been rightly consecrated could certainly derive their own character to others, whether they were actually in sees or not. And a suffragan bishop being consecrated in the same manner that other bishops were, though he had a limited jurisdiction, yet was of the same order with them. All these things were made out with a great deal of learning by Mason, who upon the publishing of that fiction wrote in vindication of the English ministry.

Thus were the sees filled, the worship reformed, and the queen's injunctions sent over England. Three things remained yet to be done. The first was to set out the doctrine of the church, as it had been done in king Edward's time. The second was to translate the Bible, and publish it with short notes. And the third was to regulate the ecclesiastical courts. The bishops, therefore, set about these. And for the first, though they could not, by public authority, set out the articles of the church till they met in a convocation; yet they soon after prepared them. And for the present, they agreed on a short profession of their doctrine, which all incumbents were obliged to read and publish to

Collection,
Number 11.

their people. This will be found in the Collection, copied from it, as it was then printed.

In the articles made in king Edward's reign, which I have put in the Collection, the reader will find on the margin the differences between those and these marked. In the third article, the explanation of Christ's descent to hell was left out. In that about the Scriptures, they now added an enumeration of the canonical and apocryphal books, declaring that some lessons were read out of the latter for the instruction of the people, but not for the confirmation of the doctrine. About the authority of the church, they now added, that the church had power to decree rites and ceremonies, and had authority in controversies of faith, but still subordinate to the Scripture.

In the article about the Lord's supper there is a great deal left out; for instead of that large refutation of the corporal presence, from the impossibility of a body's being in more places at once,—from whence it follows, that since Christ's body is in heaven,—the faithful ought not to believe or profess a real or corporal presence of it in the sacrament,—in the new articles it is said, "That the body of Christ is given and received after a spiritual manner; and the means by which it is received, is faith." But in the original

MSS. C. Cor.
Christ. Cant.

copy of these articles, which I have seen subscribed by the hands of all that sate in either house of convocation, there is a further addition made. The articles were subscribed with that precaution which was requisite in a matter of such consequence; for before the subscriptions, there is set down the number of the pages, and of the lines in every page of the book, to which they set their hands.

In that article of the Eucharist these words are added, "*Christus in cœlum ascendens corpori suo immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abstulit: humanæ enim naturæ veritatem, juxta Scripturas perpetuo retinet, quam in uno et definito loco esse, et non in multa vel omnia simul loca diffundi, oportet. Quum igitur Christus in cœlum sublatus, ibi usque ad finem sæculi sit permansurus, atque inde, non aliunde (ut loquitur Augustinus), venturus sit ad judicandum vivos et mortuos, non debet quisquam fidelium carnis ejus et sanguinis realem et corporalem (ut loquuntur) præsentiam in eucharistia vel credere vel profiteri.*"

An Explanation of Christ's presence in the Sacrament.

In English thus:—"Christ, when he ascended into heaven, made his body immortal, but took not from it the nature of a body: for still it retains, according to the Scriptures, the verity of a human body, which must be always in one definite place, and cannot be spread into many, or all places at once. Since then Christ, being carried up to heaven, is to remain there to the end of the world, and is to come from thence, and from no place else (as says St. Austin), to judge the quick and the dead; none of the faithful ought to believe or profess the real, or (as they call it) the corporal, presence of his flesh and blood in the eucharist."

But this in the original is dashed over with *minium*; yet so, that it is still legible. The secret of it was this: the queen and her council studied (as hath been already shown) to unite all into the communion of the church: and it was alleged, that such an express definition against a real presence, might drive from the church many who were still of that persuasion; and therefore it was thought to be enough to condemn transubstantiation, and to say, that Christ was present after a spiritual manner, and received by faith; to say more, as it was judged superfluous, so it might occasion division. Upon this, these words were, by common consent, left out; and in the next convocation, the articles were subscribed without them, of which I have also seen the original.

This shows that the doctrine of the church, subscribed by the whole convocation, was at that time contrary to the belief of a real or corporal presence in the sacrament; only it was not thought necessary or expedient to publish it. Though from this silence, which flowed not from their opinion, but the wisdom of that time, in leaving a liberty for different speculations as to the manner of the presence, some have since inferred, that the chief pastors of this church did then disapprove of the definition made in king Edward's time, and that they were for a real presence.

For the translating of the Bible, it was divided into many parcels. The Pentateuch was committed to William Alley, bishop of Exeter. The books from that to the second of Samuel were given to Richard Davis, who was made bishop of St. David's when Young was removed to York. All from Samuel to the second book of Chronicles was assigned to Edwin Sandys, then bishop of Worcester. From thence to the end of Job, to one whose name is marked A. P. C. * The book of the Psalms was given to Thomas Bentham, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield. The Proverbs, to one who is marked A. P. The Song of Solomon, to one marked A. P. E. † All from thence to the Lamentations of Jeremiah was given to Robert Horn, bishop of Winchester. Ezekiel and Daniel, to Bentham. From thence to Malachi, to Grindal, bishop of London. The Apocrypha to the book of Wisdom was given to Barlow, bishop of Chichester; and the rest of it to Parkhurst, bishop of

* For Andrew Pierson, Cantuar.

† For Andrew Pern, Eliensis.

Norwich. The Gospels, Acts, and Epistle to the Romans were given to Richard Cox, bishop of Ely. The Epistles to the Corinthians to one marked C. G.* I know not to whom the rest of the New Testament was assigned. All these allotments I gather from the Bible itself, as it was afterwards set out by Parker. What method they followed in this work I cannot discover; unless the rules afterwards given in king James his time, when the translation was revived, were copied from what was now done: which rules, for the curiosity of the thing, I shall put in the Collection, as I copied it from B. Ravis's Collection, Number 10. They were given with that care that such a matter required. There were many companies appointed for every parcel of the Scripture, and every one of a company was to translate the whole parcel: then they were to compare these together; and when any company had finished their part, they were to communicate it to the other companies. So it is like, that at this time those several bishops that had undertaken the translation did associate to themselves companies, with whose assistance they perfected it afterwards; and when it was set out at the end of every section, the initial letters of his name that had translated it were printed, as W.E., E.W., for Will. Exon and Edwin Wigorn; and so in the rest. In what year this was first printed I am not so well assured. For I have not seen the first impression of it, but I believe it was in the year 1561 †, or soon after it; for the Almanack prefixed for the moveable feasts, begins with that year.

As for the canons and rules of the church government, they were not so soon prepared. There came out some in the year 1571, and more in the year 1597; and a far larger collection of them in the first year of king James's reign. But this matter has yet wanted its chief force; for penitentiary canons have not been set up, and the government of the church is not yet brought into the hands of churchmen. So that in this point the reformation of the church wants some part of its finishing in the government and discipline of it.

Thus did queen Elizabeth again recover the reformation of religion: and it might have been expected that, under such moderate and wise councils, things should have been carried with that temper that this church should have united in its endeavours to support itself, and become the bulwark of the Reformation and the terror of Rome. But that blessing was, by the sins of the nation, the passions of some, the interests of others, and the weakness of the greatest part, in a great measure denied us. The heats that had been raised beyond sea were not quite forgotten; and as some sparks had been kindled about clergymen's habits in king Edward's reign, so, though Hooper and Ridley had buried that difference in their ashes, it broke out again concerning the vestments of the inferior clergy. Other things were also much contested: some were for setting up ecclesiastical courts in every parish for the exercising of discipline against scandalous persons; others thought this might degenerate into faction. These lesser differences were craftily managed by some, who intended to improve them so far that they might have the church lands divided among them: and they carried these heats further in queen Elizabeth's reign than one would imagine that considers the temper of that government. But since that, still by many degrees, and many accidents in the civil government, they are now grown to that height, that though, considering the grounds on which they have been and still are maintained, they appeared to be of no great force or moment; yet, if the animosities and heats that are raised by them are well examined, there is scarce any probable hopes left of composing those differences, unless our lawgivers do vigorously apply themselves to it.

* For Christopher Goodman.

† The new edition of the Bible was not printed before the year 1572.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

The begin-
nings of the
Divisions of
this Church.

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND.

HAVING given this account of the establishment of the Reformation here in England under queen Elizabeth, I have in some sort discharged myself of the design of my engagement in this work : but since the settlement of religion in Scotland was made the same year, I shall next give some account of that ; which I do with the more assurance, having met with several important things relating to it in Melvil's Memoirs that are in none of the printed books. When the treaty began for a peace between the two crowns of France and Spain, the secret reason of making it was to root out heresy : so much was expressed in the preamble to it, that to extirpate heresy, to have a general council called, and the church fully reformed both from errors and abuses, those princes had entered into a firm peace.

The cardinal of Lorraine writ to his sister, the queen-regent of Scotland, that now, since they were making peace, they were resolved to purge the world of heresy. He also writ to the archbishop of St. Andrew's to the same effect. The queen-regent was much confounded at this : she was now forced to break her faith with those who had served her interests hitherto, and to whom she had often promised that they should not be troubled for their consciences. The danger was also very great from their combination, since the queen of England would certainly assist them ; both because the religion was the same in both countries, and because, by dividing that kingdom, she would secure the north of England from the mischief Scotland could do it if moved and set on to it by France. But the bishops in Scotland, shutting their eyes upon all dangers, resolved, by some signal instance, to strike a terror into the people.

The archbishop of St. Andrew's, having gathered a meeting of many bishops, abbots, and divines, brought before them one Walter Mill, an old decrepit priest who had long given over saying mass, and had preached in several places of the country. They had in vain dealt with him to recant ; so now he was brought to his trial. They objected articles to him about his asserting the lawfulness of priests' marriages, denying the seven sacraments, saying the mass was idolatry, denying the presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the sacrament, and condemning the office of bishops ; speaking against pilgrimages ; and teaching privately in houses.

Mill's Mar-
tyrdom.

To these he answered beyond all their expectation ; for he was so old and infirm that they thought he could say nothing. He said, " he esteemed marriage a blessed bond, and free for all men to enter into it ; and that it was much better for priests to marry than to vow chastity and not keep it, as they generally did." He said, " he knew no sacraments but baptism and the Lord's supper ; the rest he left to them." He said, " the priest's sole communicating was as if a lord should invite many to dinner, and ring a bell for them to come ; but when they came should turn his back on them, and eat all himself." He said, " that Christ was only spiritually in the sacrament ; and that there was no other sacrifice but that which he offered on the cross." He held, " that they were bishops indeed who did the work of a bishop ; and not they who sought only their sensual pleasures, and neither regarded the word of God nor their flocks." He knew " pilgrimages had been much abused, and great uncleanness was committed under the colour of going to them ; but there was no ground for them in Scripture."

Upon these answers he was required to recant : but he said he knew he was to die once, and what they intended to do with him he wished they would do it soon. Upon this he was declared an obstinate heretic : but the country was so alienated from them that they could not find a man to burn him, and he that had the jurisdiction in that regality refused to execute the sentence ; yet at last one of the archbishop's servants was gotten to undertake it, but in the whole town they could find none that would sell them a cord to tie him to the stake. So they were forced to put it off till the next day ; and then, since none other could be had, the archbishop sent the cords of his own pavilion for that use. When Mill was brought to the stake, he said he would not go up of his own accord, because he would not be accessory to his own death ; but if they would put their hand to him, they should see how

cheerfully he should do it. That being done, he went up, and said, "I will go in to the altar of God." He exhorted the people to be no more seduced by the lies of their priests, but to depend upon Christ and his mercy; for whose doctrine, as many martyrs had offered up their lives, so he blessed God that had so honoured him to call him to give this testimony, for whose glory he most willingly offered up his life. When the fire was set to him, he called to the people to pray for him, and continued to cry "Lord have mercy on me!" till he could speak no more.

His suffering was much resented by the inhabitants of St. Andrews, who raised a great heap of stones in the place where he was burnt, for a memorial of it; and though the priests scattered them often, they renewed them still, till a watch was set about it.

In all parts of Scotland, and especially in the towns, and in the families of the nobility and gentry, the Reformation had been received and secretly professed. So they began now to consult what to do: they had many meetings in several places; and finding their interest was great over the kingdom, they entered into confederacies to maintain the true religion.

Before the parliament met last year, they had sent a petition to the queen-regent, "That the worship of God might be in the vulgar tongue, and the communion might be given in both kinds. That there should be great care taken in the election of ministers; that it might be according to the custom of the primitive church; and that scandalous ministers might be removed, and more worthy men put in their places."

But the queen-regent, to keep them in hopes till the dauphin should be acknowledged king of Scotland, promised they should not be hindered to have prayers in their own tongue, so they would keep no public assemblies in Edinburgh and Leith.

In the parliament they proposed the abrogating of the laws for churchmen's proceedings against heretics, and that none should be condemned of heresy but according to the word of God; with some other limitations of the severities against them. But the queen still gave them good hopes; only she said she could not agree to those things by reason of the opposition that would be made by the spiritual estate: but she suffered them to read a protestation in parliament, declaring their desires of a Reformation; and that if, upon the denial of it, abuses were removed violently, they were not to be blamed who had begun thus in a modest way to petition for it.

This year it was become visible that she resolved to proceed to extremities. She ordered all the reformed preachers to appear at Stirling the 10th of May. When this was done, the earl of Glencairn went to her in the name of the rest, and asked her the reason of that way of proceeding. She answered him, in passion, "that maugre them and all that would take part with them, the ministers should be banished Scotland, though they preached as soundly as St. Paul did." Upon this he remembered her of the promises she had often made them: to which she answered, "that the promises of princes should be no further strained than seemed convenient to them to perform." Glencairn replied, "if she would keep no promises, they would acknowledge her no more, but renounce their obedience to her."

That very night she heard that in the town of St. Johnstoun the people had sermons openly in their churches. Upon that she ordered the lord Ruthven to go and reduce that town. He answered, he could not govern their consciences. Upon which she vowed she would make him and them both repent it. The ministers were coming from all parts, accompanied with many gentlemen, to appear on the day to which they were cited. The queen hearing that, sent word to them to go home, for she would not proceed in the citation. Many of them upon that returned to their homes, but others went to St. Johnstoun; yet, upon their not appearing, she made them all be declared rebels, contrary to her promise. This made many leave her, and go over to them at St. Johnstoun. The people began there first to break images, and then they fell into the houses of the Franciscans and Dominicans, where they found much more wealth than agreed with their pretended poverty. They also pulled down a great house of the Carthusians with so much haste that within two days there was not one stone left to show where it had stood; but yet the prior was suffered to carry away the plate. All that was found in these houses, besides what the monks carried away, was given to the poor. The queen hearing this,

A Revolt began at St. Johnstoun.

resolved to make that town an example, and sent over all the kingdom to gather the French soldiers together, with such others as would join with her in this quarrel : but the earl of Glencairn with incredible haste came to their assistance with 2500 men ; and there were gathered in all, in and about the town, 7000 men. The queen, seeing it now turned to an open rebellion, employed the earl of Argyll and the prior of St. Andrews to treat with them. An oblivion for what was past was agreed on : the queen was to come to St. Johnstoun without her Frenchmen : and the matters of religion were to be referred to a parliament. Upon this she went thither ; but carried Frenchmen with her, and put a garrison in the town ; and proceeded to the fining of many, and the banishing of others. Being pressed with her promise, she said, “ the promises of princes ought not to be strictly urged ; and those were not to be kept that were made to heretics.” She declared “ that she would take it on her conscience to kill and undo all that sect, and make the best excuse she could when it was done.” Upon this all the nation forsook her : and in many other places they went on to cleanse the churches and pull down monasteries.

When the news of this came to the court of France, it was at first not rightly understood. The queen-regent represented it as if it had been a design to shake off the French power, and desired a great force to reduce them. The king then saw too late that the constable had given

The French King intends to grant liberty of Religion.

him good advice in dissuading the match with Scotland ; and fearing to be entangled in a long chargeable war, he resolved to send one thither to know the true occasion of these stirs. So the constable proposed to him the sending of Melvil, by whom he had understood that the reason of all their disorders was the queen's breaking her word to them in the matters of religion. He carried Melvil

to the king, and in his presence gave him instructions to go to Scotland, and see what was the true cause of all these disorders ; and particularly how far the prior of St. Andrews (afterwards the earl of Murray) was engaged in them ; and if he, by secret ways, could certainly find there was nothing in it but religion, that then he should give them assurances of the free exercise of it, and press them not to engage any further till he was returned to the French court, where he was promised to find a great reward for so important a service ; but he was not to let the queen-regent understand his business. He found, upon his going into Scotland, that it was even as he had formerly heard ; that the queen-regent was now much hated and distasted by them ; but that upon an oblivion of what was passed, and the free exercise of their religion for the future, all might be brought to peace and quiet. But

But is killed. before he came back, the king of France was dead, the constable in disgrace, and the cardinal of Lorraine governed all. So he lost his labour and reward, which he valued much less, being a generous and virtuous man, than the ruin that he saw coming on his country.

The lords that were now united against the queen-mother came and took St. Johnstoun. From thence they went to Stirling and Edinburgh ; and everywhere they pulled down monasteries. All the country declared on their side ; so that the queen-regent was forced to fly to Dunbar castle. The lords sent to England for assistance, which the queen readily granted them. They gave out that they desired nothing but to have the French driven out, and religion settled by a parliament. The queen-regent seeing all the country against her, and apprehending that the queen of England would take advantage from these stirs to drive

A Truce agreed to in Scotland.

her out of Scotland, was content to agree to a truce, and to summon a parliament to meet on the 10th of January. But the new king of France sent over M. de

Croque with a high threatening message, that he would spend the whole revenue of France rather than not be revenged on them that raised these tumults in Scotland. The lords answered, that they desired nothing but the liberty of their religion ; and that being obtained, they should be in all other things his most obedient subjects. The queen-regent, having gotten about two thousand men from France, fortified Leith ; and in many other things broke the truce. There came over also some doctors of the Sorbonne to dispute with the ministers, because they heard the Scottish clergy were scarce able to defend their own cause. The lords gathered again, and seeing the queen-regent had so often broke her word to them, they entered into consultation to deprive her of her regency. Their queen was not yet of age ; and in her minority, they pretended that the government of the kingdom belonged

to the states ; and therefore they gathered together many of her maladministrations, for which they might the more colourably put her out of the government. The things they charged on her were chiefly these : “ That she had without law begun a war in the kingdom, and brought in strangers to subdue it ; had governed without the consent of the nobility ; embased the coin to maintain her soldiers ; had put garrisons in free towns ; and had broke all promises and terms with them. Thereupon they declared her to have fallen from her regency, and did suspend her power till the next parliament.” So now it was an irreconcilable breach. The lords lay first at Edinburgh, and from thence retired afterwards to Stirling : upon which the French came and possessed themselves of the town, and set up the mass again in the churches. Greater supplies came over from France, under the command of the marquis of Elbœuf, one of the queen-regent’s brothers ; who, though most of his fleet were dispersed, yet brought to Leith a thousand foot, so that there were now above four thousand French soldiers in that town. But what accession of strength soever the queen-regent received from these, she lost as much in Scotland ; for now almost the whole country was united against her, and the French were equally heavy to their friends and enemies. They marched about by Stirling to waste Fife, where there were some small engagements between them and the lords of the congregation.

But the Scots, seeing they could not stand before that force that was expected from France the next spring, sent to queen Elizabeth to desire her aid openly ; for the secret supplies of money and ammunition with which she hitherto furnished them would not now serve the turn. The council of England apprehended that it would draw on a war with France : yet they did not fear that much ; for that kingdom was falling into such factions that they did not apprehend any great danger from thence till their king was of age. So the duke of Norfolk was sent to Berwick to treat with the lords of the congregation, who were now headed by the duke of Chatelherault. On the 27th of February they agreed on these conditions : “ They were to be sure allies to the queen of England, and to assist her both in England and Ireland as she should need their help. She was now, on the other hand, to assist them to drive the French out of Scotland : after which they were still to continue in their obedience to their natural queen. This league was to last during their queen’s marriage to the French king, and for a year after : and they were to give the queen of England hostages, who were to be changed every six months.”

This being concluded, and the hostages given, the lord Gray marched into Scotland with 2000 horse and 6000 foot. Upon that the lords sent and offered to the queen-regent, that if she would send away the French forces, the English should likewise be sent back, and they would return to their obedience.

This not being accepted, they drew about Leith to besiege it. In one sally which the French made they were beaten back with the loss of 300 men. This made the English more secure, thinking the French would no more come out ; but they, understanding the ill order that was kept, sallied out again, and killed near 500 of the English : this made them more watchful for the future. So the siege being formed, a fire broke out in Leith which burnt down the greatest part of the town : the English playing all the while on them, distracted them so, that the soldiers being obliged to be on the walls, the fire was not easily quenched. Hereupon the English gave the assault, and were beaten off with some loss ; but the duke of Norfolk sent a supply of 2000 men more, with the assurance of a great army if it was necessary, and charged the lord Gray not to quit the siege till the French were gone. Ships were also sent to lie in the Frith to block them up by sea. The French, apprehending the total loss of Scotland, sent over Monluc, bishop of Valence, to London, to offer to restore Calais to the queen of England if she would draw her forces out of Scotland. She gave him a quick answer on the sudden herself, that she did not value that fish-town so much as she did the quiet of Britain. But the French desiring that she would mediate a peace between them and the Scots, she undertook that, and sent secretary Cecil and Dr. Wotton into Scotland to conclude it. As they were on the way, the queen-regent died in the castle of Edinburgh, on the 10th of June. She sent for some of the chief lords before her death, and desired to be reconciled to them, and asked them pardon for the injuries she had done them. She advised them

The Queen-regent is deposed.

The Scots implore the Q. of England’s Aid.

Leith is besieged by the English.

The Queen-regent of Scotland dies.

to send both the French and English soldiers out of Scotland, and prayed them to continue in their obedience to their queen. She also sent for one of their preachers, Willock, and discoursed with him about her soul, and many other things; and said unto him that she trusted to be saved only by the death and merits of Jesus Christ; and so ended her days: which, if she had done a year sooner, before these last passages of her life, she had been the most universally lamented queen that had been in any time in Scotland. For she had governed them with great prudence, justice, and gentleness; and in her own deportment, and in the order of her court, she was an example to the whole nation: but the directions sent to her from France made her change her measures, break her word, and engage the kingdom in war, which rendered her very hateful to the nation. Yet she was often heard to say, that if her counsels might take place, she doubted not to bring all things again to perfect tranquillity and peace.

The treaty between England, France, and Scotland was soon after concluded. The French were to be sent away within twenty days; an act of oblivion was to be confirmed in parliament; the injuries done to the bishops and abbots were referred to the parliament; strangers and churchmen were no more to be trusted with the chief offices; and a parliament was to meet in August for the confirming of this. During the queen's absence the nation was to be governed by a council of twelve: of these the queen was to name seven, and the States five. The queen was neither to make peace nor war but by the advice of the Estates, according to the ancient custom of the kingdom. The English were to return as soon as the French were gone: and for the matter of religion, that was referred to the parliament; and some were to be sent from thence to the king and queen to set forth their desires to them: and the queen of Scotland was no more to use the arms and title of England. All these conditions were agreed to on the 8th of July; and soon after both the French and English left the kingdom.

In August thereafter the parliament met, where four acts passed: one for the abolishing of the pope's power; a second, for the repealing of all laws made in favour of the former superstition; a third, for the punishing of those that said or heard mass; and the fourth was a confirmation of the confession of faith, which was afterwards ratified and inserted in the acts of parliament, held Anno 1567. It was penned by Knox, and agrees in almost all things with the Geneva confession.

Of the whole temporalty, none but the earl of Athol and the lords Somerville and Borthwick dissented to it. They said they would believe as their fathers had done before them: the spiritual estate said nothing against it. The abbots struck in with the tide, upon assurance that their abbeys should be converted to temporal lordships and be given to them. Most of the bishops, seeing the stream so strong against them, complied likewise; and, to secure themselves and enrich their friends or bastards, did dilapidate all the revenues of the church in the strangest manner that has ever been known; and yet for most of all these leases and alienations they procured from Rome bulls to confirm them, pretending at that court that they were necessary for making friends to their interest in Scotland.

Great numbers of these bulls I myself have seen and read: so that after all the noise that the church of Rome had made of the sacrilege in England, they themselves confirmed a more entire waste of the church's patrimony in Scotland, of which there was scarce anything reserved for the clergy. But our kings have since that time used such effectual endeavours there for the recovery of so much as might give a just encouragement to the labours of the clergy, that universally the inferior clergy is better provided for in no nation than in Scotland; for in glebe and tithes every incumbent is by the law provided with at least 50*l*. sterling a year, which, in proportion to the cheapness of the country, is equal to twice so much in most parts of England. But there are not among them such provisions for encouraging the more learned and deserving men as were necessary. When these acts of the Scottish parliament were brought into France to be confirmed, they were rejected with much scorn; so that the Scots were in fear of a new war. But the king of France dying in the beginning of December, all that cloud vanished, their queen being now only dowager of France, and in very ill terms with her mother-in-law, queen Catherine de' Medici, who hated her, because she had endeavoured to take her husband out

A Peace is concluded.

Reformation is settled in Scotland by Parliament.

Francis the Second dies.

of her hands, and to give him up wholly to the counsels of her uncles. So she being ill used in France, was forced to return to Scotland, and govern there in such manner as the nation was pleased to submit to.

Thus had the queen of England separated Scotland entirely from the interests of France, and united it to her own: and being engaged in the same cause of religion, she ever after this had that influence on all affairs there, that she never received any disturbance from thence during all the rest of her glorious reign; in which other accidents concurred to raise her to the greatest advantages in deciding foreign contests that ever this crown had.

In July after she came to the crown, Henry the Second of France was unfortunately wounded in his eye at a tilting, the beaver of his helmet not being let down; so that he died of it soon after. His son Francis the Second succeeding, was then in the 16th year of his age, and assumed the government in his own name; but put it into the hands of his mother, the cardinal of Lorraine, and the duke of Guise. The constable was put from the court, the princes of the blood were not regarded, but all things were carried by the cardinal and his brother; between whom and the queen-mother there arose great misunderstandings, which proved fatal to the queen of Scotland; for she, being much engaged with her uncles, and having an ascendant over her husband, did so divide him from his mother, that before he died, she had only the shadow of the government. This she remembered ever after against her daughter-in-law, and took no care of her afterwards in all her miseries.

But the prince of Condé, with the admiral and many others, resolving to have the government in their hands, engaged some lawyers to examine the point of the king's majority. These writ several books on that subject, to prove that two-and-twenty was the soonest that any king had been ever held to be of age to assume the government; and that no strangers nor women might be admitted to it by the law of France, but that it belonged to the princes of the blood, during the king's minority; who were to manage it by the advice of the courts of parliament and the three estates. So that the design now concerted between these great lords, to take the king out of their hands who disposed of him, was grounded on their laws: yet as this design was laying all over France, papists and protestants concurring in it, it was discovered by a protestant, who thought himself bound in conscience to reveal it. Upon this, the prince of Condé and many others were seized on; and had not the king's death, in the beginning of December 1560, saved him, the prince himself, and all the heads of that party, had suffered for it.

But upon his death, Charles the Ninth that succeeded him being but eleven years old, the king of Navarre was declared regent; and the queen-mother, who then hated the cardinal of Lorraine, united herself to him and the constable, and drew the weak regent into her interests. Upon this, some lawyers, examining the power of the regent, found that the other princes of the blood were to have their share of the government with him; and that he might be checked by the courts of parliament, and was subject to an assembly of the three estates.

In July the next year there was a severe edict passed against the protestants, to put down all their meetings, and banish all their preachers. The execution of it was put into the hands of the bishops; but the greater part of the nation would not bear it.

So in January thereafter, another edict passed, in a great assembly of the princes of the blood, the privy counsellors, and eight courts of parliament, for the free exercise of that religion; requiring the magistrates to punish those who should hinder or disturb their meetings. Soon after this, the duke of Guise and his brother reconciled themselves to the queen-mother, and resolved to break that edict. This was begun by the duke of Vassy, where a meeting of the protestants being gathered, his servants disturbed them: they began with reproachful words; from these it went to blows, and throwing of stones; and by one of them the duke was wounded: for which his men took a severe revenge, for they killed sixty of them and wounded two hundred, sparing neither age nor sex. After this, the edict was everywhere broken. Many lawyers were of opinion that the regent could not do it, and that the people might lawfully follow the next prince of the blood in defence of the edict.

Upon this, his brother, the prince of Condé, gathered an army. In the beginning of the war, the king of Navarre was killed at the siege of Rouen; so that by the law the prince of Condé ought to have succeeded him in the regency; and thus the wars that followed after this could not be called rebellion, since the protestants had the law and the first prince of the blood of their side, to whom the government did of right belong.

Thus began the civil wars of France, which lasted above thirty years; in all which time, the queen of England, by the assistance she sent them, sometimes of men, but for the most part of money and ammunition, did support the protestant interest with no great charge to herself. And by that, she was not only secured from all the mischief which so powerful a neighbour could do her, but had almost the half of that kingdom depending on her.

The state of the Netherlands afforded the like advantages in those provinces; where the king of Spain, finding the proceedings of the bishops were not effectual for the extirpation of heresy, their sees being so large, intended to have founded more bishoprics, and to have set up the courts of inquisition in those parts; and apprehending some opposition from the natives, he kept garrisons of Spaniards among them, with many other things contrary to the *Lætus Introitus* that had been agreed to when he was received to be their prince.

The people finding all terms broken with them, and that by that agreement they were disengaged from their obedience if he broke those conditions, did shake off his yoke. Upon which followed the civil wars of the Netherlands, that lasted likewise above thirty years. To them the queen gave assistance; at first more secretly, but afterwards more openly: and as both they and the French protestants were assisted with men out of Germany, which were generally led by the brave but seldom fortunate Casimir, brother to the elector palatine, so the money that paid them was for most part furnished from England.

And thus was queen Elizabeth the arbiter of all the neighbouring parts of Christendom. She at home brought the coin to a true standard; navigation prospered; trade spread, both in the northern seas to Archangel, and to the East and West Indies; and in her long wars with Spain, she was always victorious. That great Armada, set out with such assurance of conquest, was, what by the hand of Heaven in a storm, what by the unwieldiness of their ships, and the nimbleness of ours, so shattered and sunk, that the few remainders of it returned with irrecoverable shame and loss to Spain again. She reigned in the affections of her people, and was admired for her knowledge, virtues, and wisdom by all the world. She always ordered her councils so, that all her parliaments were ever ready to comply with them; for in everything she followed the true interest of the nation. She never asked subsidies, but when the necessity was visible; and when the occasions that made her demand any vanished, she discharged them.

She was admired even in Rome itself, where Sixtus the Fifth used to speak of her and the king of Navarre as the only princes that understood what it was to govern; and profanely wished he might enjoy her but one night, hoping they would beget a new Alexander the Great between them*. But if that had been, and the child had taken after the father, it would have been more like Alexander the Sixth.

Notwithstanding all the attempts of Rome against her person and government, she still lived and triumphed. In the first ten years of her reign, all things were carried with such moderation, that there was no stir about religion. Pope Pius the Fourth, reflecting on the capricious and high answer his mad predecessor had made to her address, sent one Parpalia to her, in the second year of her reign, to invite her to join herself to that see, and he would disannul the sentence against her mother's marriage, confirm the English service and the use of the sacrament in both kinds. But she sent the agent word to stay at Brussels, and not to come over. The same treatment met abbot Martinengo, who was sent the year after with the like message. From that time all treaty with Rome was entirely broken off. Pius the Fourth proceeded no further; but his successor, Pius the Fifth, resolved to contrive her death, as he that writ his Life† relates.

* Vita di Sisto, 5.

† Catena.

The unfortunate queen of Scotland, upon the wars in her country, was driven to seek shelter in England, where it was at first resolved to use her well, and restore her to her crown and country; as will appear by two papers which, for their curiosity, being
 Collection, originals, I have put into the Collection. The one is the advice that sir Walter
 Number 12. Mildmay gave about it; the other is a long letter written concerning it by the earl of Leicester to the earl of Sussex. They were given me by that most ingenious and virtuous gentleman, Mr. Evelyn, who is not satisfied to have advanced the knowledge of this age by his most useful and successful labours about planting, and divers other ways, but is ready to contribute everything in his power to perfect other men's endeavours.

But while the English council intended to have used the queen of Scotland well, her own officious friends, by the frequent plots that were in a succession of many years carried on, sometimes by open rebellion, as in the north of England, and in Ireland, but more frequently by secret attempts, brought on her the calamities of a long imprisonment, and death in the conclusion.

Her death was the greatest blemish of this reign, being generally censured by all the age, except by pope Sixtus the Fifth, who was a man that delighted in cruel executions, and so concluded her to be a happy woman that had the pleasure to cut off a crowned head*. But queen Elizabeth's own preservation from the many designs that were against her life, made it in some sort, if not necessary, yet more excusable in her; especially that unfortunate queen having herself cherished the plot of Babington and Ballard, and having set her hand to the letters that were written to them about it, though she still denied that, and cast the blame of it on her secretaries, who (as she said) had gotten her hand to them without her knowledge. The pope had deposed the queen (as will appear by his sen-
 Collection, tence, which I have put in the Collection); and the queen of Scotland being the
 Number 13. next heir to the crown, and a zealous papist, those of that religion hoped by

destroying the queen to set her in her room; which put England in no small disorder, by associations and other means that were used for preserving the queen and destroying the popish interest. The rebellions and plots in England and Ireland were not a little supported by the assistance of king Philip of Spain, who did all he could to embroil the queen's affairs at home, though still without success. But the steps of the queen's proceedings, both against papists and puritans, are so set out by her great and wise secretary, sir Francis Walsingham, in so clear a manner, that I shall set it down here as a most important piece of history; being written by one of the wisest and most virtuous ministers that these latter ages have produced. He wrote it in French to one monsieur Critoy, a Frenchman, of which I have seen an English copy, taken (as is said) from the original.

"Sir,—Whereas you desire to be advertised of the proceedings here in ecclesiastical causes, because you seem to note in them some inconstancy and variation, as if we inclined
 Walsing- sometimes to one side, and sometimes to another; and as if that clemency and lenity
 ham's Letter concerning the Queen's were not used of late that was used in the beginning: all which you imputed to your
 Proceedings against both own superficial understanding of the affairs of this state, having, notwithstanding,
 Papists and her majesty's doings in singular reverence, as the real pledges which she hath
 Puritans. given unto the world of her sincerity in religion and of her wisdom in govern-
 ment well meriteth. I am glad of this occasion to impart that little I know in
 that matter unto you, both for your own satisfaction, and to the end you may make use
 thereof towards any that shall not be so modestly and so reasonably minded as you are. I
 find, therefore, her majesty's proceedings to have been grounded upon two principles—

"The one, that consciences are not to be forced but to be won and reduced by force of truth, with the aid of time, and use of all good means of instruction and persuasion.

"The other, that causes of consciences, when they exceed their bounds and grow to be matter of faction, lose their nature, and that sovereign princes ought distinctly to punish their practices and contempt, though coloured with the pretence of conscience and religion.

"According to these principles, her majesty at her coming to the crown, utterly disliking the tyranny of Rome, which had used by terror and rigour to settle commandments of men's

* Vita di Sisto, 5.

faiths and consciences ; though as a princess of great wisdom and magnanimity, she suffered but the exercise of one religion ; yet her proceeding towards the papists was with great lenity, expecting the good effects which time might work in them ; and therefore her majesty revived not the laws made in the 28th and 35th of her father's reign, whereby the oath of supremacy might have been offered at the king's pleasure to any subject, so he kept his conscience never so modestly to himself, and the refusal to take the same oath without further circumstances was made treason. But contrarywise, her majesty not liking to make windows into men's hearts and secret thoughts, except the abundance of them did overflow into overt and express acts, or affirmations, tempered her law so, as it restraineth every manifest disobedience, in impugning and impeaching, advisedly and maliciously, her majesty's supreme power, maintaining and extolling a foreign jurisdiction : and as for the oath, it was altered by her majesty into a more grateful form ; the hardness of the name and appellation of ' Supreme Head ' was removed ; and the penalty of the refusal thereof, turned only to disablement to take any promotion, or to exercise any charge, and yet of liberty to be reinvested therein, if any man should accept thereof during his life. But after, when Pius Quintus excommunicated her majesty, and the bulls of excommunication were published in London, whereby her majesty was in a sort proscribed, and that thereupon, as upon a principal motive or preparative, followed the rebellion in the north ; yet because the ill humours of the realm were by that rebellion partly purged, and that she feared at that time no foreign invasion, and much less the attempt of any within the realm, not backed by some potent power and succour from without, she contented herself to make a law against that special case of bringing in and publishing of any bulls, or the like instruments ; whereunto was added a prohibition upon pain, not of treason, but of an inferior degree of punishment, against the bringing of the ' Agnus Dei's ' and such other merchandise of Rome, as are well known not to be any essential part of the Romish religion, but only to be used in practice, as love-tokens, to inchant and bewitch the people's affections from their allegiance to their natural sovereign. In all other points her majesty continued her former lenity : but when about the twentieth year of her reign, she had discovered in the king of Spain an intention to invade her dominions ; and that a principal part of the plot was to prepare a party within the realm, that might adhere to the foreigner ; and that the seminaries began to blossom, and to send forth daily, priests and professed men, who should by vow, taken at shrift, reconcile her subjects from their obedience ; yea, and bind many of them to attempt against her majesty's sacred person ; and that by the poison which they spread, the humours of most papists were altered, and that they were no more papists in conscience, and of softness, but papists in faction : then were there new laws made for the punishment of such as should submit themselves to such reconcilements, or renunciation of obedience : and because it was a treason carried in the clouds, and in wonderful secrecy, and come seldom to light ; and that there was no presuspicion thereof so great, as the recusancy to come to divine service, because it was set down by their decrees, that to come to church before reconciliation, was to live in schism ; but to come to church after reconciliation, was absolute heretical, and damnable. Therefore there were added laws containing punishment pecuniary, *videlicet*, such as might not enforce consciences, but to enfeeble and impoverish the means of those about whom it resteth indifferent and ambiguous, whether they were reconciled or not : and when, notwithstanding all this provision, the poison was dispersed so secretly, as that there was no means to stay it but by restraining the merchants that brought it in. Then lastly, there was added a law, whereby such seditious priests of new erection were exiled ; and those that were at that time in the land, shipped over, and so commanded to keep hence upon pain of treason. This hath been the proceeding, though intermingled, not only with sundry examples of her majesty's grace towards such as in her wisdom she knew to be papists in conscience, and not faction and singularity, but also with extraordinary mitigation towards the offenders in the highest degree, committed by law, if they would but protest, that if in case this realm should be invaded with a foreign army by the pope's authority for the catholic cause, as they term it, they would take part with her majesty, and not adhere to her enemies.

"For the other party, which have been offensive to the state, though in another degree,

which named themselves ‘Reformers,’ and we commonly call ‘Puritans,’ this hath been the proceeding towards them: a great while, when they inveighed against such abuses in the church as pluralities, non-residence, and the like, their zeal was not condemned, only their violence was sometimes censured. When they refused the use of some ceremonies and rites as superstitious, they were tolerated with much connivance and gentleness; yea, when they called in question the superiority of bishops, and pretended to a democracy into the church; yet their propositions were here considered, and by contrary writings debated and discussed. Yet all this while it was perceived that their course was dangerous and very popular: as because papistry was odious, therefore it was ever in their mouths, that they sought to purge the church from the reliques of papistry; a thing acceptable to the people, who love ever to run from one extreme to another.

“Because multitude of rogues and poverty was an eyesore, and a dislike to every man; therefore they put into the people’s head, that if discipline were planted, there should be no vagabonds nor beggars, a thing very plausible: and in like manner they promised the people many of the impossible wonders of their discipline; besides, they opened to the people a way to government by their consistory and presbytery; a thing, though in consequence no less prejudicial to the liberties of private men than to the sovereignty of princes; yet in first show very popular. Nevertheless this, except it were in some few that entered into extreme contempt, was borne with, because they pretended in dutiful manner to make propositions, and to leave it to the providence of God and the authority of the magistrate.

“But now of late years, when there issued from them that affirmed, the consent of the magistrate was not to be attended; when under pretence of a confession, to avoid slander and imputations, they combined themselves by classes and subscriptions, when they descended into that vile and base means of defacing the government of the church by ridiculous pasquils, when they begun to make many subjects in doubt to take oaths, which is one of the fundamental parts of justice in this land, and in all places; when they began both to vaunt of their strength and number of their partisans and followers, and to use comminations that their cause would prevail, though uproar and violence, then it appeared to be no more zeal, no more conscience, but mere faction and division: and therefore though the state were compelled to hold somewhat a harder hand to restrain them than before, yet was it with as great moderation as the peace of the state or church could permit. And therefore, sir, to conclude, consider uprightly of these matters, and you shall see her majesty is no more a temporiser in religion: it is not the success abroad, nor the change of servants here at home, can alter her; only as the things themselves alter, she applied her religious wisdom to methods correspondent unto them; still retaining the two rules before-mentioned, in dealing tenderly with consciences, and yet in discovering faction from conscience, and softness from singularity. Farewell.

“Your loving friend, F. WALSINGHAM.”

Thus I have prosecuted what I at first undertook, the progress of the Reformation, from its first and small beginnings in England, till it came to a complete settlement in the time of this queen. Of whose reign, if I have adventured to give any account, it was not intended so much for a full character of her and her councils, as to set out the great and visible blessings of God that attended on her; the many preservations she had, and that by such signal discoveries, as both saved her life and secured her government; and the unusual happiness of her whole reign, which raised her to the esteem and envy of that age, and the wonder of all posterity. It was wonderful indeed, that a virgin queen could rule such a kingdom for above forty-four years with such constant success, in so great tranquillity at home, with a vast increase of wealth, and with such glory abroad. All which may justly be esteemed to have been the rewards of Heaven, crowning that reign with so much honour and triumph, that was begun with the reformation of religion.

THE HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

PART III.

BEING A SUPPLEMENT TO THE TWO FORMER PARTS.

TO THE KING.

SIR,

THIS work, which is designed to finish the history of our Reformation, seems reserved to be laid at your Majesty's feet, who we trust is designed by God to complete the Reformation itself.

To rectify what may be yet amiss, and to supply what is defective among us; to oblige us to live and to labour more suitably to our profession; to unite us more firmly among ourselves; to bury, and for ever to extinguish, the fears of our relapsing again into popery; and to establish a confidence and correspondence with the protestant and reformed churches abroad.

The eminent moderation of the most serene house from which your Majesty is descended gives us auspicious hopes that, as God has now raised your Majesty with signal characters of an amazing providence to be the head and the chief strength of the Reformation, so your Majesty will, by a wise and noble conduct, form all these churches into one body; so that though they cannot agree to the same opinions and rituals with us in all points, yet they may join in one happy confederacy for the support of the whole, and of every particular branch of that sacred union.

May this be the peculiar glory of your Majesty's reign; and may all the blessings of Heaven and earth rest upon your most august person, and upon all your royal posterity,

This is the daily prayer of him who is, with the profoundest respect,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most loyal, most obedient, and most devoted subject and servant,

GI. SARUM.

THE PREFACE.

I HAD in my Introduction to this Part, which I published a year ago, said all that then occurred to me in the way of preface; but some particulars coming to my knowledge since that time give me an occasion to add a little to what was then copiously deduced.

I begin with Mr. Le Grand, who I understand is now in a considerable post in the court of France. He being lately at Geneva explained himself to my friends in these terms: "That he was young when he wrote against me; and that the heat of youth had carried him to some expressions from which he would abstain if he were to write now. He was glad to hear that I was upon the reviewing the History of the Reformation;" and named to them a Life that he had seen in Spain of Bartholomew Caranza, archbishop of Toledo, who was king Philip's confessor, and went with him to England, and was particularly employed in reforming (as they called it) the universities; and, as he said, he died when he was to be delivered out of the prison of the inquisition. He added, that he had also seen a Collection of cardinal Pole's letters, with an account of what passed in England after the death of king Edward, which he believed I had not seen, and that could inform me of many particulars; but that he himself had other employments than to think of the affairs of England. If I had received this civil message from Mr. Le Grand before I had published my Introduction, I would have said nothing at all with relation to him: but what is passed cannot be recalled, so I hope he will accept of this for all the reparation I can now make him.

As for Anthony Harmer, some have doubted if he could be capable of making three capital errors in one line: and since Mr. Strype has suggested to me that, in which I was under some reserve before, as having it from another hand, I am now free to set it down. For "*Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis*," he has printed "*Epistolam Conventus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*." If the abbreviations may seem to excuse the reading *Epistolam* for *Capitulum*, and *Catholicæ* for *Cathedralis*, nothing can excuse the adding the word *Conventus*, which he thought wanting to make a complete title, having read the others as he did: so I hope I have reason to have no regard to anything that comes from him upon his bare authority. The weak and ill-natured attempts that some among ourselves have of late made upon me give me no sort of concern, unless it is to pray for those who have despitefully used me.

There was also a great poem lately prepared, and I suppose designed to be published when that which our enemies hoped was near accomplished should have been effected. It was written in imitation of Hudibras, and so was a mock-poem on the Reformation, composed by one Thomas Ward, of whom I can give no other account but that it is said he is a priest. In it Sanders's work was made the plot of the fable. It was full of impious abuse, put in a strain apt enough to take with those who were disposed to divert themselves with a show of wit and humour, dressed up to make the Reformation appear both odious and ridiculous, not doubting of equal success with Butler's admired performance. It was no wonder if, upon such a design, my History was treated with all the characters of scorn and contempt. This was what I might justly expect from those of that side; but I was sorry to find so much censure from those from whom I had no reason to expect it, and which seemed to be the effect only of envy and ill-nature: God forgive them for it.

I must say a little more with relation to a learned and copious writer of our ecclesiastical history, who finds my History often in his way. He treats me decently as to his expres-

sions, but designs all through to set such remarks on my work as, if they were well grounded, must destroy the credit that it has hitherto obtained. I will first give some instances to show what the spirit, the principles, and the design of that writer must be: I will name but four out of a great many.

When he sets forth king Henry VIII.'s proceedings against the memory of Thomas-à-Becket, he has these words: "And though his conduct in this dispute was not altogether defensible, he was far, however, from being guilty of that gross mismanagement with which he is charged." I will leave the judgment that must be passed upon this period to all who are in any sort acquainted with the history of that time.

When he gives the character of king Edward VI., immediately before he tells of his death, it is in these words: "His conscience was not always under a serviceable direction (the meaning of this dark expression I do not reach). He was tinctured with Erastian principles, and under wrong prepossessions as to church government. He seems to have had no notion of sacrilege. . . . And which is somewhat remarkable, most of the hardships were put upon ecclesiastics in the latter end of his reign, when his judgment was in the best condition." And without adding one word of his good qualities, or to correct those severe reflections, he concludes with the account of his death.

He gives a very different account of the death of Mary queen of Scots in these words: "Her fortitude and devotion were very remarkable. She supported her character with all imaginable decency: she died like a Christian, and like a queen."

And to mention no more, when he comes to queen Elizabeth's death and character, he runs a parallel between the two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, in these words: "The one made martyrs, the other made beggars: the one executed the men, and the other the estates. And therefore, reserving the honour of the Reformation to queen Elizabeth, the question will be, whether the resuming the first-fruits and tenths, putting many vicarages in a deplorable condition, and settling a perpetuity of poverty on the church, was not much more prejudicial than fire and faggots? Whether destroying bishoprics was not a much greater hardship than the destroying bishops? because this severity affects succession, and reaches down to future ages. And lastly, whether, as the world goes, it is not more easy to recruit bishops than the revenues to support them?" These words give such an indication of the notion that the author has of the happiness or misery of a church, that they want no commentary.

I will add this one remark of a fact upon a passage that I had writ concerning the Book of Ordination, published in the third year of king Edward, which was in these words: "Another difference between the Ordination Book set out at that time and that we now use was, that the bishop was to lay his one hand on the priest's head, and with his other to give him a bible, with a chalice and bread in it, saying the words that are now said at the delivery of the bible. In the consecration of a bishop there is nothing more than what is yet in use, save that a staff was put into his hand with this blessing, 'Be to the flock of Christ a shepherd.'" Upon this his remark is in these words: "But here, as it happens, this learned person has been led into a mistake: for the two first editions of the ordinal made in king Edward's reign have none of the different rites mentioned by this gentleman." I was indeed surprised when I read this, and went to look into the first edition of that ordinal, which I knew was in the Lambeth library; for by archbishop Sancroft's order I had the free use of everything that lay there. There I went to examine it, and I found indeed a small variation from my History: the whole is in these words; in the ordination of a priest, after the imposition of hands, with the words still used, follows this rubrick: "Then the bishop shall deliver to every one of them the Bible in the one hand, and the chalice or cup, with the bread, in the other hand, and say, 'Take thou authority,'" &c. In the consecration of a bishop this rubrick is: "The elected bishop, having upon him a surplice and a cope, shall be presented by two bishops, being also in surplices and copes, having their pastoral staves in their hands." And after the form of the consecration this rubrick follows: "Then shall the archbishop lay the Bible upon his neck, saying, 'Give heed to reading.'" The next rubrick is: "Then shall

the archbishop put into his hand the pastoral staff, saying, 'Be to the flock of Christ a shepherd ;' " on to the end of the charge, now given all together, but then divided in two. This book was printed by Richard Grafton, the king's printer, in March 1549, or, by the Roman account, 1550. I have given this full account of that matter in my own justification : I am sorry that I cannot return this learned person his compliment to myself, " that he was led into a mistake."

The next, and indeed the last particular that, out of many more, I will mention is, the setting down the explanation that was made upon the order for kneeling at the sacrament in king Edward's time, wrong in a very material word : for in that the words were, P. 310, col. 2. " That there was not in the sacrament any real or essential presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood ;" but he, instead of that, puts " corporal presence." It seems in this he only looked at the rubrick as it is now at the end of the communion service, upon a conceit that it stands now as it was in king Edward's book, though it was at that time changed ; and we know who was the author of that change, and who pretended that a corporal presence signified such a presence as a body naturally has, which the assertors of transubstantiation itself do not and cannot pretend is in this case ;—where they say the body is not present corporally, but spiritually, or as a Spirit is present. And he who had the chief hand in procuring this alteration had a very extraordinary subtilty by which he reconciled the opinion of a real presence in the sacrament with the last words of the rubrick, " that the natural body and blood of Christ were in heaven and not here ; it being against the truth of Christ's natural body to be at one time in more places than one." It was thus : a body is in a place if there is no intermediate body but a vacuum between it and the place. And he thought that by the virtue of the words of consecration there was a cylinder of a vacuum made between the elements and Christ's body in heaven : so that no body being between, it was both in heaven and in the elements. Such a solemn piece of folly as this can hardly be read without indignation. But if our author favours this conceit, yet, when he sets down that which was done in king Edward's reign, he ought not to have changed the word, especially such an important one. I shall say no more of that work ; but that there appeared to me, quite through the second volume, such a constant inclination to favour the popish doctrine, and to censure the reformers, that I should have had a better opinion of the author's integrity if he had professed himself not to be of our communion, nor of the communion of any other protestant church.

But as I thought myself bound to give this warning to such as may have heard of that work, or that have seen it ; so there is another history lately written in French, and which I hope is soon to appear in our own language, which I cannot recommend more than it deserves. It is Mr. L'Enfant's History of the Council of Constance ; in which that excellent person has with great care, and a sincerity liable to no exception, given the world in the history of that council so true a view of the state of the church and of religion in the age before the Reformation, that I know no book so proper to prepare a man for reading the History of the Reformation as the attentive reading of that noble work. He was indeed well furnished with a collection of excellent materials, gathered with great fidelity and industry by the learned doctor Vander Hordt, professor of divinity in the university of Helmstadt, and procured for him by the noble zeal and princely bounty of that most serene and pious prince Rodolph August, the late duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttle, who set himself with great care and at a vast charge to procure from all places the copies of all papers and manuscripts that could be found to give light to the proceedings of that great assembly. That collection amounted to six volumes in folio. From these authentic vouchers the history of that council is now happily compiled : and if that learned author can find materials to give us as full and as clear a history of the council of Basil as he has given of that of Constance, I know no greater service can be done the world ; for by it popery will appear in its true and native colours, free from those palliating disguises which the progress of the Reformation, and the light which by that has been given the world, has forced upon those of that communion. We have the celebrated History of the Council of Trent, first published here at London, written with a true sublimity of judgment and an unbiassed sincerity, which has received a great confirmation even from cardinal Palavicini's attempt to destroy its credit ;

and a much greater of late from that curious discovery of Vargas's letters. But how well and how justly soever the history that P. Paulo gave the world of that council is esteemed, I am not afraid to compare the late History of the Council of Constance even to that admired work ; so far at least as that if it will not be allowed to be quite equal to it, yet it may be well reckoned among the best of all that have written after that noble pattern which the famous Venetian friar has given to all the writers of ecclesiastical history.

Since I published my Introduction, I fell on many papers concerning the Reformation in Scotland, which had escaped the diligence of that grave and judicious writer, archbishop Spotswood, of which I have given a full account, and have used the best endeavours I could to be furnished with all the other materials that I could hear of : it is true, I never searched into a lately gathered famous library in this place, but yet I had from some, on whose good judgment and great care I might well depend, who had carefully looked through it, everything that they found material to my purpose.

No curiosity pleased me more than that noble record of the legate's proceedings in the matter of king Henry's divorce ; of which I had the free use, as of everything else that was in the library of my learned and dear brother, the late bishop of Ely ; in whose death the church, and all his friends, and none more than myself, have had an invaluable loss. I read that record very carefully twice or thrice over, and gave a full abstract of it, but did not then reflect on what has occurred to me since : for though upon the credit of so noble a record, I have said that the king and queen were never together in court, yet I find the contrary is affirmed by that king himself in a letter bearing date the 23rd of June, to his ambassadors at Rome, in these words, " Both we and the queen appeared in person : " and he sets forth the assurances the cardinals gave of their proceeding without favour or partiality, " yet she departed out of court, though thrice called to appear, and was denounced contumacious." The only reconciling of this apparent contradiction seems to be this, that they were indeed together in the hall where the court sate ; but that it was before the cardinals sate down, and had formed the court : for as it is not to be imagined that in the record so material a step could have been omitted, so highly to the honour of the court ; so it is not likely that the queen after her appeal, would have owned the court, or have appeared before those judges ; therefore the most probable account of that particular is this, that the king intending to appear in the court, the queen went thither after him, and made that speech to him in the open hall, that I mentioned in my former work : but all this was over, and they were both gone before the court was opened, or that the cardinals had taken their places ; so that their appearance could be no part of the record of the court.

I am now to give an account of some papers that I add as an appendix, for they relate to the former volumes. The first of these was sent me by one Mr. Thomas Granger, of whom I can give no other account, but that I understood he was a clergyman. He dated his letter from Lammerton, near Tavistock in Devon. the 7th of February, 1683⁴. I wrote him such a civil answer, as so kind a censure deserved : and I promised that I would make my acknowledgements more publicly to him whensoever I reviewed that work. Upon my settling at Salisbury, I enquired after him, but I was told he was dead : so I lost the occasion of returning my thanks to him in a more particular manner, which I now express thus publicly.

I had another letter writ in another strain, full of expostulation, from Anthony (who affected to write himself) à Wood. He thought it incumbent on him to justify himself, since I had reflected on him, so he gave this vent to it. I wrote short remarks on it ; one of these I find is in the bishop of Worcester's hand ; they were sent to bishop Fell to be communicated to him, but whether they were or not, I cannot tell. The thing has escaped my memory, but the paper still remains with me : and therefore I have thought it a justice to Mr. Wood's memory, and to his writings, to insert it here.

The third paper was drawn by me at Paris, in the year 1685. My History being then translated into French, was much read ; and as to the main conduct of our Reformation, it was approved by some men of great name. At that time there was an imbroilment between the court of Rome and that of Versailles : and the propositions that passed in the year 1682, seemed to threaten a greater rupture to follow. Upon that, the scheme of the

English Reformation was a subject of common discourse : and that was so much magnified by those who were called the "Converters," that the hope of a Reformation in France, was one of the artifices that prevailed on some who knew not the "depths of Satan," and were easily wrought on to make their court by changing their religion, in hope that a great reformation of abuses among them was then projected ; but one of the learnedest men that ever I knew of that communion, said then to myself, that all that was only done to fright pope Innocent the Eleventh, who was then in the interests of the house of Austria, but that whensoever they should have a pope in the interests of France, their court would not only declare him infallible in points of doctrine, but even in matters of fact : and he added, that it was an abuse that people put upon themselves, to imagine that with what pomp or zeal soever the court seemed to support those articles passed in the assembly of the clergy, that this could have any other effect but to bring the court of Rome into their interests. He said this had been cardinal Mazarine's practice during his whole ministry. When he could not carry matters to his mind at Rome, he showed such favour to the Jansenists, as let many of them into great dignities ; but when he had brought that court to what he designed, he presently changed his conduct towards them.

A person of distinction at Paris, finding my history so much liked, wrote a censure upon it. This run through many hands, but was never printed. It fell into Mr. Auzont's hands, and from him I had it. I wrote an answer to it, and got it to be translated into French : it was favourably received by many in Paris. I do not find the copy of that censure among my papers : but I have still the copy of my remarks on it, from which the substance of that censure may be gathered : so I have thought fit to add this to my Appendix.

The fourth paper is a large collection of many mistakes (descending even to literal ones), in both the volumes of my History, and in the Records published in them, which a learned and worthy person has read with more exactness than either my amanuensis or myself had done. I publish these sheets as that unknown person sent them to me, whom I never saw, as far as I remember ; and who will not suffer me to give any other account of him, but that he lives in one of the universities. His copy of my work being of the second edition, only some very few of the errors marked that had crept into the second, but that were not in the first edition, are struck out. In several particulars I do not perfectly agree with these corrections ; but I set them down as they were sent me, without any remarks on them ; and I give my hearty thanks in the fullest manner I can, to him who was first at the pains to make this collection, and then had the goodness to communicate it to me in so obliging a manner : for he gave me a much greater power over these papers than I have thought fit to assume.

The next paper is a much shorter one. It is indeed the abstract of a larger paper, but I have taken out of it only that which relates to my History : and have not meddled with some remarks made on Harmer's specimen, and many more made on the "Rights of an English Convocation." These did not belong to my subject, so I have not copied them out. The writer has not let me know his name ; he sent the sheets to me in an unsubscribed letter, to which I wrote an answer by the conveyance that he marked out to me, but I have heard no more of him.

The sixth and last paper was sent me by the sincere and diligent Mr. Strype, who has descended to such a full and minute correction, both of my History and of my copies of the Records, that I confess it gave me great satisfaction : many of his corrections may seem so inconsiderable, that it may be suggested that they were not worth the while. But my whole concern in writing, being to deliver the transactions of a former age, faithfully down to posterity, nothing could please me more than to have every error I had fallen into discovered : and it was no small satisfaction to me, to find that a writer who has been now above thirty years examining all that passed in that age, and has made great discoveries of many secrets hitherto not known ; and who was so kind as to pass over nothing how small and inconsiderable soever it may appear to be, that was liable to correction ; yet did not touch upon any one thing that is of any moment in my whole work. This I look on as a very authentic confirmation of it all, except in the places thus censured by one who has searched into all the transactions of that time with so much application and success.

This work was composed above a year ago ; and after it was read and corrected by some proper judges, it was put in the press, and was printed off to the end of king Edward's reign, before the 1st of August last : nor has anything been added to it since that time, except some very few particulars in the last book relating to Scotland.

I cannot conclude this preface, and so dismiss this work out of my hands, without some reflections on what has appeared among us of late, but too evidently, in a course of some years. Many who profess great zeal for the legal establishment, yet seem to be set on forming a new scheme, both of religion and government : and are taking the very same methods, only a little diversified, that have been pursued in popery, to bring the world into a blind dependence upon the clergy, and to draw the wealth and strength of the nation into their hands.

The opinion of the sacrament's being an expiatory sacrifice ; and of the necessity of secret confession and absolution ; and of the church's authority acting in an independence on the civil powers, were the foundations of popery and the seminal principles out of which that mass of corruptions was formed. They have no colour for them in the New Testament, nor in the first ages of Christianity, and are directly contrary to all the principles on which the Reformation was carried on ; and to every step that was made in the whole progress of that work : and yet these of late have been notions much favoured, and written for with much zeal, not to say indecency : besides a vast number of little superstitious practices, that in some places have grown to a great height, so that we were insensibly going off from the Reformation, and framing a new model of a church, totally different from all our former principles, as well as from our present establishment : to all which they have added that singular and extravagant conceit, of the invalidity of baptism, unless ministered by one episcopally ordained ; though this not only cuts off all communion with the foreign protestant churches, of which, perhaps, they make no great account, but makes doubtings to arise with relation to great numbers, both among ourselves and in the Roman communion.

This I lament ; not that I think that there is such a sacredness in any human constitution, that it is never to be called in question or altered : for if we had the same reasons to alter anything established at the Reformation, that our fathers had to alter the former establishment in the times of popery, I should acknowledge we had now as good grounds to change the present, as our ancestors had then to change the former constitution. The Scriptures are the only sure foundation of our faith that is unalterable : all other constitutions being always to be governed by that perfect declaration of God's holy will with relation to mankind. But it gives a just indignation to see the same men make wide steps to great alterations on the one hand, and yet make heavy complaints where there is no just occasion given, and that about points of mere speculation ; whereas the other relate to matters of practice, which had been in former ages so managed, that the whole complex of the Christian religion was totally depraved by them.

We have also rules and rubricks for worship that are our standards fixed by law : and yet we see a humour of innovation making a great progress in these, without the least complaint, by the same persons who are apt to make tragical outcries on the smallest transgressions on the other hand.

Both are very culpable : but of the two, we find the growth of superstition has been so spreading, as well as so specious, that the extremes of that hand may be justly reckoned the more dangerous : one of the worst effects of superstition being that with which our Saviour charged the Pharisees of his time, that while they were exact in tything mint, annise, and cummin, they omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith : in opposition to which, he gives a standing rule applicable to all such cases, "These things ye ought to have done, and not to leave the other undone." This relates to practices of a lower order, but such as are commanded ; whereas voluntary and assumed ones, like the washings among the Jews in our Saviour's time, eat out the sense of the great duties of religion ; instead of which, some trifling performances are set up, and are highly magnified, while the others are spoken of more coldly : nor does anything feed a censorious and uncharitable temper more than these voluntary and distinguishing practices, which as they are

the badges of different parties, so they are the engines to keep up that wrath, emulation, and hatred, that has made such havoc among us, of the great and indispensable duties of peace, brotherly-kindness, and charity.

These have been but too visibly the arts of Satan to divide and distract us; and have oftener than once brought us near the brink of ruin. God has often rescued us, while the continuance and progress of these evil dispositions have as often made us relapse into a broken and disjointed state. Oh that we may at last see the things that belong to our peace, and follow after those things that make for peace, and the things wherewith we may edify one another. In this prayer I will continue as long as I live, and I hope to end my days with it. We must ask it of God, and of him only: it is in vain to ask it of some men, who when we "speak to them of peace, make them ready to battle;" we must look for it only to him who said, "Peace I leave with you: my peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth give I unto you." The world will only give it to those of their own knot and party. But "the wisdom that is from above, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated; full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy: and the fruits of righteousness are sown in peace, of them that make peace."

INTRODUCTION.

I COME, after a long interval of three-and-thirty years, to give all the finishing to the "History of our REFORMATION" that I have been able to collect, either from new discoveries that have come in my own way, or the kind advertisements of friends, and the severe animadversions of critics; of which I have endeavoured to make the best use that I could. It has been objected to me, that I wrote in haste, and did not reflect enough on the matters I wrote about. That may be very true; and I will give an account how it happened to be so. When "Sanders's History" was published in France, it had so ill an effect there, that some of our best divines were often called on to hasten such an answer to it, as might stop the course of so virulent a book. Those to whom these advices were sent, thought me a proper person to be engaged in it.

The ancient, the learned, and the pious bishop of Worcester *, is the only person now alive that was concerned in the choice: and he having read all the printed books that he could hear of, relating to those times, had taken the dates of every remarkable thing that passed out of them; which he caused to be copied out for me. They are about eight sheets of paper. Upon this stock I set out, and searched all the public offices about the town, with a labour and diligence that was then looked on as no contemptible performance. I marked everything as exactly as I could. I might, in such a variety, make some mistakes; for which men of candour will make just allowances. But when I had gone through all that lay thus open to me, I knew what treasures were still in the Cotton Library.

The present bishop of Worcester carried me to sir John Cotton to ask admittance: but a great prelate † had been beforehand with us; and had possessed him with such prejudices against me, as being no friend to the prerogative of the crown, nor to the constitution of our church, that he said (as he was prepared), that unless the archbishop of Canterbury and a secretary of state would recommend me as a person fit to have access to his library, he desired to be excused. And though that worthy prelate said he would be answerable for the use that I should make of it, yet he could not be prevailed on to depart from the answer that he had made us. Nor could that reverend person prevail with archbishop Sancroft to interpose. And though I offered to deliver up all the collections I had made to any person that would undertake the work, yet no regard was had to that: so I saw it was resolved on either not to let that work go on; or, at least, that I should not have the honour to be employed in it.

With this we were at a full stop, when accidentally meeting with sir John Marsham the younger, I told him how I was denied access to the Cotton Library; but he told me he was by marriage a nephew to the family, and that for many years he had free access to it, and he might carry with him whom he pleased; so I, with a copier, went thither under his protection; and we were hard at work from morning to night for ten days; but then the owner with his family coming to town, I could go no further. In that time, and in the haste we were in, I did make such a progress, that the good bishop, together with the late archbishop of Canterbury, Tillotson, and the late bishop of Worcester, Stillingfleet, thought I was sufficiently furnished with materials for composing the first volume. Every

* Bishop Lloyd.—Ed.

† The bishop, although he here imputes the refusal of sir John Cotton wholly to the interference of archbishop Sancroft, yet in his "History of his own Times," vol. i.

p. 396, charges "Dolben, bishop of Rochester, at the instigation of the duke of Lauderdale," with having "diverted sir John Cotton from suffering him to search his Library."—Ed.

part of it, as I wrote it, passed through their hands, and under their censure, and I submitted to their judgment in every particular.

I have been told, one that was much practised in that library, who is now dead, has censured me for not comparing what my copier wrote, carefully with the originals: to this, all I can say is that, as my copier by much practice was become pretty exact, so I made him read all over to me, having the originals in my hands. I cannot say in such dull, though necessary work, as the collating those things, I carried along with me all the attention that was requisite; but I did it as well as I could. And when I was lately in the Cotton Library, I read over several of the originals, but found no material differences from the copies I had printed. One indeed runs through all those in the English language, which might perhaps offend a severe critic, that the old spelling is not everywhere exactly copied. I did recommend it to my copier, and he observed it often; but he said when he wrote quick it was impossible for him to carry an antiquated spelling along with his pen.

The first volume lay a year after I wrote it, before it was put in the press, and was offered to be read and corrected by all who were willing to give themselves that trouble. When it was brought to secretary Coventry for his licence, he was pleased to say that he dipped into it out of curiosity; but added, that he found such an entertainment in it, that he could not part with it until he had read it quite through. The earl of Nottingham, lord chancellor, took time to read and examine it, and to add many remarks in several parts of it, in all which I submitted to his censure: and some smaller matters coming in my way, they were added; so when those under whose direction I made every step in it, advised me to put it in the press, I went on with it.

It happened to come out a few months after the discovery of the popish plot; and the ferment of that working powerfully over all the nation, the work was favourably received; and as I had the thanks of both houses of parliament for it, with a desire to finish what I had begun; so those who were the most zealous against popery, pressed me to make all possible haste with the second volume, when they understood that I had made considerable discoveries with relation to queen Mary's reign. By that time sir John Cotton seeing the good use I had made of his library, was pleased to acknowledge the injustice of the suggestions that had been made to my prejudice, and allowed me free liberty to examine everything in it: in which I ought to have been more exact than I was in searching into the matters set forth in my first volume; but the repeated importunities of my friends for my publishing the second volume, so far prevailed, that I only examined what belonged to that period. I took indeed some papers relating to the former reign, that accidentally fell in my way, and inserted them. I had also other materials brought me from several hands; upon the public notice that I gave of my design in the first volume.

That primitive bishop, Fell, of Oxford, engaged an acquaintance of his, Mr. Fullman, to make remarks on it: which he did with a particular acrimony and style, for which the bishop had prepared me. I bore it, and drew out of it all that was material, and sent it to him to see if he did not find in it the substance of all his remarks on the first, at the end of the second volume. It has been published over and over again, that he complained that I did not print a full account of his censure. The fact was thus:—I sent it to him by the carrier, and begged of him, that if he had any exception to the abstract I had made of his remarks, he would return it back to me as soon as was possible, for the press was to be stopped till it came. I staid for it till the second return of the carrier: and when no answer came, I reckoned he acquiesced in my abstract, so I put it in the press. But before it was printed off, his answer came by the third return of the carrier: and I, finding that he excepted to some few parts of my paper, was at the charge of reprinting it exactly to his mind; and he afterwards received the present that I made him, without any insinuation of any complaint.

Thus this work was sent abroad into the world. Nor do I yet see what more I could have done to procure me better information, nor what other steps I could have made. It took quiet possession of the belief of the nation at home, and of a great part of Europe abroad, being translated into four languages: and for some years I heard of neither censure nor answer.

When I went to Paris in the year 1685, I found there was a censure going about written, but not printed. It came into my hands, and I presently wrote an answer to it, which I got to be put into French: and all who read both papers, seemed fully satisfied with my answer, which will be found at the end of this volume. I was told that it was writ by Mr. Le Grand, who had given out in many companies, that he had great objections ready to be made to my history. Upon that, two learned and worthy men, Mr. Auzont and Mr. Thevenot, designed to bring us together, and to hear what Mr. Le Grand had to object. We dined at Mr. Thevenot's; and after dinner, for the space of three hours, Mr. Le Grand proposed his objections, and I answered them on the sudden, far from charming them with my eloquence; which Mr. Le Grand must certainly mean as a jest, for I pretend to no more French than to be understood when I speak it. What he said was mean and trifling, and yet it was so fully answered by me, that we parted civilly, and (as I thought) good friends. And when he was gone, both Thevenot and Auzont said, they were ashamed to hear such poor things objected (*pauvretes* was their word), after the noise that Mr. Le Grand had made. But two days after, Mr. Auzont came to me, both in his own name and in Mr. Thevenot's, and desired me not to speak of that matter to any person. The court was then so set on extirpating heresy, that they apprehended anything said by me might bring me into trouble: they would do me justice, so I needed not be concerned to do it to myself.

I must also add, that Mr. Le Grand said, after he had offered his objections, that as to the main of my history, he could furnish me with many materials to support it. And he made me a present of a very valuable book, published by Camusat at Troyes, 1613, with the title of "*Mélanges Historiques*," of which I have made good use in the following work. The matter rested thus till the year 1688, that Mr. Le Grand published the "*History of King Henry the Eighth's Divorce*." And soon after that, two other volumes of his appeared: one was a severe invective against me and my History; the other was a Collection of Letters, by which his History was justified. In this last there are some very valuable ones, to which I have had occasion oftener than once to refer my reader. In the two first of these tomes, Mr. Le Grand thought fit to lay aside all sort of good manners, and to treat me more in the style of an angry monk, than of one that had lived long in the company of well-bred men. I imputed this to a management he was under by some of the court of that unfortunate prince, who soon after felt the tragical effects of such unhappy councillors as had then the ascendant. To these, I did believe, Mr. Le Grand had dedicated his pen; and that drew from me a severe postscript to a censure that I published upon the bishop of Meaux's "*Book of Variations*," for which I am heartily sorry, and ask his pardon.

The truth is, the first paper in his third tome, seemed to justify anything that could have been said to expose a man that could offer such an abstract as he gave of it in his "*History*," and them that judged so ill as to think fit to print that letter, that does plainly contradict the sense he gave of it. The letter is writ by Pace, dean of St. Paul's, to king Henry (said by him to be written in the year 1526); but in that he is mistaken, as will appear afterwards), on the subject of the divorce. He owns that he writ the book, which had been brought to the king the day before by the advice and assistance of Dr. Wakefield, who was ready to defend it all, either in writing or in a public disputation. "And * since he heard from the king that some of his learned councillors wrote that Deuteronomy abrogated Leviticus, he shows him how false that was. It was only a recapitulation of the Mosaic law; it seems they thought this was the importance of the Greek word Deuteronomy (or a second law), but he shows that it imported only a repetition of the former law, and the book had

* Et quoniam majestas tua mihi significavit, nescio quos è suis literatis consiliariis scripsisse Deuteronomium abrogare Leviticum, diligenter perquisivi quid id sibi vellet; et tandem inveni id indubitato falsum esse: est compendium, ac repetitio, seu, ut ita dicam, recapitulatio Legis Mosaicæ. Et illud Græcum nomen *Deuteronomium*, quantum ad sensum rei attinet illud, idem significat quod habetur in Hebræo; id est, liber, in quo continetur secunda lex, vel repetitio primæ legis. Post meum à majestate tua discessum, D. R. Wakefeldus unice me

rogavit, ut sibi significarem, an placeret tibi veritatem hac in re intelligere, utrum staret à te an contra te? Ei ita respondi, Te nihil velle quod esset alienum à nobili principe, et singularibus virtutibus prædito; illum majestati tuæ rem gratissimam facturum si laboraret ut puram veritatem tibi declararet. Tum ille nescio quo ductus timore negavit se hoc posse facere, nisi majestas tua id sibi injungeret et manderet; et si mandares se producturum in medium tam contra te quam pro te illa quæ nemo alius in hoc tuo regno producere posset.

another title in the Hebrew. Then he says that Wakefield desired him to let him know whether the king had a mind to know the truth in that matter, whether it stood for him, or against him; to this Pace answered, that the king desired nothing but what became a noble and a virtuous prince, and that he would do a most acceptable thing to him if he would take pains to let him know what was the pure verity: then he being under some fear, said he could not set about it, unless his majesty would enjoin and command it; but when he received his commands, he would set forth such things both against him and for him, as no other person within his kingdom could do." There is nothing here but what is honourable both for the king, for Pace, and for Wakefield.

Mr. Le Grand has made a very particular abstract of this: he says, * Pace "designing to flatter his prince's passion, thought they should not stand either on the Vulgate, or the Seventy translators, but have recourse only to the Hebrew, which he maintained was more favourable to the king. He had written to Wakefield, and showed him the trouble the king was in, and desired he would clear up the matter; Wakefield, ravished to be thus employed, said he would justify all that Pace had said to the king; but then apprehending that Pace might deceive him, or be deceived himself; or perhaps that the king might change his mind, he desired that the king himself would let him know what he would have him to do; whether he should defend the one side, or the other; and he would do according to the orders he should receive, and make such discoveries for or against it as should pass the capacity of all Englishmen. Thus, (ends he) Wakefield, who had more vanity than religion, was driving a traffic with his sentiments."

I have put in the margin the Latin of Pace's letters, and the account that Mr. Le Grand gives of it in French, that the reader may judge what can be thought of a man that represents things so unfairly, and makes such inferences from them. I confess this raised in me too much indignation to be governed as it ought to have been: I therefore thought such a writer deserved not to be followed in every step. I likewise employed, at several times, some who went to Paris, to try in what esteem that performance was: and if I was not much deceived in the accounts sent me from thence, the book had lost the esteem of all persons there, so that it was no more talked of, nor read. I cannot therefore bring myself to examine it minutely, yet where any matter of weight requires it, I shall either justify, or retract what I had delivered in my history. I shall say no more of that work in this place, save only that the original judgment of the Sorbonne, about which Mr. Le Grand seemed to be chiefly concerned, both in the conference I had with him, and in his book, is now found by Mr. Rymer, among the other judgments of the Universities in the secret treasury, out of which that laborious searcher into our original treaties, has already published fifteen great volumes in folio: of this I shall give a more particular account in its proper place.

The next attack that was made on my work, was in the year 1693, under the title of, "A Specimen of some Errors and Defects in the History of the Reformation of the Church of England:" by Anthony Harmer. It was well known that was a disguised name, and that the author was Mr. Henry Wharton, who had published two volumes with the title of "Anglia Sacra": he had examined the dark ages before the Reformation, with much diligence, and so knew many things relating to those times beyond any man of the age; he pretended that he had many more errors in reserve, and that this specimen was only a hasty collection of a few, out of many other discoveries he could make: this consisted of some trifling and minute differences in some dates of transactions of no importance, upon which nothing depended; so I cannot tell whether I took these too easily from printed books; or if I committed any errors in my notes taken in the several offices. He likewise follows me

* Nous avons la lettre de ce dernier (Pace), qui cherchant à flatter la passion de son Prince, vouloit que sans s'arrêter ni à la Vulgate ni à la traduction des Septante, on eût recours au texte hébreu; qu'il soutenait lui être plus favorable. Il en écrivit à Robert Wakefield, et lui découvrit l'embarras où le roi se trouvoit, le priant de lui vouloir éclaircir cette matière. Wakefield, ravi de travailler pour le roy, répondit d'abord, qu'il appuieroit ce que Pace avoit dit à Henry. Puis faisant réflexion que

Pace pouvoit le tromper ou se tromper lui-même, ou que le roy changeroit peut-être, il alla trouver Pace et lui témoignoit qu'il souhaitoit que sa majesté lui écrivit elle-même ce qu'elle vouloit qu'il fit, et s'il devoit défendre le pour ou le contre; et qu'alors selon les ordres qu'il recevrait, il donneroit des éclaircissements ou pour ou contre, qui passeroient la capacité de tous les Anglois. C'est ainsi que Wakefield, qui avoit plus de vanité que de religion, trafiquoit de ses sentiments.

through the several recapitulations I had made of the state of things before the Reformation, and finds errors and omissions in most of these; he adds some things out of papers I had never seen. The whole was written with so much malice, and such contempt, that I must give some account of the man, and of his motives. He had expressed great zeal against popery, in the end of King James's reign, being then chaplain to Archbishop Sancroft, who, as he said, had promised him the first of those prebends of Canterbury that should fall in his gift; so when he saw that the archbishop was resolved not to take the oaths, but to forsake his post, he made an earnest application to me, to secure that for him at Archbishop Tillotson's hands: I pressed him in it as much as was decent for me to do, but he said he would not encourage these aspiring men, by promising anything before it should fall; as indeed none of them fell during his time. Wharton, upon this answer, thought I had neglected him, looking on it as a civil denial, and said he would be revenged; and so he published that specimen. Upon which, I, in a letter that I printed, addressed to the present bishop of Worcester, charged him again and again to bring forth all that he pretended to have reserved at that time; for until that was done, I would not enter upon the examination of that specimen. It was received with contempt; and Tillotson justified my pressing him to take Wharton under his particular protection so fully, that he sent and asked me pardon: he said he was set on to it, and that if I would procure anything for him, he would discover everything to me: I despised that offer, but said that I would at any price buy of him those discoveries that he pretended to have in reserve; but Mr. Chiswell, (at whose house he then lay, being sick,) said he could draw nothing of that from him, and he believed he had nothing: he died about a year after: so I will say no more of him, only this, that where I see a voucher for anything that he objects, I will submit and own my error, but I have no reason to take anything on his word. I have a work lying on my table, which shows how little regard is due to his collections. It was sent me by a worthy person in one of the universities, and is a collating of ten pages of his "*Anglia Sacra*," with the manuscript that he vouches: it swells indeed to a book. Wharton omits the most material passage of an instrument that blemished one of his heroes. In some places there are errors in every line; and there are three capital errors in one line, and about fifty in that small compass; I have showed the book to a great many persons, and will show it to any who desire to see it, but do not descend here to further particulars, for that perhaps might discover the author, and expose him to the malice of an ill-natured cabal. Since that time, a writer of a greater name, has, with abundance of ill-natured scorn, pretended to under-value my work. I name him not, for I love not to transmit the remembrance of such things to posterity. Where he gives such vouchers as can be come at, I will be ready to retract, but when he appeals to some nameless manuscript in his own possession, I will have no regard to this; for a writer that has been found too faulty in citing such vouchers as can be examined, ought not to expect belief, when he has recourse to such as are kept by him as secrets, not to be communicated but to a few confidants, nor entirely to these, as I have been informed. All that has been hitherto objected to me, though with airs of great assurance and scorn, has been so trifling, that some good judges have thought I showed them too much respect to take any notice of them: they thought it was enough to mark down such small mistakes as I saw had been made by me, without so much as mentioning those who made such reflections. I would have complied with their advice, if I had not a just zeal to maintain the credit of that work; which I cannot do better than by acknowledging the discoveries that had been made, even in the minutest matters, though with all the indecency and contempt possible.

A very worthy person, in one of the universities, has sent me a copious collection of remarks on both my former volumes, but upon condition not to name him; which I will observe religiously, because I promised it; though it is not easy to myself, since I may not own to whom I owe so great an obligation; but I suppress none of them, and give them entirely as he offered them to me. I have had assistance from some other hands, which I will gratefully own as I come to mention them, in their proper places.

I have chosen rather to publish all that is of new offered to me, in a volume apart, than to reprint my former volumes with these corrections, as some have advised me to do. There are some thousands of the former impressions abroad in the nation, that would be of little

value, if any such new edition should appear. I have ever looked on such new enlarged editions as little less than a robbing the public; besides that, in so doing, I should only drop those errors of my former work, without that formal disowning and retracting of them, which I think I owe the public. I have ever looked on falsehoods in history, when fallen into deliberately, as the worst sort of lying, both the most public, and the most lasting. But if they are more innocently committed, and are yet persisted in after a discovery, they are as bad as when done on design. I writ before as well and as carefully as I could; and if in so great a variety of material, some are spurious, and others appear doubtful—and if in the haste in which the circumstances of that time almost forced me to publish that work, without looking out for more aid, and without waiting for further discoveries, there are some inconsiderable errors and defects in the less important parts of my work, that relate not to the main of things, I hope the world will be so just, and so favourable, as to make fair allowances for them, and to accept all the reparation I can make for past errors, when I own my failing, and set my readers right.

I come next to give an account of the reasons that moved me to set about this work at this time. The reasons of my engaging in it at first seemed now to return upon me, and have determined me to delay the doing of it no longer. The danger of a popish successor then in view, and the dreadful apprehensions we had of the power of France, and of the zeal with which the extirpating that which some called the pestilent heresy, that had so long infested those northern kingdoms, was then driven on, made it seem a proper time to awaken the nation, by showing both what Popery, and what the Reformation was; by showing the cruelty and falsehood of the former, and what the patience and courage of our reformers was; and the work had generally so good an effect then, that if the like dangers seemed to revert, it may not be an improper attempt to try once more to awaken a nation that has perhaps forgot past dangers, and yet may be nearer them than ever.

If there is any difference between the present state of things, and that we were in above thirty years ago, it is that we are now more naked and defenceless, more insensible and stupid, and much more depraved in all respects than we were then. We are sunk in our learning, vitiated in principle; tainted, some with atheism, others with superstition; both which, though by different ways, prepare us for popery. Our old breaches are not healed, and new ones, not known in former times, are raised and fomented with much industry and great art, as well as much heat: many are barefacedly going back to that misery, from which God with such a mighty hand rescued us; and has hitherto preserved us with an amazing chain of happy providences; but “the deaf adder stops her ear, let the charmer charm never so wisely.”

All books relating to those controversies lie dead in shops, few calling for them; many of them (as men of the trade have told me) being looked on as waste paper, and turned to pasteboard. There are, after all, some real and sensible arguments that may perhaps have some effect on those who let not themselves be moved with matters of dry speculation, or with cold reasoning. I have made many discoveries that may awaken some on whom the clearest demonstrations will perhaps make no impression.

In queen Mary's time, beside all that scene which I had formerly opened of a perfidious breach of solemn promises, of the corrupting and packing of parliaments, and of that unrelenting cruelty which was pursued to the end of that reign without intermission, I have had occasion to see much farther into the spirit which then prevailed. I have had the perusal of the original council-book, that went from the beginning of her reign to the last day of the year 1557; in which such a spirit of cruelty and bigotry appears through the whole course of that reign, that I was indeed amazed to find a poor harmless woman, weak though learned, guilty of nothing but what her religion infused in her, so carried to an indecency of barbarity, that it appears that Bonner himself was not cruel enough for her, or at least for her confessor. She believed herself with child, and when the time came in which she expected to be delivered, she continued looking for it every day above a month; then a conceit was put in her head that she could not bear her child as long as there was a heretic left in the kingdom.

It was a great part of the business of the council to quicken the persecution everywhere. Letters were writ to the men of quality in the several counties to assist at the execution of those who suffered for heresy, and to call on all their friends to attend on them. Letters of

thanks were writ to such officious persons as expressed their zeal, ordering them to commit all to prison who came not to the service, and to keep them in prison till the comfort of their amendment appeared. Directions were given to put such as would not discover others to the torture: thanks were, in a particular style, sent to some gentlemen who (as it is expressed) came so "honestly and of themselves to assist the sheriffs at those executions." Pretences of conspiracies were everywhere under examination; many were committed and tried for words; letters were writ to corporations about the elections of mayors; and the lords had many letters to look carefully to the elections of parliament-men, and to engage the electors to reserve their voices for such as they should name. Sheriffs began to grow backward, and to delay executions, in hopes of reclaiming persons so condemned; but they were ordered to do so no more.

Letters were on one day wrote to the sheriffs of Kent, Essex, Suffolk, and Staffordshire, and to several mayors, to signify what had moved them to stay the executions of such persons as had been delivered to them by the ordinaries, being condemned for heresy. One letter of a more singular strain was wrote to the lord mayor and the sheriffs of London to give substantial orders (I give the words in the council-book), "that when any obstinate man, condemned by order of the law, shall be delivered to be punished for heresy, there be a good number of officers and other men appointed to be at the execution, who may be charged to see such as shall misuse themselves, either by comforting, aiding, or praising the offenders, or otherwise use themselves to the ill example of others, to be apprehended and committed to ward; and besides to give commandment that no householder suffer any of his apprentices or other servants to be abroad other than such as their masters will answer for; and that this order be always observed in like cases hereafter." Such pains were taken to extinguish all the impressions of humanity, or at least to punish every expression of it; and this was so constantly pursued, that three men and two women were burnt at Canterbury on the 10th of November, a week before her death; for she died on the 17th.

Nor were they satisfied with all these arts of cruelty in England; but hearing that there were some of that sort in Ireland, one Cole was sent over with a commission to set a persecution on foot there. When he was at Chester, the corporation waited on him in respect to his being sent by the queen: he showed them his powers and letters to the government of Ireland; but leaving his papers on the table when he went in respect to this body to conduct them down stairs, the mistress of the house, being secretly a zealous woman, did, with a particular address, make up a packet like his, in which she put a pack of cards, the knave of clubs being turned uppermost; and so she took away his papers, putting this instead of them. He suspecting nothing, nor looking into them, went over to Dublin, and delivered his message and packet to the council there, which was certainly received with scorn and indignation. He came back to London, and got new powers a few days before the queen's death; for the news of it overtook him before he had his passage. The levity of this story made me at first suspect it, till I found it in several books in which it is said that the woman had for this service a pension from queen Elizabeth.

I have in my former History showed what steps were made in that reign towards the setting up an Inquisition in England, which was very probably suggested by king Philip and some of his Spaniards, as the only sure method to extirpate heresy: but I have since seen some further steps made towards it. Ratcliffe, earl of Sussex, was in high favour, and he, who saw what was the method to secure and advance it, moved that, instead of the dilatory proceedings in the ordinary courts, such offenders should be proceeded against by martial law. To this the council wrote answer, they commended his zeal, and acknowledged that such persons deserved to be so used; yet it was not thought the best way, but they were to be punished as the laws did order. But when they had had their punishment, he was ordered to keep them in prison and in irons till they came to know themselves and their duty. I have also found what he did towards the setting up an inquisition. I did formerly print the instructions that were sent to the county of Norfolk. Of these the sixth did run thus: "They shall procure to have in every parish, or part of the shire, as near as may be, some one or more honest men secretly instructed to give information of the inhabitants amongst or about them." I find in a register of

the earl of Sussex that to the sixth article it is agreed, "that the justices of the peace in every of their limits shall call secretly before them one or two honest and secret persons, or more by their discretions, and such as they shall think good, and command them by oath or otherways, as the same justices shall think good, that they shall secretly learn and search out such person or persons as shall evil-behave themselves idly at church, or despise openly by words the king and queen's proceedings, or go about to make or move any stir, commotion, or unlawful gathering together of the people; or that shall tell any seditious or lewd tales, rumours, or news, to move or stir any person or persons to rise, stir, or make any commotion or insurrection, or to consent to any such intent or purpose. And also, that the same persons so to be appointed shall declare to the same justices of the peace the ill behaviour of lewd disordered persons, whether it shall be for using unlawful games, idleness, and such other light behaviour of such suspected persons as shall be within the same town, or near thereabouts. And that the same information shall be given secretly to the justices; and the same justices shall call such accused persons before them, and examine them, without declaring by whom they be accused. And that the same justices shall, upon their examinations, punish the offenders according as their offences shall appear to them upon the accusation and examination by their discretion, either by open punishment or good a-bearing." Here are sworn spies appointed, like the familiars of the Inquisition; secret depositions not to be discovered; and upon these further proceedings are ordered. If this had been well settled, what remained to complete a court of inquisition would have been more easily carried.

Here is that which those who look towards a popish successor must look for when that evil day comes. All this will make little impression on those who have no fixed belief of anything in religion themselves, and so may reckon it a small matter to be of any religion that comes to have the law and the government on its side, and resolve to change with every wind and tide rather than put anything to hazard by struggling against it. Yet some compassion to those who have a more firm belief of those great truths might be expected from men of the same country, kindred, and who have hitherto professed to be of the same religion. The reviving the fires in Smithfield, and from thence over the whole nation, has no amiable view to make any haste to it; and least of all to those who, if they have any principles at all, must look for nothing less than the being turned out of their livings, or forced to abandon their families, and upon every surmise or suspicion to be hunted from place to place, glad if they can get out of the paw of the lion into parts beyond the seas; and then they may expect to meet with some of that haughty contempt with which too many have treated foreigners who took sanctuary among us.

But when this fatal revolution comes upon us, if God for our sins abandons us into the hands of treacherous and bloody men, whither can we hope to fly? For with us the whole Reformation must fall under such an universal ruin, that, humanly speaking, there is no view left beyond that.

Yet since that set of men is so impiously corrupted in the point of religion that no scene of cruelty can fright them from leaping into it, and perhaps from acting such a part in it as may be assigned them, there are other considerations of another sort, arising from some papers (put in my hands since I wrote the History), that may perhaps affect them deeper, because they touch in a more sensible part.

It is well known how great and how valuable a part of the whole soil of England the abbey-lands, the estates of the bishops, of the cathedrals, and the tithes, are. I will not enter into any strict computation of what the whole may amount to. The resumption of these would be no easy matter to many families; and yet all these must be thrown up, for sacrilege in the church of Rome is a mortal sin. And therefore cardinal Pole, even in that pretended confirmation of the grants that were then made, laid a heavy charge on those who had the goods of the church in their hands to remember the judgments of God that fell on Belshazzar for profaning the holy vessels; though they had not been taken by himself, but by his father. It is true this may be supposed to relate only to church-plate, though there is no reason to restrain such a solemn charge to so inconsiderable a part of what had been taken from the church: no doubt he had the whole in his view. And this showed, that

though he seemed to secure them from any claim that the church might have, or any suit or proceeding upon that account, yet he left the weight of the sin on their consciences, which a dexterous confessor might manage so as to make the possessors yield up their rights, especially when they themselves could hold them no longer. The thing was still a sin, and the possession was unjust. And to make it easy to restore in the last minutes, the statute of Mortmain was repealed for twenty years; in which time, no doubt, they reckoned they would recover the best part of what they had lost. Besides that, the engaging the clergy to renew no leases was a thing entirely in their own power; and that, in forty years' time, would raise their revenues to be about ten times their present value.

But setting all this aside, it has appeared evidently to me, from some papers sent me some years after I wrote my history, that all that transaction was fraudulent, and had so many nullities in it, that it may be broke through whensoever there is a power strong enough to set about it. In the first powers that are in that Collection, all the grace and favour that the pope intended to the possessors of those lands was to indemnify them for the mesne profits they had received, and for the goods that had been consumed; they restoring first (if that shall seem expedient) the lands themselves that are unjustly detained by them. This was only the forgiving what was past; but the right of the church was insisted on for the restitution of those lands. The reservation, in these words "if that shall seem expedient to you," can be understood in no other sense, but that it was referred to his discretion, whether he should insist to have the restitution first made, before he granted the indemnity for the mesne profits, or not.

It is true, the council in England, who were in that supported by the emperor, thought these powers were too narrow, and insisted to have them enlarged. That was done, but in so artificial a manner, that the whole settlement made by Pole signified nothing, but to lay the nation once asleep, under a false apprehension of their being secured in those possessions, when no such thing was intended; nor was it at all granted, even by the latest powers that were sent to cardinal Pole. For in these, after the pope had referred the settling that matter to him, that he might transact it with such possessors, for whom the queen should intercede, and dispense with their enjoying them for the future without any scruple, a salvo is added, by which the whole matter is still reserved to the pope for his final confirmation, in these words: "*Salvo tamen in his quibus propter rerum magnitudinem et gravitatem hæc sancta sedes merito tibi videretur consulenda, nostro et præfatæ sedis beneplacito et confirmatione.*" "Saving always in such things, in which for their greatness and importance it shall appear to you, that this holy see ought in reason to be consulted, for our and the said see's good pleasure and confirmation." By these words it is very plain, that, as in the powers granted, they seemed to be limited to a few, to such for whom the queen should intercede, since it is not expressed that the pope thought that he should intercede for all that possessed them; so they were only provisional: and therefore since no bull of confirmation was ever obtained, all these provisional powers were null and void, when the confirmation was asked and denied: as all the historians of that time agree it was: and this was so suitable to P. Paul the Fourth's temper and principles, that no doubt is to be made of his persisting steadfastly in that resolution.

I know there was a mercenary writer found in king James's reign, who studied to lay all people asleep, in a secure persuasion of their titles to those lands. He pretends there was a confirmation of all that Pole did, sent over to England. He brings indeed some proof that it was given out and believed, which might be a part of the fraud to be used in that matter. But as no such thing appears in the Bullary, so he does not tell us who saw it, or where it was laid up. He indeed supports this by an argument that destroys it quite: for he tells us, that two years after this, secretary Petre had a particular bull, confirming him in his possession of some church-lands. This shows, that either that person, who was secretary of state, knew that no confirmation was sent over; so that it was necessary for him to procure a particular bull for securing his own estate; or whatever might be in Pole's powers, he might think such a general transaction, which the necessity of that time made reasonable, would be no longer stood to than while that necessity continued.

General treaties and transactions have had such a fate that few will trust to them. The

spirit of the church, as well as the spirit of a treaty, will be preferred to the words of all transactions. Have not we seen in our own days an Edict, that was passed with all solemnity possible, and declared Perpetual and Irrevocable, yet recalled with this very preamble, that it was made in compliance to the necessity of that time, and on design to bring those that were promised to be for ever tolerated by it into the bosom of the church? There is so much in the canon law against all sacrilege, and all alienations of what is once dedicated to God, that though some canonists may have carried the plenitude of the papal power so far as to reach even to this, which this hired writer builds on, yet there is so much affirmed to the contrary by others, that it is certain whensoever the papacy has strength enough to set aside all the settlement then made, they will find sufficient grounds in law to proceed to the overturning all that was then done. The princes of Germany, whose settlements he appeals to, do not trust to any treaty, with either emperor or popish princes, with relation to the church lands of which they possessed themselves, but to the treaties and guarantees into which they entered with one another: and so they are engaged by their faith and by their mutual interests to maintain one another and themselves in their possessions; nor does it appear that a papal bull was ever obtained to confirm them. On the contrary, the pope's legates protested against them; and, as will appear afterwards, Charles the Fifth's confessor refused to give him absolution for his consenting to edicts of that sort. If the necessity of the time makes it necessary to maintain that settlement, so long it will be maintained, and no longer.

But to put this matter out of all doubt, that same pope did, soon after our ambassadors were sent to him, by a bull dated the twelfth of July, 1555, within three weeks after the English ambassadors had their audience, condemn all the alienations of church lands, and even all leases for one or more lives; or for a term longer than three years: this he extends to all cathedrals, monasteries, and hospitals, and annuls all leases, grants, exchanges, mortgages, and obligations of lands, castles, towns, and cities, even though made by popes themselves, or by their authority and order; and by the presidents, prelates, or rectors of churches, monasteries, or hospitals, of what rank and dignity soever, cardinals by name being expressed, that were done to the prejudice of the church, the solemnity by law required not being observed: and that which was null in the first making, but supplied by subsequent contracts, in what form soever made, though by proofs upon oath, and by what length of time soever it may claim prescription, is all rescinded, and made void and null. And the detainers of goods upon those titles are required to quit possession, and to make full satisfaction for what they have received, and to be thereto compelled, if they obey not, both by ecclesiastical censures and pecuniary punishments.

It is true, in all this, England is not expressly named, and perhaps the pope had the recovering from the family of the Farnese that which Paul the Third had alienated to it chiefly in his eye: but the words of this bull do plainly take in the late settlement in England: for though the English ambassadors were then newly come to Rome, demanding the confirmation of what Pole had done, yet no exceptions are made for England; so it seems, it was intended by these general words, put in on design, to overthrow it. Now because this matter is of such great concern, and every one has not a Bullary to examine into this bull, I will begin my Collection of Records with it, as no small piece of instruction to all who are possessed of any estate so alienated from churches, monasteries, or hospitals.

Upon the conclusion of this head, I cannot but take notice of one insinuation, that I hear some are not ashamed to make: that such a resumption may be indeed a prejudice to the laity, but that the clergy will be enriched by it. If this had been brought me by an ordinary hand, I should not have thought it worth mentioning; but since some have the impudence to set it on foot, I must add, that these are vain hopes, as well as they are suggested on black designs: for though the church, take it in the bulk, has immense riches in the Roman communion, yet in no church that ever I saw are the parochial clergy kept poorer, and made more despicable; they are as the hewers of wood and drawers of water, kept at hard labour on a very poor subsistence. The several orders among them, the governing clergy, and the outward magnificence of their churches and services, devour all that treasure:

so that the poor clergy, even in that state of celibate, have scarce necessary sustenance, unless it be in some capital cities, and in very vast parishes in them ; they are starved, to maintain the luxury and vanity of others : this was the true occasion of all the poverty of the parochial clergy among us, to which some remedies have been sought for, and to some degree found, ever since the Reformation was first settled among us.

But none of these things will move an insensible and degenerate race who are thinking of nothing but present advantages : and, so they may now support a luxurious and brutal course of irregular and voluptuous practices, they are easily hired to betray their religion, to sell their country, and to give up that liberty, and those properties, which are the present felicities and glories of this nation. The giving them up will be a lasting infamy on those who are guilty of it, and will draw after it the heaviest curses of posterity on such perfidious betrayers of their trust : by this they will bring slavery on themselves (which they well deserve, being indeed the worst sort of slaves), and entail it on the succeeding generation.

I return to prosecute the account of my design in this work. I went through those volumes in the Cotton Library of which I had only a transient view formerly, and laid together all that I thought necessary to complete it. I saw a great and a fair prospect of such a change ready to be made in France, as king Henry had made in England. M. Le Vassor has, out of an invaluable collection of original papers that are in Sir William Trumball's hands, published instructions sent by the duke of Orleans to the princes of Germany ; by which, as he declared himself a protestant, so he gave in general words good hopes of his father Francis. I found also, both in papers and printed books, that king Henry often reproached Francis for not keeping his word to him ; and in a long despatch of a negotiation that Paget was employed in with the admiral of France, I saw further evidence of this. I was by these indications set on to see how far I could penetrate into that secret.

I was by the favour of the earl of Dartmouth admitted to a free search of the Paper-office, which is now in much better order and method than it was above thirty years ago, when I saw it last : and there, among other very valuable papers, I found the copy of that solemn promise that Francis made to Henry, minuted on the back by Cromwell's hand as a true copy, in these words : " An Instrument devised from the French king, for his justification and defence of the invalidity of the king's highness's first marriage, and the validity of the Second." By this, he in express words " condemns the pope's bull dispensing with the marriage with queen Catherine, which he, by the unanimous consent of those learned men whom he had appointed to examine it, condemns as incestuous and unlawful ; and reposes the daughter born in it, spurious and illegitimate : and that the second marriage with Anne, then queen, was lawful and just ; and that queen Elizabeth, born of it, was lawfully born." And he promises to assist and maintain the king in this against all the world. In this instrument he owns king Henry to be, under God, the supreme head of the church of England : and he affirms, that " many of the cardinals, in particular the late cardinal of Ancona, and even pope Clement the Seventh himself, did both to his ambassador and to himself at Marseilles plainly confess, that the pope's bull, and the marriage made upon it, were null and void ; and that he would have given a definitive sentence, if some private affections and human regards had not hindered it." This makes me conclude, that he gave other instruments of a further extent to king Henry ; for failing in which, I find he was often reproached, though this single instrument is all that I could find out : but the lord Herbert reckons among the chief causes of king Henry's last rupture with Francis, that he had not deserted the bishop of Rome, and consented to a reformation, as he once promised.

I saw when I passed through Zurich a volume of letters that passed between Bullinger and those English divines that had been so kindly entertained by him in that noble canton ; and by the interposition of my learned, judicious, and pious friend, M. Turretin of Geneva, M. Otto, a worthy professor there, has taken such care, that copies of them are procured for me ; in which we may see the sense of those who revived our Reformation in queen Elizabeth's time. Men who had been abroad, and had seen all things about them in a true light, that saw in what the strength of popery lay, and what fortified or weakened the body of the reformed, were liker to have truer views than can be expected from retired or sullen men, who have lived in a corner, and have but a small horizon.

It has been objected to me, that I have said little of proceedings in convocation, and of the struggle that the clergy made before they were brought to make the submission which brought those bodies under restraints that seem now uneasy to the advocates for church power. I must confess I have been very defective here : I understood that the books of Convocation were burnt : none of those great men, under whose direction that work went on, knew anything of those discoveries that have been of late made ; so no wonder if I passed over what was then so little known. Yet now I have examined all that I could find of those matters, I confess I am not inclined to expect much from the assemblies of clergymen. I have seen nothing in church history to incline me to depart from Gregory Nazianzen's opinion of those assemblies : what has happened among ourselves of late has not made me of another mind ; and I will not deny, but that my copiousness on these matters is, in my own opinion, one of the meanest parts of my work. The wisest and worthiest man in that convocation, archbishop Warham, was the person that promoted the submission the most. It was no wonder if a corrupt clergy, that made such ill use of their power, had no mind to part with any branch of it. Yet, since these things have been of late such a subject of debate among us, I have taken what pains I could to gather all that is left of those times, in such copies, or rather abstracts, as have been of late found in private hands : only I will set down the opinion of sir Thomas More, the best man of the popish side in that age, of those meetings. "It is true," he says, "the clergy's assembling at the convocation was called by the name of confederacies. But," he adds, "if they did assemble often, and there did such things, for which such assemblies of the clergy in every province through all Christendom, from the beginning, were instituted and devised, much more good might have grown thereof, than the long disuse can suffer us now to perceive. But all my days, as far as I have heard, nor (I suppose) a good part of my father's neither, they came never together to convocation, but at the request of the king ; and at such their assemblies, concerning spiritual things, have very little done. Wherefore that they have been in that necessary part of their duty so negligent, whether God suffer to grow to an unperceived cause of division and grudge against them, God, whom their such negligence hath, I fear me, sore offended, knoweth*."

The affinity of the matter has led me to reflect on a great transaction with relation to the church of France, which was carried on and finally settled in the very time that
 1532. king Henry was breaking with the court of Rome. It was the Concordate that Francis I. made with pope Leo X. The king and the pope came to a bargain, by which they divided the liberties of the Gallican church between them, and indeed quite enslaved it. There are so many curious passages in the progress of that matter, that I hope the opening these will be a very acceptable entertainment to the nation ; and the rather, because in it this nation will see what it is to deliver up the essential liberties of a free constitution to a court, and to trust to the integrity and firmness of courts of justice, when an assembly of the Estates is no more necessary to the raising of money and the support of the government. I know nothing writ in our language, with relation to this matter, besides that account I gave of it in a book concerning the Regale. It was taken from a very exact history of that transaction that was written by Mr. Pinsons, printed anno 1666 ; and that seemed to some very proper judges to relate so much to our affairs, that, as they thought, it very probably disposed the nation more easily to throw off the papal authority. They saw what a filthy merchandise the court of Rome had made of the liberties of the neighbouring church ; taking care only to secure their own profits, and delivering up the rest to the crown. The best writers of that church have on many occasions lamented the loss of their liberties by that detestable bargain, into which Francis's necessities, wrought on by the practices of the court of Rome, drew him. "By this the church of France, from being a queen, became (as bishop Godeau expresses it) a slave." And he adds, "our fathers have groaned, and all that love the order of the house of God will still groan, as long as elections continue to be put down ; so that we must needs enter into the sanctuary by the way of the court." In another place : "These promotions have been always fatal to the church ; and the bishops that the court

* More's Apol. 1533, fol. 241.

has made have been ordinarily the chief advancers of schisms, heresies, and of the oppression of the church." And he concludes: "One cannot read Nazianzen's verses of the prelates of his time without being struck with horror, and forced to acknowledge that a secular temper is entirely contrary to the episcopal spirit." Of this a Greek writer makes a severe remark in the history of Andronicus's reign, which may perhaps be as justly applied to other reigns, telling what sort of bishops were then made: "Princes choose such men to that charge who may be their slaves, and in all things obsequious to what they prescribe, and may lie at their feet, and have not so much as a thought contrary to their commands." This change in their constitution has put an end not only to national, but even to provincial, synods in that kingdom. Some were indeed held, upon the progress that Luther's doctrine was beginning to make in France; and others during the civil wars, in order to the getting the council of Trent received in France: but now, in the space of ninety years last past, these are no more brought together. The assemblies of the clergy meet only to give subsidies, and to present their grievances, but do not pretend to the authority of a regular synod. And though in the year 1682 they drew up some articles, yet these had their authority only from the severity of the king's edict, till by a transaction with the court of Rome that was let fall.

I have now gone over all the matters that do properly fall within this Introduction. It remains that I leave the sense of the subject of this and of my two former Parts upon the consciences of my readers. Can it be possible that any are so depraved as to wish we had no religion at all, or to be enemies to the Christian religion? would these men reduce us to be a sort of Hottentots? and yet this must grow to be the effect of our being without all religion. Mankind is a creature by his make and frame disposed to religion; and if this is not managed by true principles, all the jugglings of heathenism would again take possession of the world. If the principles of truth, justice, temperance, and of universal love, do not govern men, they will soon grow curses and plagues to one another; and a crew of priests will grow up who will teach them to compound for all crimes, and to expiate the blackest practices by some rituals.

Religion has so much to struggle with, that if it is not believed to be revealed by God, it will not have strength enough to resist those ill inclinations, those appetites and passions, that are apt to rise up in our minds against its dictates. What is there in the true and unsophisticated Christian religion that can give a colour to prejudices against it? The whole complex of that rule of life which it prescribes is so plainly suited to our composition, both in our souls and their faculties, and in our bodies, with relation to good health, to industry and long life, and to all the interests of human society, to the order and peace of the world, and to the truth and love that are the cements and securities of the body-politic, that, without any laboured proof of its divine original, these are such characters, that they may serve to prove it is sent into the world by a Lover of Mankind, who knew our nature, and what was proper both to perfect it and to render it not only safe, but happy.

But when to all this we add the evidence that was given at its appearing in the world; that He who was the first author of it, and those whom he employed first to propagate it, did, upon many occasions, in full daylight, and in the sight of great multitudes, do things so far above the powers of nature, in such uncontested miracles, that by these it evidently appeared they were assisted by somewhat superior to nature that could command it at pleasure; here is the fullest ground of conviction possible. These things were written, published, and received in the age in which they were transacted: and those writings have been preserved with great care, and are transmitted down to us, at the distance of above sixteen ages, pure and uncorrupted. In these we have the fixed standard of our religion, and by them we can satisfy ourselves concerning all such practices as have been made upon it, or such inferences as are drawn from it. I wish those who take to themselves the name of Freethinkers would consider well if they think it is possible to bring a nation to be without any religion at all, and what the consequences of that may prove; and then see if there is any religion so little liable to be corrupted, and that tends so much to the good of mankind, as the true Christian religion reformed among us.

As for those that do truly believe this religion, and have an ingenuous sense and taste of liberty, can they admit a comparison to be made between a religion restrained to a fixed

standard (into which every one is admitted to examine the sense of it in the best method he can), and that which sets up another uncertain standard, of which they pretend to be the depositaries—I mean traditions; and pretend further they are the infallible expounders of it, and that the true standard itself is not to be exposed to common view; that God is to be worshipped in a language not understood; that instead of a competent provision to those who labour in this work, the head of them is to become a great prince, and may pretend to a power to dispose of kingdoms and states, to pardon sins, and to redeem sinners out of the miseries of a future state; and that the character derived from him is so sacred, that, in defiance to sense and reason, a priest, by a few words, can work a miracle, in comparison to which the greatest of miracles is nothing; and who by these means have possessed themselves of an immense wealth and a vast authority?

These are all things of so strange a nature, and so contrary to the genius and design of the Christian religion, that it is not easy to imagine how they could ever gain credit and success in the world; but when men's eyes have been once opened, when they have shaken off the yoke, and got out of the noose; when the simplicity of true religion has been seen into, and the sweets of liberty have been tasted; it looks like charm and witchcraft to see so many looking back so tamely on that servitude under which this nation groaned so heavily for so many ages. They may soon see and know what our happy condition is in the freedom we enjoy from these impositions, and what their misery is that are condemned to them. It is not enough for such as understand this matter to be contented in their own thoughts with this: that they resolve not to turn papists themselves; they ought to awaken all about them, even the most ignorant and the most stupid, to apprehend their danger, and to exert themselves with their utmost industry to guard against it and to resist it. They ought to use all their efforts to prevent it, and earnestly to pray to God for his blessing upon them. If after all men's endeavours to prevent it, the corruption of the age and the art and power of our enemies prove too hard for us, then, and not till then, we must submit to the will of God, be silent, and prepare ourselves for all the extremities of suffering and of misery; and if we fall under a persecution, and cannot fly from it, we must resolve to glorify God by bearing our cross patiently. Illegal sufferings are no more to be borne than the violences of a robber; but if the law comes once to be in the hands of those wicked men, who will not only revive the repealed laws against heretics, but, if they can, carry their cruelty up to the height of an inquisition, then we must try, by the faith and patience of the saints, to go through fire and through water, and in all things to be more than conquerors.

I know some, who are either apt to deceive themselves or hope to deceive others, have this in their mouths: that popery is not what it was before the Reformation; things are much mended, many abuses are detected, and things are not so gross as they were then. And they tell us, that further corrections might be expected if we would enter into a treaty with them; in particular, they fancy they see the error of proceeding severely with heretics; so that there is no reason to apprehend the return of such cruelties as were practised an age and a half ago.

In answer to this, and to lay open the falsehood of it, we are to look back to the first beginning of Luther's breach. It was occasioned by the scandalous sale of pardons and indulgences, which all the writers of the popish side give up, and acknowledge it was a great abuse: so in the countries where the Reformation has got an entrance, or in the neighbourhood of them, this is no more heard of; and it has been taken for granted, that such an infamous traffic was now no more practised. But of late, that we have had armies in Spain and Portugal, we are well assured that it is still carried on there in the most barefaced manner possible. It is true, the proclaiming a sale is forbid by a bull; but there is a commissary in every place who manages the sale with the most infamous circumstances imaginable. In Spain, by an agreement with the pope, the king has the profits of this bull; and it is no small branch of his revenue. In Portugal the king and the pope go shares. Dr. Colbatch has given a very particular account of the managing the bull there: for as there is nothing so impudent that those men are ashamed to venture on, so they may safely do what they please where the terror of the inquisition is so severe a restraint that men dare not whisper against anything that is under that protection.

A notable instance of this has appeared lately, when in the year 1709, the privateers of Bristol took the galleon, in which they found 500 bales of these bulls, and 16 reams were in a bale: so that they reckoned the whole came to 3,840,000. These bulls are imposed on the people, and sold, the lowest at three rials, a little more than twenty-pence; but to some at fifty pieces of eight, about eleven pounds of our money; and this to be valued according to the ability of the purchaser, once in two years: all are obliged to buy them against Lent. Besides the account given of this in the cruising voyage, I have a particular attestation of it by captain Dampier, and one of the bulls was brought me printed, but so that it cannot be read. He was not concerned in casting up the number of them; but he says, that there was such a vast quantity of them, that they careened their ship with them.

As for any changes that may be made in popery, it is certain, infallibility is their basis: so nothing can be altered where a decision is once made. And as for the treatment of heretics, there has been such a scene of cruelty of late opened in France, and continued there now almost thirty years without intermission, that even in the kingdom where popery has affected to put the best face on things possible, we have seen a cruel course of severity, beyond anything in history. I saw it in its first and sharpest fury, and can never forget the impression that made on me.

A discovery lately made shows what the spirit of those at Rome who manage the concerns of that religion is, even in a mild reign, such as Odischalei's was; and we may well suppose that because it was too mild, this was ordered to be laid before him, to animate him with a spirit of persecution. When the abbey of St. Gall was taken in the late war in Switzerland, a manuscript was found, that the court of Propaganda ordered their secretary to prepare for Innocent the Eleventh's own use, which after his death came into the hands of cardinal Sfondrato, who was abbot of St. Gall, and so at his death left this book there. It gives a particular account of all the missions they have in all the parts of the world; and of the rules and instructions given them, with which I hope those worthy persons in whose hands this valuable book is now fallen will quickly acquaint the world. The conclusion of it is an address to the pope, in which they lay his duty before him from two of the words in the New Testament, directed to St. Peter. The first was, "Feed my sheep;" which obliged him not only to feed the flock that was gathered at that time, but to prosecute the constant increase of it, and to bring those sheep into it that were not of that fold. But the other word was addressed to him by a voice from heaven, when the sheet was let down to him full of all sorts of beasts, of which some were unclean, "Rise, Peter, kill and eat," to let all see that it is the duty of the great pontiff to rise up with apostolical vigilance, to kill and to extinguish in the infidels their present life, and then to eat them, to consubstantiate their false and brutal doctrine into the verity of our faith. There is an affectation in these last words suitable to the genius of the Italians. This application of these two passages, as containing the duties of a pope, was formerly made by Baronius in a flattering speech to encourage pope Paul the Fifth in the war he was designing against the Venetians.

By this we see, that how much soever we may let the fears of popery wear out of our thoughts, they are never asleep, but go on steadily, prosecuting their designs against us. Popery is popery still, acted by a cruel and persecuting spirit; and with what caution soever they may hide or disown some scandalous practices, where heretics dare look into their proceedings, and lay them open; yet even these are still practised by them, when they know they may safely do it, and where none dare open their mouth against them; and therefore we see what reason we have to be ever watching, and on our guard against them.

This is the duty of every single Christian among us; but certainly those peers and commoners, whom our constitution has made the trustees and depositaries of our laws and liberties, and of the legal security of our religion, are under a more particular obligation of watching carefully over this sacred trust, for which they must give a severe account in the last day, if they do not guard it against all danger, at what distance soever it may appear. If they do not maintain all the fences and outworks of it, or suffer breaches to be made on any of them; if they suffer any part of our legal establishment to be craftily under-

mined; if they are either absent or remiss on critical occasions; and if any views of advantage to themselves prevail on them to give up or abandon the establishment and security of our religion: God may work a deliverance for us another way, and if it seem good in his eyes, he will deliver us; but they and their families shall perish, their names will rot and be held in detestation; posterity will curse them, and the judgments of God will overtake them, because they have sold that which was the most sacred of all things, and have let in an inundation of idolatry, superstition, tyranny, and cruelty upon their church and country.

But in the last place, those who are appointed to be the watchmen, who ought to give warning, and to lift up their voice as a trumpet when they see those wolves ready to break in and devour the flock, have the heaviest account of all others to make if they neglect their duty, much more if they betray their trust: if they are so set on some smaller matters, and are so sharpened upon that account, that they will not see their danger, nor awaken others to see it, and to fly from it; the guilt of those souls who have perished by their means God will require at their hands, if they, in the view of any advantage to themselves, are silent when they ought to cry out day and night: they will fall under the character given by the prophet, of the watchmen in his time. "They are blind, they are all ignorant, they are all dumb dogs; they cannot bark, sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber: yea, they are greedy dogs, which can never have enough: and they are shepherds that cannot understand; they all look to their own way, every one for his gain from his quarter: that say, Come, I will fetch wine, and we will fill ourselves with strong drink; to-morrow shall be as this day, and much more abundant."

This is a lively description of such pastors as will not so much as study controversies, and that will not know the depths of Satan; that put the evil day far off, and as the men in the days of Noah or Lot, live on at their ease, satisfying themselves in running round a circle of dry and dead performances, that do neither awaken themselves, nor others. When the day of trial comes, what will they say? To whom will they fly for help? Their spirits will either sink within them, or they will swim with the tide: the cry will be, "The church! the church!" even when all is ruin and a desolation. I hope they will seriously reflect on the few particulars that I have, out of many more, laid together in this Introduction, and see what weight may be in them, and look about them, to consider the dangers we are in, before it is too late: but what can be said of those who are already going into some of the worst parts of popery? It is well known, that in practice, the necessity of auricular confession, and the priestly absolution, with the conceit of the sacrifice of the mass, are the most gainful parts of popery, and are indeed those that do most effectually subdue the world to it. The independence of the church on the state is also so contended for, as if it were on design to disgrace our Reformation. The indispensable necessity of the priesthood to all sacred functions is carried in the point of baptism further than popery. Their devotions are openly recommended, and a union with the Gallican church has been impudently proposed; the Reformation and the reformers are by many daily vilified, and that doctrine that has been most universally maintained by our best writers, I mean the supremacy of the crown, is on many occasions arraigned. What will all these things end in! and on what design are they driven!—Alas, it is too visible.

God be thanked, there are many among us that stand upon the watch-tower, and that give faithful warning; that stand in the breach, and make themselves a wall for their church and country; that cry to God day and night, and lie in the dust mourning before him, to avert those judgments that seem to hasten towards us: they search into the mystery of iniquity that is working among us, and acquaint themselves with all that mass of corruption that is in popery. They have another notion of the worship of God, than to dress it up as a splendid opera: they have a just notion of priesthood as a function that imports a care of souls, and a solemn performing the public homage we owe to God; but do not invert it to a political piece of craft, by which men's secrets are to be discovered, and all are subdued by a tyranny that reaches to men's souls as well as to their worldly concerns. In a word, they consider religion in the soul as a secret sense of divine matters, which purifies all men's thoughts, and governs all their words and actions: and in this light they propose

it to their people, warning them against all dangers, and against all deceivers of all sorts ; watching over them as those that must give an account to the Great Bishop of Souls, feeding the flock over which the Holy Ghost has made them overseers, ready to lay down their lives for them, looking for their crown from the Chief Shepherd, when he shall appear.

May the number of these good and faithful servants increase daily more and more ; may their labours be so blessed, that they may see the travail of their soul and be satisfied ; and may many by their means and by their example be so awakened, that they may resist even to blood, striving against sin, and against the man of sin ; and may I be of that number, labouring while it is day, and ready when the night comes, either to lie down and rest in the grave, or if God calls me to it, to seal that doctrine, which I have been preaching now above fifty years, with my blood : may His holy will be done, so I may but glorify Him in my soul and body, which are his !

THE HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

PART III.—BOOK I.

OF MATTERS THAT HAPPENED IN THE TIME COMPREHENDED IN THE FIRST BOOK OF THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

BEFORE I enter on the affairs of England, I have thought it would be of great use to prepare the reader for what relates to them, by setting before him the progress of that agreement into which the French king's affairs carried him, by which he delivered up one great part of the liberties of the Gallican church to the pope, and invaded the rest himself. This was carried on in a course of many years; and the scene lying next us, and it being concluded in the very time in which the breach of this nation was far carried on in the year 1532, I thought it would not be an improper beginning of my work to set out that matter very copiously, since it is highly probable that it had a great influence on all who were capable to reflect on it.

The greatest transaction that happened in this period being the setting up the Concordat in the room of the Pragmatic Sanction by Francis the First, it will be necessary, in order to the clear opening of the matter, to look back into the former ages.

The progress of the Papal Usurpations. Anno 1300. pope, and the next day attired as emperor, declaring, that all power, both spiritual and temporal, was in him, and derived from him: and he cried out with a loud voice, "I am pope and emperor, and have both the earthly and heavenly empire;" and he made a solemn decree in these words: "We say, define, and pronounce, that it is absolutely necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the bishop of Rome." The Holy War, as it was called, was a great part of the business of that interval, by which the authority and wealth of the papacy received no small addition: it is true, the removal of the popes to Avignon, and the schism that followed upon the popes' return to Rome, did put no small stop to that growing power, and to the many and great usurpations and inventions not known to former ages, which were set on foot to draw all people into a servile dependence on the popes.

This long schism between the popes that sate at Rome and Avignon was the best conjuncture the bishops could ever have hoped for to recover their authority, which had been for some ages oppressed, and indeed trodden under foot, by the papacy. And if that had happened in a less ignorant age, it is very probable there would have been more effectual provisions made against it. The bishops that met at Constance did not apprehend that the continuance of that breach was that in which their strength lay;

they made too much haste to heal it; but they soon found that when all was again united, none of the regulations that they made could restrain a power that pretended to know no limits. The greatest security of the church, as they thought, was in the act for perpetual general councils, which were to meet after short intervals; and in the act for subjecting the popes to the councils, requiring them to call them and the council to meet at the end of ten years, whether the pope summoned it or not.

But these proved feeble restraints, yet the council of Basil did sit pursuant to the decree made at Constance; and the bishops who met there endeavoured, as much as their low size of learning could direct them, to set forward a reformation of those abuses that were brought into the church, and that supported that despotic power which the popes had assumed. They reckoned a regulation of the elections of bishops was the laying a good foundation, and the settling of pillars and bases upon which the fabric of the church might securely rest. Many bishops were made by papal provisions; these they simply condemned: others were promoted by the power and favour of princes, to which ambitious men recommended themselves by base compliances and simoniacal bargains; in opposition to these, they restored elections to the chapters with as good provisions as they could contrive, that they should be well managed

A contest falling in upon their proceedings between them and pope Eugenius the Fourth, they addressed themselves to Charles the Seventh, king of France, for his protection. They sent him the decrees they had made against annates, that is, first-fruits; a late device of pope Boniface the Ninth, then about fifty years' standing, pretending to carry on a war against the Turk by that aid. They also condemned *gratias expectativas*, or the survivances of bishoprics, and other benefices, with all clauses of reservations in bulls, by which popes reserved to themselves at pleasure such things as were in a bishop's collation. They appointed elections to be confirmed by the metropolitan, and not by the pope. They condemned all fees and exactions upon elections, except only a salary for the writer's pains; and all appeals, except to the immediate superior; with all appeals from a grievance, unless it was such that the final sentence must turn upon it: and when the appeal rose up by all intermediate steps to the pope, it was to be judged by delegates appointed to sit upon the place where the cause lay, or in the neighbourhood: only the causes marked expressly in the law, as greater causes, were reserved to the pope. Provision was made for the encouragement of learning, and of the universities, that the benefices that fell in any collator's gift should be in every third month of the year given to men that had been, during a limited number of years, bred in them, and had upon due trial obtained degrees in them. If a bishop had ten benefices in his gift, the pope might name to one; and if fifty, to two, but to no more. Some of the provisions relate to the discipline and order of the cathedral churches: but the main thing of all was their declaring the council to be above the pope; that the pope was bound to submit to it, and that appeals lay to it from him.

The first breach between the pope and the council was made up afterwards by the interposition of Sigismund, the emperor: the pope recalled his censures, confessed he had been misled, and ratified all that the council had done: but that lasted not long; for upon the pretence of treating of a reconciliation with the Greek church, some moved for a translation of the council to Ferrara; but the majority opposed it, yet the pope did translate it thither. Upon which the council condemned that bull, and proceeded against Eugenius. He, on the other hand, declared them to be no council, and excommunicated them: they, on their part, deposed him, and chose another pope, Amadeus, duke of Savoy, who took the name of Felix: he had retired from his principality, and upon that, they again begged the protection of France.

The king being thus applied to by them, summoned a great assembly to meet at Bourges, where the dauphin, the princes of the blood, many of the nobility, and many bishops met. They would not approve the deposition of the pope, nor the new election of Felix: but yet they rejected the meeting of Ferrara, and adhered to that at Basil. The decrees past at Basil were by them reduced into the form of an edict, and published under the title of the "Pragmatic Sanction;" which the

1438.
The Pragmatic Sanction made in France.

king declared he would have to be inviolably observed ; and he resolved to moderate matters between the pope and the council.

There are very different relations made of the effects that this edict had : some say that the church of France began to put on a new face upon it, and that men were advanced by The Effects it merit, and not, as formerly, by applications to the court of Rome, nor solicitation. had. tions at the court of France :—" Others give a most tragical representation of elections, as managed by faction, indirect arts, the solicitations of women, and simoniacal bargains ; and in some places by open violence, out of which many suits were brought into the courts of law. The treasure of the church was, as they said, applied to maintain these ; the fabric was let go to ruin, and bishops' houses dilapidated. Pope Leo the Tenth, in his bull that abrogates this sanction, enumerates many evils that arose out of these elections, and that, in particular, simony and perjury prevailed in them, of which he says he had undeniable evidence in the many absolutions and rehabilitations that were demanded of him." This might be boldly alleged, because it could not be disproved, how false soever it might be.

There might be some instances of faction, which were no doubt aggravated by the flatterers of the court of Rome : for the profits which came from France being stopped by the Pragmatic, all arts were used to disgrace it.

Eneas Silvius was counted one of the ablest men of that time. He was secretary to the council of Basil, and wrote copiously in defence of it against the pope : but he The Pope was gained over to the interests of the court of Rome ; he had a cardinal's hat, condemns it. and was afterwards advanced to the popedom, and reigned by the name of Pius the Second. He retracted all his former writings, but never answered them : yet he was so barefaced in setting himself to sale, that when he was reproached for changing sides, he answered, the popes gave dignities, abbeyes, bishoprics, and red hats to their creatures ; but he asked, how many of such good things did the council give ?

He distinguished himself, as deserters are apt to do, by railing at all that the council of Basil had done, and against the Pragmatic Sanction. He branded it as a heresy : In a Council and in a council that he held at Mantua twenty years after, he inveighed severely at Mantua. against it. He said bishops thought to have established their power ; but, on 1458. the contrary, their authority was ruined by it ; for ecclesiastical causes were brought into the secular courts, and all things were put into the king's hands : yet that sanction was observed in France till the king's death ; and though some were persuaded to go to Rome and to procure bulls, these were esteemed no better than traitors and enemies to the country. It is true, upon this the courts of parliament took upon them to judge in all ecclesiastical matters, and to examine whether the ecclesiastical courts had proceeded according to the laws of the church or not : and that the sentences of the temporal courts might be executed, they ordered the revenues of bishops, if they stood out in contumacy, to be seized into the king's hands, and their persons to be arrested.

When Danesius, the attorney-general, heard how pope Pius had arraigned the Pragmatic Sanction, and that he was designing to proceed to censures against the king and his ministers, he protested against all he had said, referring the decision of the matter to a general council.

Upon that king's death he was succeeded by Lewis the Eleventh ; and the bishop of Arras Lewis the having great credit with him, the pope gained him, by the promise of a cardinal's Eleventh ab- hat, to use his endeavours to get the king to abrogate the Sanction ; and because rogates it. he thought that which might work most on the king, was the apprehension that much money which was now kept within the kingdom would upon the laying it aside be carried to Rome, this expedient was offered, that there should be a legate resident in France with powers to grant such bulls as was necessary : though this was never done, and it seems it was only offered as a specious concession to gain their point. King Lewis the Eleventh's character is given us so fully by Philip de Comines, who knew him well, that none who have read him wonder to find, that when he needed any favour from the court of Rome, Councils he made the fullest submission that any king perhaps ever made : that he, in a tom. xiv. letter he wrote to the pope, owns " the pope to be God's vicar on earth, to whose words p. 97. he will always hearken and obey : and therefore, though the Pragmatic Sanction

was received upon long deliberation in a great assembly, and was now fully settled, yet since the pope desired that it might be abrogated, and since the bishop of Arras had put him in mind of the solemn promise that he had made by him, before he came to the crown, he reckoning that obedience was better than all sacrifice, since that Sanction was made in a time of sedition and schism, so that by it his kingdom was not conform to other kingdoms; though many men studied to maintain it, yet he resolved to follow and obey the pope's orders; therefore he abrogates it entirely, and does of his own accord, not compelled in any sort, restore him to the authority that Martin the Fifth and Eugenius the Fourth did exercise in former times; and bids him use the power given him by God at his pleasure; and promises, on the word of a king, that he will take care that all his commands shall be executed within his kingdom, without opposition or appeal; and that he will punish such as are contumacious, as the pope shall direct."

Here was an entire submission, penned no doubt by the aspiring cardinal. It was received at Rome with no small joy; the Pragmatic was dragged about the streets of Rome, the pope wept for joy, and at mass on Christmas-eve, he consecrated a sword with a rich scabbard, to be sent to the king. The title of the "Most Christian King" had been given by former popes to some kings of France; but pope Pius was the person who upon this high merit, made it one of the titles of the crown: such as read De Comines' History will not find any other merit in that king to entitle him to so glorious an appellation.

The court of parliament of Paris interposed; they made a noble remonstrance to the king, in which they pressed him to maintain the Pragmatic Sanction, which had its original from a general council, and they affirmed that the king was obliged to maintain it. Yet afterwards, that king's project of engaging the pope to assist his son-in-law to recover Sicily, then possessed by the bastard of Arragon, did miscarry, the pope refusing to concur in it; upon which the king was offended, and carried his submissions no farther; only he suffered bulls of reservations and survivances to take place again.

This matter was taken up again six years after by pope Paul the Second. A new minister was gained by the same bait of a cardinal's hat, to procure the revocation: so the king's edict was sent to the court of parliament of Paris to be registered there in vacation-time. The court ordered the attorney-general to examine it. St.-Romain was then attorney-general, and he behaved himself with such courage, that he was much celebrated for it. "He opposed the registering it, and spoke much in the praise of the Pragmatic Sanction: he showed the ill consequences of repealing it; that it would let in upon them abuses of all sorts, which were by it condemned; all affairs relating to the church would be settled at Rome; many would go and live there, in hopes of making their fortunes by provisions. He set forth that ten or twelve bulls of survivances were sometimes obtained upon the same benefice; and during three years in pope Pius's time (in which the exact observation of the Pragmatic Sanction was let fall), twenty-two bishoprics happening to fall void, five hundred thousand crowns were sent to Rome to obtain bulls; and sixty-two abbeys being then vacant, a like sum was sent for their bulls; and one hundred and twenty thousand crowns were sent to obtain other ecclesiastical preferments. He added, that for every parish there might be a bull of *gratia expectativa*, or survivance, purchased at the price of twenty-five crowns; besides a vast number of other graces and dispensations. He insisted that the king was bound to maintain the rights and liberties of the church in his kingdom, of which he was the founder and defender."

The aspiring cardinal, offended with this honest freedom of the attorney-general, told him he should fall under the king's displeasure, and lose his place for it. He answered, the king had put him "in the post freely, he would discharge it faithfully as long as the king thought fit to continue him in it; and he was ready to lay it down whensoever it pleased the king; but he would suffer all things rather than do anything against his conscience, the king's honour, and the good of the kingdom." The favourite prevailed to get him turned out, but the crafty king gave him secretly great rewards; he esteemed him the more for his firmness, and restored him again to his place.

The university of Paris also interposed, and the rector told the legate that if the matter was further prosecuted, they would appeal to a general council; but this notwithstanding, and though the court of parliament stood firm, yet the king being under the apprehensions of some practice of his brothers of Rome, whom he hated mortally; in order to the defeating those, renewed his promises for abrogating the Pragmatic Sanction; and it was for many years let fall into desuetude. Towards the end of this reign, an assembly was held at Orleans, in order to the re-establishing the pragmatic sanction, and the hindering money to be carried to Rome. The king died 1483.

Upon Charles the VIII.'s succeeding, an assembly of the Estates was held at Tours, in which the observation of the pragmatic sanction was earnestly pressed: the third estate insisted on having it entirely restored. The prelates who had been promoted contrary to it, under king Louis, opposed this vehemently, and were in reproach called the court-bishops, unduly promoted; and were charged as men that aspired to favour at Rome. St. Romain, now again attorney-general, said, he knew no ecclesiastical law better calculated to the interest of the kingdom than the pragmatic sanction was, and therefore he would support it. The king saw it was for his advantage to maintain it, and so was firmly resolved to adhere to it. The courts of parliament not only judged in favour of elections made by virtue of that sanction, but by earnest remonstrances they pressed the king to prohibit the applications made to the court of Rome for graces condemned by it.

Innocent VIII. continued by his legates to press the entire repeal of the pragmatic; yet, notwithstanding all opposition, it continued to be observed during Charles VIII.'s reign. Louis XII. did, by a special edict, appoint it to be for ever observed. Thus it continued till the council of Lateran, summoned by pope Julius II., to which Silvester, bishop of Worcester, and sir Robert Wingfield, were commissioned by king Henry VIII. to go "in his name, and on behalf of the kingdom, to conclude everything for the good of the catholic church, and for a reformation both in the head and in the members; and to consent to all statutes and decrees for the public good, promising to ratify whatever they or any of them should do." The king's empowering two persons in such a manner seems no small invasion of the liberties of the church; but it was in the pope's favour, so it was not challenged.

This council was called by that angry pope chiefly against Louis XII.: and the pragmatic sanction was arraigned in it, both because it maintained the authority of the council to be superior to the pope, and because it cut off the advantages that the court had made by the bulls sent into France. The pope brought Louis XI.'s letters-patents, by which it was abrogated, into the council; and the advocate of the council, after he had severely arraigned it, insisted to have it condemned. So a monition was decreed, summoning all who would appear for it to come and be heard upon it within sixty days. The pope died in February thereafter.

Pope Leo X. succeeded, and renewed the monitory letters issued out by his predecessor: but the personal hatred with which Julius prosecuted Louis being at an end, things were more calmly managed. Some bishops were sent from the Gallican church to assist in the council; but before anything could be concluded, king Louis dying, Francis succeeded. He understood that the pope and the council were intending to proceed against the pragmatic sanction, so he resolved to bring the matter to an agreement; in which some progress was made in an interview that he had with the pope at Bononia. It was concluded by a sanction called the concordat, between the cardinals of Ancona and of Sanctorum Quatuor on the pope's side, and chancellor Prat for the king.

Some small differences remained, which were all yielded as the pope desired: and in the month of December the pope's bull, condemning the pragmatic sanction, was read, and approved by that council, such as it was.

The Concordat was put instead of it. The truth was, Francis was young, and was so set on pursuing his designs in Italy, in which he saw the advantage of having the pope on his side, that he sacrificed all other considerations to that, and made the best bargain he could. "The king and the pope divided the matter between them. When any bishopric became vacant, the king was within six months to name to it

a doctor, or one licensed in divinity, of the age of twenty-seven. If the pope did not approve of the nomination, the king had three months more to nominate another; but if he failed again, the pope was to provide one to the see. The pope had reserved to himself the providing of all that became vacant in the court of Rome (a pretension the popes had set on foot, in which by degrees they had enlarged the extent of it to very great and undetermined bounds, and did thereby dispose of many benefices). And the king was limited in his nomination by some conditions, with relation to the person so nominated; yet the want of these was not to be objected to the king's kindred, or to other illustrious persons. The king was also to nominate to all abbeys a person of twenty-three years of age. *Gratiæ expectativæ*, or survivances and reservations in bulls, were never to be admitted: only one benefice might be reserved from a collator of ten; and two, from one of fifty. Causes of appeals were to be judged *in partibus*, in the parts where the matters lay, excepting the causes enumerated in the law, as greater causes. It was also provided, that in all bulls that were obtained, the true value of the benefice was to be expressed, otherwise the grace was null and void." No mention was made of annates; and in other particulars, the articles in the pragmatic-sanction were inserted. The pope promised he would send a legate to France to tax the value of all ecclesiastical benefices. All former excommunications were taken off, with an indemnity for all that was passed.

The king having the two instruments, the one abrogating the pragmatic sanction, and the other establishing the concordat, sent in great pomp to him, in order to their being registered in parliament, resolved only to offer the latter as that in which the other was virtually comprehended. So he went in person to the court of parliament, to which many great men, divines, and other persons of distinction, were called. The chancellor set forth the hatred pope Julius bore king Louis XII., and the violence with which he had proceeded against him: the king succeeding when the council of the Lateran was assembled, which was composed chiefly of members of the court, or of dependers on the court of Rome; who were all engaged against the pragmatic sanction as that which diminished their profits: the king saw it was in vain to insist in defending it: but apprehending, if it were simply condemned, all the old oppressions would again take place, he being then engaged in a most dangerous war in Italy, saw no better way to gain the pope than by agreeing to the concordat.

The ecclesiastics who were present said, by their mouth, the cardinal of Boisi, that the concordat did so affect the whole Gallican church, that, without a general consent, it could not be approved. The king upon this said, with some indignation, that he would command them either to approve it, or he would send them to Rome to dispute the matter there with the pope. The president answered, in the name of the court, that he would report the king's pleasure to the court; and they would so proceed in that matter as to please both God and the king. The chancellor replied, the court were wise. The king said, he did enjoin them to obey without delay. Then letters-patents were made out, setting forth the concordat, and requiring the court of parliament and all other judges to observe it, and to see it fully executed.

Some days after that, the chancellor, with some of the officers of the crown, came and brought the whole courts together, and delivered them the king's letters-patents, requiring them to register the concordat. They upon that appointed the king's council to examine the matters in it. The advocate-general did, in the chancellor's presence, represent the inconvenience of receiving the concordats, by which the liberties of the Gallican church were lessened; and said, that, by the paying of annates, much money would be carried out of the kingdom. So he desired they would appoint a committee to examine it. Four were named; who, after they had sate about it ten days, desired more might be added to them: so the president of the enquets, or inquisitions, and four more, were joined to them. A week after that, the advocate-general moved the court to proceed still to judge according to the pragmatic, and not to receive the revocation of it; against which he put in an appeal. Four days after this, the bastard of Savoy, the king's natural uncle, came into the court with orders from the king, requiring them to proceed immediately to the publishing the concordats; appointing him to hear all their

King Francis carried it to the Parliament of Paris.

It was there opposed by the Ecclesiastics of that Court.

Opposition made to it by the King's learned Council.

debates, that he might report all to the king. He told them how much the king was offended with their delays. They, on the other hand, complained of his being present to hear them deliver their opinions. They sent some of their number to lay this before the king; it looked like a design to frighten them, when one not of their body was to hear all that passed among them. The king said there were some worthy men among them; but others, like fools, complained of him, and of the expense of his court: he was a king, and had as much authority as his predecessors. They had flattered Louis XII., and called him the Father of Justice: he would also have justice done with all vigour. In Louis's time some were banished the kingdom because they did not obey him; so, if they did not obey him, he would send some of them to Bordeaux, and others to Toulouse, and put good men in their places; and told them he would have his uncle present during their deliberation. So they were forced to submit to it.

On the 13th of June they began to deliver their opinions; and that lasted till the 24th of

1517. July: and then they concluded that the court could not, and ought not to register
They resolve not to publish it. the concordats, but that they would still observe the pragmatic sanction; and that the university of Paris, and all others that desired to be heard, ought to be heard.

Therefore they said they must appeal from the abrogation of the pragmatic sanction; and if the king would insist to have the concordat observed, a great assembly ought to be summoned, such as Charles VII. had called to settle the pragmatic. They also charged the Savoyard to make a true report to the king of their proceedings.

Upon this the king wrote to them, to send some of their body to give him an account of
The King was highly offended at this. the grounds they went on. Two were sent; but it was long before they were admitted to his presence, the king saying he would delay their despatch as they had delayed his business.

When they were admitted, they were ordered to put what they had to offer in writing: this they did, but desired to be likewise heard; but being asked if they had anything to offer that was not in their paper, they said they had not, but desired the king would hear their paper read to him: the king refused it. They were a body of one hundred persons, and had been preparing their paper above seven months; but the chancellor would answer it in less time; and the king would not suffer them to have a verbal process against what he had done. He told them there was but one king in France; he had done the best he could to bring all to a quiet state, and would not suffer that which he had done in Italy to be undone in France; nor would he suffer them to assume an authority like that of the senate of Venice. It was their business to do justice, but not to put the kingdom in a flame, as they had attempted to do in his predecessor's time. He concluded, he would have them approve the concordats; and if they gave him more trouble, he would make them ambulatory, and to follow his court: nor would he suffer any more ecclesiastics to be of their body. They were not entirely his subjects, since he had no authority to cut off their heads: they ought to say their breviary, and not to meddle in his affairs.

They answered him, that these things were contrary to the constitution of their court. He said he was sorry his ancestors had so constituted it; but he was king as well as they were, and he would settle them on another foot: so he bid them be gone early the next morning. They begged a short delay, for the ways were bad; but the great-master told them, from the king, that if they were not gone by such an hour he would put them in prison, and keep them in it six months; and then he would see who would move to set them at liberty. So they went to Paris. The duke of Tremouille was sent after them to the parliament, to let them know that the king would have the concordats to be immediately published without any further deliberation: they must obey the king as became subjects; he told them the king had repeated that ten times to him in the space of a quarter of an hour; and concluded, that if they delayed any longer to obey the king, the king would make all the court feel the effects of his displeasure.

The court called for the king's learned council, but they said they had received positive
The King's learned Council oppose it no longer. orders from the king by Tremouille, to consent to the concordats; otherwise the king would treat them so, that they should feel it sensibly. The advocate-general said he was sorry for the methods the king took; but he wished they would consider what might follow, if they continued to deny what was so earnestly

pressed on them: the publishing this could be of no force, since the church, that was so much concerned in it, was neither called for nor heard; the thing might be afterwards set right, for Lewis the Eleventh saw his error, and changed his mind. He offered two things to soften that which was required of them: one was to insert in the register, that it was done in obedience to the king's commands often repeated; the other was, that they should declare that they did not approve the abrogation of the pragmatic sanction, but were then only to publish the concordats; and that they might resolve in all their judiciary proceedings to have no regard to that, and in particular to that clause, that all bulls were void

if the true value of the benefice was not expressed in them. On the 18th of

1518. March they came to this resolution, that their decree of the 24th of July, for observing the pragmatic, was by them fully confirmed; but in obedience to the king's commands, they published the concordats, adding a protestation, that the court did not approve it, but intended in all their sentences to judge according to the pragmatic sanction.

The court made these protestations in the hands of the bishop of Langres, a duke and peer of France, setting forth that their liberty was taken from them; that the publication of the concordats was not done by their order, but against their mind, by the king's express order; and that they did not intend to approve it, nor to be governed by it in their judgments, but to observe the pragmatic sanction. They ordered likewise an appeal to be made from the pope to the pope better advised, and to the next general council: upon all which the bishop of Langres made an authentic instrument; so it was resolved to proceed to publication on the 22nd of March: but on the 21st, the rector of the university of Paris, accompanied by some of that body, and by some advocates, appeared, desiring to be heard before they should proceed to such publication. The court received his petition, and promised to consider it; but said, if they made the publication, it should not prejudice any of their rights, for they were resolved to judge as formerly, notwithstanding that; yet they required him not to publish this. The dean of Nostredame came on the 22nd to the court, and said they heard they were going to publish the concordats, which both implied their condemning the councils of Constance and Basil, and tended to the destruction of the liberties of the Gallican church, which the popes had always envied them. He desired they would not proceed to it until the whole Gallican church was consulted in the matter; and protested that what they were about to do, should not be to the prejudice of the church. After this was received, they proceeded to the publication, as they had promised, adding these words to it: "Read, published, and registered by the order and command of the king, often repeated to us in the presence of the lord of Tremouille his first chamberlain, specially sent to have it done." And on the 24th of March they renewed their protestation, that they did not approve of it; that they insisted in their former appeals, and were resolved to proceed in all their judgments without regard to it.

On the 27th of March, the rector of the university ordered a mandate to be affixed, prohibiting their printers to print the concordats: he likewise appealed from the pope to a general council, lawfully assembled, sitting in a safe place, and in full freedom. This was printed and affixed; and great reflections were made by some preachers in their sermons, both on the king and on the chancellor. The king being informed of this, wrote to the first president, complaining both of the rector and of the preachers: he ordered them to take informations of all those matters, and to get the concordats to be printed as soon as was possible, and to punish the authors of sedition. But the court said they knew nothing tending that way, for their business took them up so entirely that they could not attend on sermons. The king complained likewise severely of the appeal they had made; he was monarch, and had no superior to whom an appeal could lie: he also sent an order to inhibit all meetings in the university.

In the concordat it was provided, that if it was not published within six months in France, it should be null and void: but the delays that had been made put the king on getting that term prolonged a year longer. "The three chief exceptions that the parliament had to the concordats were, first, the declaring bulls void if the true value of the benefices was not set forth in them; which might put the obtainers of them to great charge and many suits: the second was the

The Parliament publishes it, but with a Protestation.

The University and Clergy oppose it.

The Exceptions to the Concordat by the Parliament.

carrying the 'greater causes' to be judged at Rome: the third was concerning elections. The first of these was given up, and was no further urged by the court of Rome: but it was not settled what those 'greater causes' were. By the pragmatic they were restrained to bishoprics and monasteries; but the concordats held the matter in general words: so the number of these causes was indefinite; and on all occasions it would increase as the canonists pleased. They condemned that device of the court of Rome, of granting provisions for all that was held by any who died in the court, considering the great extent to which that had been carried: they also found that by the concordats, all nunneries were left to the pope's provision; and likewise all inferior dignities, such as deaneries and provostships. All churches that had special privileges were exempted from the king's nomination; and at Rome, exceptions might be unjustly made to the persons named by the king: but above all, they stood on this, that the right of electing was founded on the law of God, and on natural right; that this was established by the authority of general councils, by the civil law, and by many royal edicts, during all the three races of their kings: this right was now taken away without hearing the parties concerned to set it forth. If there had crept in abuses in elections, these might be corrected: but they thought the king usurped that which did not belong to him, on this pretence, that the pope granted it to him; which was contrary both to the doctrine and practice of the Gallican church. They found many lesser exceptions in point of form to the method of abrogating the pragmatic sanction: one was, that the council of the Lateran did forbid all persons that held lands of the church to observe or maintain that sanction, under the pain of forfeiting those lands; which was a plain invasion of the king's prerogative, who is supreme lord of all those lands within his dominions: the pope also took upon him to annul that sanction, that then subsisted by the royal authority: this might be made a precedent in time to come for annulling any of their laws. They likewise thought the taking away the pragmatic sanction, which was made upon the authority of the councils of Constance and Basil, and had declared the subjection of the pope to the council, did set aside that doctrine, and set up the pope's authority above the council; though the pragmatic was made while the pope was reconciled to the council: and the breach upon which Eugenius was deposed happened not till almost a year after that; it being published in July 1438, and his deposition was not till June 1439: besides, that ten years after that pope Nicolaus the Fifth confirmed all the decrees made at Basil. They likewise put the king in mind of the oath he took at his coronation, to maintain all the rights and liberties of the Gallican church. So they moved the king either to prevail with the pope to call a general council, or that he would call a national one in France, to judge of the whole matter: and as for the threatenings given out, that the pope would depose the king, and give away his kingdom, if he did not submit to him; they said the king held his crown of God, and all such threatenings ought to be rejected with scorn and indignation.

To all these, the chancellor made a long and flattering answer; for which he had the usual reward of a cardinal's cap. He set forth the danger the king was in, being engaged in the war of Italy; the pope threatening him with censures: for the pragmatic sanction was then condemned by the pope, and that censure was ratified by the council in the Lateran; upon which he would have reassumed all the old oppressions, if the king had not entered into that treaty; yielding some points to save the rest. He said the kings of the first race nominated to bishoprics; for which he cited precedents from Gregory of Tours. So the kings of England did name, and the popes upon that gave provisions: the kings of Scotland did also name, but not by virtue of a right, but rather by connivance. He said elections had gone through various forms; sometimes popes did elect, sometimes princes with the people, sometimes princes took it into their own hands, sometimes the whole clergy without the people, and of late the canons chose without the concurrence of the clergy. That the king being in these difficulties, all those about him, and all those in France who were advised with in the matter, thought the accepting the concordats was just and necessary. Pope Leo repented that he had granted so much, and it was not without great difficulty that he brought the cardinals to consent to it: he went very copiously as a canonist through the other heads, softening some abuses, and showing that others had a long practice for them, and were observed in other kingdoms.

These were
answered by
the Chancellor.
101.

And thus was this matter carried in the parliament of Paris, in which as the court showed great integrity and much courage, which deserve the highest characters, with which such noble patriots ought to be honoured; so, in this instance, we see how feeble the resistance even of the worthiest judges will prove to a prince, who has possessed himself of the whole legislative authority, when he intends to break through established laws and constitutions, and to sacrifice the rights of his crown, and the interest of his people, to serve particular ends of his own. In such cases the generous integrity of judges, or other ministers, will be resented as an attempt on the sovereign authority: and such is the nature of arbitrary power, that the most modest defence of law and justice, when it crosses the designs of an insolent and corrupt minister, and an abused prince, will pass for disobedience and sedition.

If the assembly of the states in France had maintained their share of the legislative power, and had not suffered the right they once had to be taken from them, of being liable to no taxes but by their own consent, these judges would have been better supported; and the opposition they made upon this occasion would have drawn after it all the most signal expressions of honour and esteem that a nation owes to the trustees of their laws and liberties, when they maintain them resolutely, and dispense them equally; and the corrupt chancellor would have received such punishment as all wicked ministers deserve, who for their own ends betray the interest of their country.

The court of parliament showed great firmness after this: and it appeared that the protestation that they made of judging still according to the pragmatic was not only a piece of form to save their credit. The archbishop of Sens died soon after; and the king sent to inhibit the chapter to proceed to an election. It was understood that he designed to give it to the bishop of Paris; so the chapter wrote to that bishop not to give such a wound to their liberties as to take it upon the king's nomination: but seeing that he had no regard to that, they elected him, that so they might by this seem to keep up their claim. The bishop of Alby died soon after that; the king named one, and the chapter chose another: upon that, Alby being within the jurisdiction of Toulouse, the court of parliament there judged in favour of him who was elected by the chapter against him who had obtained bulls upon the king's nomination; at which the king was highly offended. The archbishopric of Bourges falling void soon after, the king nominated one, and the chapter elected another. The chapter pretended a special privilege to elect, so the pope judged in their favour. Some years after this, the king carried on his wars in Italy, leaving his mother regent of France: so the court of parliament made a remonstrance to her, setting forth the invasions that had been made upon the rights of the Gallican church; desiring her to interpose, that the pragmatic sanction and the liberty of elections might again have their full force; but that had no effect.

Soon after this, the king was taken prisoner by the army of Charles V. at the battle of Pavia: and upon that, his mother declared that she looked on her son's misfortunes as a judgment of God upon him for his abolishing the pragmatic sanction; and though she would not take it upon her to make any alteration during her son's absence, yet she promised, that when he should be set at liberty, she would use her utmost endeavours with him to set it up again, and to abolish the concordats. This was registered in the records of the court of parliament; yet it had no effect upon the king's return out of Spain. He finding the parliament resolved to maintain all elections, ordered that matter to be taken wholly out of their cognizance; and he removed all suits of that sort from the courts of parliament to the great council, upon some disputes that were then on foot concerning a bishopric and an abbey given to chancellor Prat, then made a cardinal, in recompense of the service he had done the court of Rome: so by that an end was put to all disputes.

The parliament struggled hard against this diminution of their jurisdiction: they wrote to the dukes and peers of France to move the regent not to proceed thus to lessen their authority. On the other hand, she said, they were taking all things into their own hands in prejudice of the king's prerogative. But the king confirmed that, and settled the chancellor in the possession of the see and abbey; and the proceedings of the parliament against him were annulled, and ordered to be struck out

The Matter
finally set-
tled.

The Parlia-
ment still
judged by the
Pragmatic
Sanction.

Upon the
King's being a
Prisoner, the
Concordat
was more con-
demned.

These Matters
removed from
the Parliament
to the Great
Council.

of their registers: and it appearing that some chapters and abbeys had special privileges for free elections, the king obtained a bull from Clement VII., suspending all those during the king's life. The court of Rome stood long upon this, and thought to have gained new advantages before it should be granted; but the pope was at that time in a secret treaty with the court of France, which was afterwards accomplished at Marseilles. So he was easier in this matter; and the bull was registered in parliament in May thereafter. And upon this, the chancellor, pretending that he would see and examine those privileges, called for them all; and when they were brought to him, he threw them all into the fire.

But to lay all that I have found of this matter together: the clergy of France, in a remonstrance that they made to king Henry III., affirmed, that Francis at his death declared to his son that nothing troubled his conscience more than his taking away canonical elections, and his assuming to himself the nomination to bishoprics. If this was true, his son had no regard to it, but went on as his father had done. Upon his death, when the cardinal of Lorraine pressed the parliament to proceed in the vigorous prosecution of heresy, they remonstrated that the growth of heresy flowed chiefly from the scandals that were given by bad clergymen and ill bishops; and that the ill choice that had been made by the court, since the concordats were set up, gave more occasion to the progress that heresy made than any other thing whatsoever. The courts were so monstrously corrupt during that and the two former reigns, that no other could be expected from them.

An assembly of the estates was called in the beginning of Charles IX.'s reign. In it the first estate prayed, that the pragmatic sanction might again take place, particularly in the point of elections. They backed this with great authorities of councils, ancient and modern: with them the two other estates agreed. The court tried to shift this off, promising to send one to Rome to treat about it; but that did not satisfy. So a decree was drawn up to this effect: that an archbishop should be chosen by the bishops of his province, by the chapter of his cathedral, and twelve persons of the chief of the laity; and a bishop by the metropolitan and the chapter. The court of parliament opposed this: they thought the laity ought to have no share in elections; so they pressed the restoring the pragmatic sanction without any alteration. Yet, in conclusion, the decree was thus amended: an archbishop was to be chosen by the bishops of the province and the chapter of the see; but a bishop was to be chosen by the archbishop, with the bishops of the province and the chapter, and by twenty-four of the laity to be thus nominated:—all the gentry were to be summoned to meet, and to choose twelve to represent them at the election; and the city was to choose other twelve. All these were to make a list of three persons to be offered to the king; and the man named by the king was to have the see. Thus they designed to bring this matter into a form as near the customs mentioned in the Roman law as they could; but this design vanished, and was never put in practice.

The clergy still called for restoring the elections: president Ferrier was sent to Rome to obtain it. He in a long speech showed, that neither the Gallican church nor the courts of parliament had ever received the concordat; that shadow of approbation given to it by the parliament of Paris being extorted from them by force; and he laid out all the inconveniences that had happened since the concordats were set up. But that court felt the advantages they had by them too sensibly, to be ever prevailed with to give them up: and thus that great affair was settled, in the view of this church and nation, at the time that king Henry broke off all correspondence with it. It may be very reasonably presumed that inferences were made from this to let all people see what merchandise the court of Rome made of the most sacred rights of the church when they had their own profits secured; and therefore the wise men in this church at that time might justly conclude that their liberties were safer, while they remained an entire body within themselves, under a legal constitution; by which, if princes carried their authority too far, some check might be given to it by those from whom the public aids were to be obtained for supporting the government than while all was believed to belong to the popes, who would at any time make a bargain, and divide the spoils of the church with crowned heads, taking to themselves the gainful part, and leaving the rest in the hands of princes.

An Apology,
with the Rea-
sons for this
Digression.

I hope, though this relation does not belong properly to the history of the Reformation, yet, since it is highly probable it had a great influence on people's minds, this digression will be easily forgiven me. And now I turn to such of our affairs as fall within this period.

The first thing that occurred to me in order of time was a letter of queen Katharine's to king Henry, who, upon his crossing the sea, left the regency of the kingdom in her hands: the commission bears date the 11th of June, 1513. King James IV. of Scotland having invaded England with a great army, was defeated and killed by the earl of Surrey. The earl gave the queen the news in a letter to her, with one to the king: this she sent him, with a letter of her own, which being the only one of hers to the king that I ever saw, I have inserted it in my Collection. The familiarities of calling him, in one place, "my husband," and in another, "my Henry," are not unpleasant. She sent with it a piece of the king of Scots' coat to be a banner. She was then going to visit, as she calls it, Our Lady of Walsingham.

I will next open an account of the progress of cardinal Wolsey's fortunes, and the ascendant he had over the king. The first step he made into the church was to be rector of Lymington, in the diocese of Bath and Wells; then, on the 30th of July, 1508, he had a papal dispensation to hold the vicarage of Lyde, in the diocese of Canterbury, with his rectory. There is a grant to him as almoner, on the 8th of November, 1509. The next preferment he had was to be a prebendary of Windsor: he was next advanced to be dean of Lincoln. A year after that, pope Leo having reserved the disposing the see of Lincoln to himself, gave it to Wolsey, designed in the bulls dean of St. Stephen's, Westminster: but no mention is made of the king's nomination. This is owned by the king in the writ for the restitution of the temporalities. On the 14th of July 14, 1514. July, that year, cardinal de Medici, afterwards pope Clement VII., wrote to king Henry, that, upon the death of cardinal Bembridge, he had prayed the pope not to dispose of his benefices till he knew the king's mind, which the pope, out of his affection to the king, granted very readily. Perhaps the king did recommend Wolsey, but no mention is made of that in his bulls. The king granted the restitution of the temporalities of York before his instalment; for in the writ he is only called the elect archbishop; and it is not expressed that he had the king's nomination. He had Tournay in *commendam*, but resigned it into the hands of Francis, who for that gave him a pension of 12,000 livres during life. At the same time, prince Charles, afterwards Charles V., gave him a pension of 3000*l*. It seems he afterwards desired to have it better secured: so in the end of that year prince Charles lodged a pension of 5000 ducats to him on the bishopric of Pace in Castile. Above a year after that, pope Leo gave him a pension of 2000 ducats out of Palencia, instead of that which was charged on the bishopric of Pace. Besides all this, when Charles V. was in London, he gave him another pension of 9000 crowns, dated the 8th of June, 1522. It seems he had other pensions from France; for five years after this, there was an arrear stated there as due to him of 121,898 crowns. He had also pensions from other princes of a lower order. The duke of Milan's secretary did, by his master's express order, engage in the year 1515 to pay Wolsey 10,000 ducats a-year, he on his part engaging that there should be a perpetual friendship settled between the kings of England and France with that duke.

The French king being a prisoner, his favour was necessary in that distress; so the regent engaged to pay it in seven years' time. But whatever may be in Wolsey's provisions, when the bishopric of Salisbury was given to cardinal Campegio by a bull, mention is expressly made in it of the king's letters interceding humbly for him.

When king Henry wrote this book of the Seven Sacraments, it seems it was at first designed to send it over in manuscript; for Wolsey sent one to the king finely dressed, that was to be presented to the pope: and he writes that he was to send him more, which were to be sent about with the pope's bulls to all princes and universities. One in particular, as he writes, was far more excellent and princely. He also sent with it the choice of certain verses, to be written in the king's own

King Henry's
Book of the
Seven Sacra-
ments.
Col. Num. 2.

Sept. 16,
1513.
Col. Num. 2.
Queen Katha-
rine's Letter
to King Henry
upon the
Death of the
King of Scot-
land.

The Progress
of Wolsey's
Rise.

Rymer, tom.
13.

August 5.

July 31, 1518.

Dec. 16, 1518.

March 29,
1520.

Nov. 18, 1525.

Rymer, vol. xii.

hand in the book that was to be sent to the pope, and subscribed by him, to be laid up in the archives of the church, to his immortal glory and memory. The matter was so laid,

1521. that the book was presented to the pope on the 10th of October; and the very day after, the bull giving him the title of *Defender of the Faith* bears date.

U^t Spiritum affuisse Sanctum apparet. And in a private letter that pope Leo wrote to him, he runs out into copious strains of flattery, affirming, "that it appeared that the Holy Ghost assisted him in writing it."

The king was so pleased with the title that Wolsey directed his letters to him with it on the back, as appears in a letter of his that sets forth the low state of the affairs of Col. Num. 4. Spain in Italy. It appears it was written (for the year is not added in the date)

after that Luther wrote his answer to the king's book; at least, after letters came from him on the subject; the original of which he desires might be sent him that he might send it to the pope: and he intended to send copies, both of those and of the king's answers, to the cardinal of Mentz and to George duke of Saxony.

After the king's interviews, both with the emperor and the king of France, were over, new quarrels broke out, by which the emperor and Francis engaged in hostilities; but king Henry, pretending to be the umpire of their differences, sent Wolsey over to compose them. He came to Calais in the beginning of August. From Wolsey sent to Charles V. gained by him.

1521. Col. Num. 5. Dover he wrote to the king, and sent two letters to him, which the king was to write in his own hand to the emperor and to the lady regent of Flanders, which he desired the king would send to him; for he would move slowly towards him.

Thus he took the whole ministry into his own hands, and prepared even the king's secret letters for him. He was with the emperor thirteen days, who gave him a singular reception; for he came a mile out of town to meet him. The town is not named, but it was Bruges; for in one of Erasmus's letters he mentions his meeting Wolsey in that town, he being then with the emperor. The cardinal returned by the way of Gravelines; and from thence, beside the public letter, in which he gave the king an account of his negotiation, he wrote a private one to him, with this direction on it, "To the king's grace's own hands only." It seems he had no private conversation with the emperor formerly; for Col. Num. 6.

in this he observes, that "for his age he was very wise, and understood his affairs well: he was cold and temperate in speech, but spoke to very good purpose: he reckoned that he would prove a very wise man: he thought he was much inclined to truth, and to the keeping of his promises: he seemed to be inseparably joined to the king; and was resolved to follow his advice in all his affairs, and to trust the cardinal entirely. He twice or thrice, in secret, promised to him, by his faith and truth, to abide by this; he promised it also to all the rest of the privy council that were with the cardinal, in such a manner, that they all believed it came from his heart, without artifice or dissimulation." So Wolsey wrote to the king, "that he had reason to bless God that he was not only the ruler of his own realm, but that now, by his wisdom, Spain, Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries should be ruled and governed." Whether the emperor did by his prudent and modest behaviour really impose upon Wolsey, or whether by other secret practices he had so gained him as to oblige him to persuade the king to such a confidence in him, I leave it to the reader to judge.

It passes generally among all the writers of that age, that he aspired to the popedom, and that the emperor then promised him his assistance; in which he failing to him afterwards, Wolsey carried his revenges so far, that all the change of councils, and even the suit of the divorce, is in a great measure ascribed to it. I went into the stream in my History, and seemed persuaded of it; yet some original letters of Wolsey's, Col. Num. 7.

very doubtful. The first was upon the news of pope Adrian's death; upon which Col. Num. 7. Sept. 30.

Sept. 14. he immediately wrote to the king, "that his absence from Rome was the only obstacle of his advancement to that dignity: there were great factions then at Rome: he protests before God that he thought himself unfit for it, and that he desired much rather to end his days with the king; yet remembering that, at the last vacation (nine months before), the king was for his being preferred to it, thinking it would be for his service, and

Wolsey practices to be chosen Pope.

supposing that he was still of the same mind, he would prepare such instructions as had been before sent to Pace, dean of St. Paul's, then ambassador at Rome, and send them to him by the next." With this he also sent him the letters that he had from Rome. The

Col. Num. 8.
October 1. next day he sent the letters and instructions, directed to the king's ambassadors, who were the bishop of Bath, Pace, and Haniball, for procuring his preferment; or, that failing, for cardinal de' Medici. These he desired the king to sign and despatch: and that the emperor might more effectually concur, though pursuant to the conference he had with the king on that behalf he verily supposed he had not failed to advance it, he drew a private letter for the king to write with his own hand to the emperor, putting to it the secret sign and mark that was between them.

The despatch that, upon this, he sent to the king's ambassador at Rome, fell into my hands when I was laying out for materials for my second Part; but though it belonged in the order of time to the first, I thought it would be acceptable to the reader to see it, though not in its proper place. In it, after some very respectful words of pope Adrian, which, whether he wrote out of decency only, or that he thought so of him, Wolsey's De- I cannot determine, he tells them, that "before the vacancy both the emperor signs to be chosen Pope. and the king had great conferences for his advancement, though the emperor's absence makes that he cannot now join with them; yet the regent of the Netherlands, who knows his mind, has expressed an earnest and hearty concurrence for it: and by the letters of the cardinals de' Medici, Sanctorum Quatuor, and Campegio, he saw their affections. He was chiefly determined by the king's earnestness about it, though he could willingly have lived still where he was; his years increasing, and he knew himself unworthy of so high a dignity. Yet his zeal for the exaltation of the Christian faith, and for the honour and safety of the king and the emperor, made him refer himself to the pleasure of God. And in the king's name he sends them double letters: the first to the cardinal de' Medicis, offering the king's assistance to him; and if it was probable he would carry it, they were to use no other powers: but if he thought he could not carry it, then they were to propose himself to him, and to assure him, if he was chosen, the other should be as it were pope. They were to let the other cardinals know what his temper was; not austere, but free. He had great things to give that would be void upon his promotion; he had no friends nor relations to raise; and he knew perfectly well the great princes of Christendom, and all their interests and secrets. He promises he will be at Rome within three months if they choose him; and the king seems resolved to go thither with him. He did not doubt but, according to the many promises and exhortations of the emperor to him, that his party will join with them.

"The king also ordered them to promise large rewards and promotions, and great sums of money to the cardinals; and though they saw the cardinal de' Medici full of hope, yet they were not to give over their labour for him if they saw any hope of success: but they were to manage that so secretly that the other may have no suspicion of it." This was dated at Hampton-Court, the 4th of October.

To this a postscript was added in the cardinal's own hand to the bishop of Bath. He tells him "what a great opinion the king had of his policy; and he orders him to spare no reasonable offers, which perhaps might be more regarded than the qualities of the person. The king believed all the imperialists would be with him if there was faith in the emperor. He believed the young men, who for most part were necessitous, would give good ear to fair offers, which shall undoubtedly be performed. 'The king willeth you neither to spare his authority, nor his good money or substance:' so he concludes, praying God to send him good speed." But all this fine train of simony came too late; for it found a pope already chosen.

His next letter upon that subject tells the king, "that after great heat in the conclave the French party was quite abandoned; and the cardinals were fully resolved to choose cardinal de' Medici or himself. That this coming to the knowledge of the city of Rome, they came to the conclave windows and cried out what danger it would be to choose a person that was absent; so that the cardinals were in such fear, that though they were principally bent on him, yet, to avoid this danger, they, by the inspi-

Col. Num. 9.
December 17.

ration of the Holy Ghost, (so he writes,) did, on the 19th of November, choose cardinal de' Medici, who took the name of Clement VII.; of which good and fortunate news the king had great cause to thank Almighty God, since, as he was his faithful friend, so by his means he had attained that dignity; and that, for his own part, he took God to record, that he was much gladder than if it had fallen on his own person." In these letters there is no reflection on the emperor as having failed in his promise at the former election; nor is that election any way imputed to him, but laid on a casualty ordinary enough in conclaves; and more natural in that time, because pope Adrian's severe way had so disgusted the Romans, that no wonder if they broke out into disorders upon the apprehension of another foreigner being like to succeed. If it is suspected, that though Wolsey knew this was a practice of the emperor's, he might disguise it thus from the king, that so he might be less suspected in the revenge that he was meditating, the thing must be left as I find it; only, though the emperor afterwards charged Wolsey as acting upon private revenge for missing the popedom, yet he never pretended that he had moved himself in it, or had studied to obtain a promise from him, which would have put that general charge of his aspiring, and of his revenging himself for the disappointment, more heavily on him.

The king and the cardinal continued in a good correspondence both with that pope and the emperor till the battle of Pavia, that Francis's misfortune changed the face of affairs, and obliged the king, according to his constant and true maxim, to support the weaker side, and to balance the emperor's growing power, that by that accident was like to become quickly superior to all Christendom. It has been suggested that the emperor wrote before to Wolsey in terms of respect, scarce suitable to his dignity, but that he afterwards changed both his style and subscription: but I have seen many of his letters, to which the subscription is either your "good" or your "best friend;" and he still continued that way of writing. His letters are hardly legible, so that I could never read one complete period in any of them, otherwise I would have put them in my Collection.

But having looked thus far into Wolsey's correspondence with the king, I shall now set him in another light from a very good author the lord Burghley, who in that memorial prepared for queen Elizabeth against favourites probably intended to give some stop to the favour she bore the earl of Leicester, has set out the greatness of Wolsey's power, and the ill use he made of it. "He had a family equal to the court of a great prince. There was in it one earl and nine barons, and about a thousand knights, gentlemen, and inferior officers. Besides the vast expense of such a household, he gave great pensions to those in the court and conclave of Rome; by whose services he hoped to be advanced to the papacy. He lent great sums to the emperor, whose poverty was so well known, that he could have no prospect of having them repaid (probably this is meant of Maximilian). Those constant expenses put him on extraordinary ways of providing a fund for their continuance. He granted commissions under the great seal to oblige every man upon oath to give in the true value of his estate; and that those who had fifty pounds or upwards should pay four shillings in the pound. This was so heavy, that though it had been imposed by authority of parliament, it would have been thought an oppression of the subject: but he adds, that to have this done by the private authority of a subject, was what wants a name. When this was represented to the king, he disowned it, and said, no necessities of his should be ever so great as to make him attempt the raising money any other way but by the people's consent in parliament. Thus his illegal project was defeated; so he betook himself to another not so odious, by the way of benevolence: and to carry that through, he sent for the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and said to them, that he had prevailed with the king to recall his commissions for that heavy tax, and to throw himself on their free gifts. But in this he was likewise disappointed; for the statute of Richard the Third was pleaded against all benevolences: the people obstinately refused to pay it; and though the demanding it was for some time insisted on, yet the opposition made to it, being like to end in a civil war, it was let fall." All this I drew from that memorial. I found also a commission to the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord Calham, and others, setting forth the great wars

Lord Burgh-
leigh's Cha-
racter of
Wolsey.

that the king had in France, in which the duke of Bourbon, called one of the greatest princes in France, was now the king's servant: they are by it required to practise with all in Kent, whose goods amounted to four pounds or above, and whose names were given to a schedule, to anticipate the subsidy granted in parliament. This is all that has occurred to me with relation to Wolsey's ministry. I will in the next place set out what he attempted

or did in ecclesiastical matters, with the proceedings in convocation during this Wolsey's period. When king Henry called his first parliament by a writ tested October as Legate. 17, 1509, to meet at Westminster the 21st of January following, he did not intend to demand a supply; so there appears no writ for a convocation: but the archbishop of Canterbury summoned one, as it seems by his own authority; yet none sate then at York. The house of lords was sometimes adjourned by the lord treasurer; because the chancellor (Warham) and the other spiritual lords were absent, and engaged in convocation: but it does not appear what was done by them.

In the year 1511, on the 28th of November, a writ was sent to Warham to summon a convocation, which met the 6th of February: they had several sessions, and gave a subsidy of 24,000*l.* but did nothing besides with relation to matters of religion. There was some heat among them on the account of some grievances and excesses in the archbishops' courts. A committee was appointed of six persons, the bishops of Norwich and Rochester, the prior of Canterbury, the dean of St. Paul's, and an archdeacon, but without addition of his place; these were to examine the encroachments made by the archbishops' courts, and the inhibitions sent to the inferior courts; but especially as to the probates of wills, and the granting administrations to intestate goods, when there was any to the value of five pounds in several dioceses; an estimate first settled by Warham, for which he had officials and apparitors in every diocese, three or four in some, and five or six in others, which was looked on by them as contrary to law. Cardinal Morton is said to be the first who set up this pretence of prerogative: against these the bishops alleged the constitutions of Ottobonus and of archbishop Stratford: it is also set forth, that when Warham was an advocate, he was employed by Hill, bishop of London, in whose name he appeared against them, and appealed to P. Alexander against these invasions made by the archbishop on the rights of his see. And when Warham was promoted to the see of London, he maintained his claim against them, and opposed them more than any other bishop of the province, and sent his chancellor to Rome to find relief against them. But when he was advanced to be archbishop, he not only maintained those practices, but carried them further than his predecessor had done. All this, with thirteen other articles of grievances, were drawn up at large on the state of the case between the archbishop and the bishops, and proposals were made of an accommodation between them about the year 1514; but the event showed that this opposition came to nothing. This must be acknowledged to be none of the best parts of Warham's character. In the year 1514, they were again summoned by writ; they met and gave subsidies, but they were not to be levied till the terms of paying the subsidies formerly granted were out. In the year 1518, Warham summoned a convocation to meet at Lambeth to reform some abuses; and

in the summons he affirmed that he had obtained the king's consent so to do. At this Wolsey was highly offended, and wrote him a very haughty letter: in it he said, "It belonged to him, as legate *à latere*, to see to the reformation of abuses: and he was well assured that the king would not have him to be so little esteemed, that he should enterprise such reformation to the derogation of the dignity of the see apostolic, and otherwise than the law will suffer you, without my advice and consent."

And he in plain words denies that he had any such command of the king, but that the king's order was expressly to the contrary. So he orders him to come to him, to treat of some things concerning his person. This, it seems, Warham was required to send round his suffragan bishops: so he recalled his monitions in expectation of a legatine council: the pestilence was then raging, so this was put off a year longer; and then Wolsey summoned it by a letter, which he transmitted to the bishops: that to the

bishop of Hereford is in his register. He desires him to come to a council at Westminster for the reforming the clergy, and "for consulting in the most

His Insolence
to Warham.

Reg. Heref.
Booth, fol. 37.

Wake's State
of the Church,
Append.
p. 208.

Reg. Heref.
Booth, fol. 41.

convenient and soundest way, of what we shall think may tend to the increase of the faith." He hoped this letter would be of as much weight with him as monitories in due form would be.

It appears not, by any record I could ever hear of, what was done in the legatine synod thus brought together, except by the register of Hereford, in which we find that the bishop summoned his clergy to meet in a synod at the chapter-house, to consult about certain affairs, and the articles delivered by Wolsey as legate in a council of the provinces of Canterbury and York, to the bishops there assembled, to be published by them. All that is mentioned in this synod is concerning the habits of the clergy, and the lives and manners of those who were to be ordained; which the bishop caused to be explained to them in English, and ordered them to be observed by the clergy: and these being published, they proceeded to some heads relating to those articles; and he gave copies of all that passed in every one of them.

The next step he made was of a singular nature. When the king summoned the parliament in the fourteenth year of his reign, Warham had a writ to summon a convocation of his province, which did meet five days after, on the 20th of April. The cardinal summoned his convocation to meet at York, almost a month before, on the 22nd of March; but they were immediately prorogued to meet at Westminster the 22nd of April. The convocation of Canterbury was opened at St. Paul's: but a monition came from Wolsey to Warham, to appear before him with his clergy at Westminster on the 22nd, and thus both convocations were brought together: it seems he intended that the legatine synod thus irregularly brought together should give the king supplies; but the clergy of the province of Canterbury said their powers were only directed to the archbishop of Canterbury, and these would not warrant them to act in any other manner than in the provincial way: so the convocation of Canterbury returned back to St. Paul's, and sate there till August, and gave the supply apart, as did also that of York. But Wolsey finding those of Canterbury could not act under him by the powers that they had brought up with them, issued out, on the 2nd of May, monitory letters to the bishops of that province to meet at Westminster the 8th of June, to deliberate "of the reformation of the clergy, both of seculars and regulars, and of other matters relating to it."

In this he mentions Warham's summoning a convocation, which he had brought before him; but upon some doubts arising, because the proctors of the clergy had no sufficient authority to meet in the legatine synod, he therefore summoned them to meet with him, and to bring sufficient powers to that effect by the 2nd of June: but it does not appear that any assembly of the clergy followed pursuant to this; so it seems it was let fall. This is the true account of that matter. I gave it indeed differently before, implicitly following some writers that lived in that time; more particularly that account given of it by either archbishop Parker or Josceline, a book of such credit, that the following it deserved no hard censure. The grant of the subsidy is, indeed, in the name of the province of Canterbury; but the other relation of that matter being too easily followed by me, it seemed to me that it was a point of form for each province to give their subsidy in an instrument apart, though it was agreed to, they being together in one body. It was indeed an omission not to have explained that; but now, upon better evidence, the whole matter is thus fully opened. I find no other proceedings of Wolsey's as legate on record, save that he took on him, by his legatine authority, to give institutions at pleasure into all benefices in the dioceses of all bishops, without so much as asking the bishops' consent. In the register of London, an institution given by him to South Wickington, on the 10th of December, 1526, is entered, with this addition, that the cardinal had likewise given seven other institutions in that diocese, without asking the consent of the bishop: and on the margin it is added, that the giving and accepting such institutions by the legate's authority, being papal provisions, involved the clergy into the premunire, from which they were obliged to redeem themselves. Wolsey did also publish a bull, condemning all who married in the forbidden degrees: and he sent mandates to the bishops to publish it in their several dioceses: he also published pope Leo's bull against

Reg. Hereford, fol. 84.

Antiq. Brit.

Reg. Tonstal, fol. 31.

Fisher's
Regist. fol.
127.

Luther, and ordered it to be everywhere published. He also required all persons, under the pain of excommunication, to bring in all Luther's books that were in their hands: he enumerated forty-two of Luther's errors, and required a return of the mandate to be made to him, together with such books as should be brought in upon it by the 1st of August. The date of the mandate is not set down; and this is all that I find in this period relating to Wolsey.

Reg. Hereford, fol. 66.

This last shows the apprehensions they were under of the spreading of Luther's books and doctrine. All people were at this time so sensible of the corruptions that seemed, by common consent, to be, as it were, universally received, that every motion towards a reformation was readily hearkened to everywhere: corruption was the common subject of complaint: and in the commission given to those whom the king sent to represent himself and this church in the council of the Lateran, the "reformation of the head and members" is mentioned as that which was expected from that council.

This was so much at that time in all men's mouths, that one of the best men in that age, Collet, dean of St. Paul's, being to open the convocation with a sermon, made that the subject of it all, and he set forth many of those particulars to which it ought to be applied. It was delivered, as all such sermons are, in Latin, and was soon after translated into English. I intended once to have published it among the papers that I did put in the Collection; but those under whose direction I composed that work thought that since it did not enter into points of doctrine, but only into matters of practice, it did not belong so properly to my design in writing: yet since it has been of late published twice by a person distinguished by his controversial writings on this subject, I will here give a translation of all that he thought fit to publish of it.

His text was, "Be ye not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed in the renewing of your mind." "He told them he came thither that he might admonish them to apply their thoughts wholly to the reformation of the church. He goes on thus: most of those who are dignitaries carry themselves with a haughty air and manner, so that they seem not to be in the humble spirit of Christ's ministers, but in an exalted state of dominion; not observing what Christ, the pattern of humility, said to his disciples, whom he set over his church, 'It shall not be so among you;' by which he taught them, that the government of the church is a ministry, and that primacy in a clergyman is nothing but an humble servitude.

Rights of an English Convocation, in both Editions.

"O Covetousness! from thee come those episcopal, but chargeable visitations, the corruptions of courts, and those new inventions daily set on foot, by which the poor laity are devoured. O Covetousness! the mother of all wickedness; from thee springs the insolence and boldness of officials, and that eagerness of all ordinaries in amplifying their jurisdiction: from thee flows that mad and furious contention about wills and unseasonable sequestrations; and the superstitious observing of those laws that bring gain to them, while those are neglected that relate to the correction of manners.

"The church is disgraced by the secular employments in which many priests and bishops involve themselves: they are the servants of men more than of God, and dare neither say nor do anything but as they think it will be acceptable and pleasant to their princes; out of this spring both ignorance and blindness: for being blinded with the darkness of this world, they only see earthly things.

"Therefore, O ye fathers, ye priests, and all ye clergymen! awaken at last out of the dreams of a lethargic world, and hearken to Paul who calls upon you, 'Be ye not conformed to this world.' This reformation and restoration of the ecclesiastical state must begin at you, who are our fathers; and from you must come down to us your priests. We look on you as the standards that must govern us; we desire to read in you, and in your lives, as in living books, how we ought to live: therefore if you would see the moles that are in our eyes, take the beams first out of your own.

"There is nothing amiss among us, for which there are not good remedies set out by the ancient fathers: there is no need of making new laws and canons, but only to observe those already made. Therefore at this your meeting, let the laws already made be recited. First, those that admonish you, fathers, not to lay hands suddenly on any: let the laws be recited

which appoint that ecclesiastical benefices should be given to deserving persons, and that condemn simoniacal defilement. But above all things, let those laws be recited that relate to you, our reverend fathers, the lords bishops, the laws of just and canonical elections, after the invocation of the Holy Ghost.

“Because this is not done in our days, and bishops are chosen rather by the favour of men than by the will of God : we have sometimes bishops who are not spiritual, but worldly, rather than heavenly ; and who are led by the spirit of the world, rather than by the spirit of Christ. Let the laws be recited for bishops residing in their dioceses. Last of all, let those laws be recited for frequent councils, which appoint provincial councils to be more frequently called for the reformation of the church ; for nothing has happened more mischievous to the church, than the not holding of councils, both general and provincial.

“I do therefore, with all due reverence, address myself to you, O fathers ! for the execution of laws must begin at you : if you observe the laws, and transform your lives to the rules set by the canons, then you shine so to us, that we may see what we ought to do, when we have the light of excellent examples set us by you : we seeing you observe the laws, will cheerfully follow your steps. Consider the miserable face and state of the church, and set about the reforming it with all your strength. Do not you, O fathers, suffer this famous meeting to end in vain, and in doing nothing : you do indeed meet often ; but (by your favour suffer me to say what is true) what fruit has the church yet had of all your meetings ? Go then with that spirit which you have prayed for, that being assisted by his aid, you may contrive, establish, and decree such things as may tend to the advantage of the church, to your own honour, and to the glory of God.”

This Collet had travelled through France and Italy, and upon his return he settled for some time at Oxford, where he read divinity lectures without any obligation or reward for it. His readings brought about him all the learned and studious persons in the university. He read not, according to the custom that prevailed universally at that time, of commenting on Thomas Aquinas, or on Scotus, but his readings were upon St. Paul's Epistles. He was brought afterwards to the deanery of St. Paul's, where old Fitzjames, then bishop of London, was his enemy, but he was protected both by Warham and by the king himself. He did in one of his sermons reflect on “bosom-sermons,” which Fitzjames took as a reflection on himself, for he read all his sermons. He did not recommend himself at court by strains of flattery ; on the contrary, he being to preach there, when the king was entering on a war, preached on Christians fighting under the banner of Christ, whom they ought to make their pattern, in all the occasions of quarrel that they might have, rather than imitate a Cæsar or an Alexander. After sermon, the king sent for him, and told him, he thought such preaching would dishearten his military men ; but Collet explained himself so, that the king was well satisfied with him, and said, let every man choose what doctor he pleased, Collet should be his doctor. He died in the year 1519.

It seems this sermon was preached in the year 1513, though it is printed as preached in the year 1511 ; for the mention that he made in it of the immunities of the clergy, and of those words, “Touch not mine anointed,” seems to relate to the opposition that the clergy made to the act that passed in parliament in the year 1512, against the immunity of the inferior orders of the clergy. It is true, in the translation I have given, there are no such words ; but I find them in the reflections that I made on that sermon, when I intended to have printed it : so I took it for granted that the sermon was not fully printed in the book out of which I was forced to make my translation, the copy that I had of it being mislaid or lost. It had been but a reasonable thing for that writer, either to have printed the whole sermon, or to have told the reader that only some passages were taken out of it, since the title given to it would make him think it was all printed. I could not find either the Latin sermon, or the English translation of it, that was printed near that time : and I cannot entirely depend on a late impression of the English translation ; yet I will add some few passages out of it which deserved to be published by him that picked out a few with some particular view that it seems he had. Before the first period printed by him, he has these words :—

“How much greediness and appetite of honour and dignity is seen now-a-days in cler-

gymen! How run they (yea almost out of breath) from one benefice to another, from the less to the greater, from the lower to the higher! Who seeth not this? And who seeing, sorroweth not?"

Before the next period these words are to be found: "What other things seek we now-a-days in the church, but fat benefices and high promotions? and it were well if we minded the duty of those when we have them. But he that hath many great benefices, minds not the office of any small one. And in these our high promotions, what other things do we pass upon, but only our tithes and rents? We care not how vast our charge of souls be: how many or how great benefices we take, so they be of large value."

In the next period, these remarkable words are omitted. "Our warfare is to pray devoutly; to read and study Scriptures diligently; to preach the word of God sincerely; to administer holy sacraments rightly; and to offer sacrifices for the people."

A little before the next period, he has these words: "In this age we are sensible of the contradiction of lay people. But they are not so much contrary to us as we are to ourselves. Their contrariness hurteth not us so much as the contrariness of our own evil life, which is contrary both to God and to Christ."

After Collet had mentioned that of laying hands suddenly on none, he adds, "Here lies the original and spring-head of all our mischiefs: that the gate of ordination is too broad, the entrance too wide and open. Every man that offers himself is admitted, everywhere, without putting back. Hence it is that we have such a multitude of priests that have little learning, and less piety. In my judgment, it is not enough for a priest to construe a collect, to put forth a question, to answer a sophism; but an honest, a pure, and a holy life, is much more necessary: approved manners, competent learning in holy Scriptures, some knowledge of the sacraments; but chiefly, above all things, the fear of God, and love of heavenly life."

A little after this, "Let the canons be rehearsed that command personal residence of curates (rectors) in their churches: for of this many evils grow, because all offices now-a-days are performed by vicars and parish priests: yea, and these foolish and unmeet, oftentimes wicked."

At some distance from this, but to the same purpose, he adds, "You might first sow your spiritual things, and then ye shall reap plentifully their carnal things; for truly that man is very hard and unjust who will reap where he never did sow, and desires to gather where he never scattered."

These passages seemed proper to be added to the former, as setting forth the abuses and disorders that were then in this church. I wish I could add that they are now quite purged out, and appear no more among us. Collet was a particular friend of Erasmus, as appears by many very kind letters that passed between them.

To this account of the sense that Collet had of the state of religion at that time, I will add an account of sir Thomas More's thoughts of religion. Those of the church of Rome look on him as one of their glories, the champion of their cause, and their martyr. He in this period wrote his *Utopia*: the first edition that I could ever see of it was at Basil, in the year 1518; for he wrote it in the year 1516; at which time it may be believed that he dressed up that ingenious fable according to his own notions. He wrote that book probably before he had heard of Luther; the Wicklevites and the Lollards being the only heretics then known in England. In that short but extraordinary book, he gave his mind full scope, and considered mankind and religion with the freedom that became a true philosopher. By many hints it is very easy to collect what his thoughts were of religion, of the constitutions of the church, and of the clergy at that time; and therefore, though an observing reader will find these in his way, yet having read it with great attention when I translated it into English, I will lay together such passages as give clear indications of the sense he then had of those matters.

Page the 21st, when he censures the inclosing of grounds, he ranks those "holy men," the abbots, among those "who thought it not enough to live at their own ease, and to do no good to the public, but resolved to do it hurt instead of good;" which shows that he called them holy men in derision. This is yet more fully set forth p. 37, where he brings in cardinal Morton's jester's advice to send all the beggars to the Benedictines to be lay-brothers, and all the female beggars to be

Sir Thomas
More's
Thoughts of
Religion in
his *Utopia*.

The Refer-
ences are to
the Pages of
my Transla-
tion.

nuns, reckoning the friars as vagabonds that ought to be taken up and restrained. And the discourse that follows, for two or three pages, gives such a ridiculous view of the want of breeding, of the folly and ill-nature of the friars, that they have taken care to strike it out of the later impressions. But as I did find it in the impression which I translated, so I have copied it all from the first edition, and have put in the Collection that which the inquisitors have left out. From thence it is plain what opinion he had of those who were the most eminent divines and the most famed preachers at that time. This is yet plainer, p. 56, in which he taxes the preachers of that age for “corrupting the Christian doctrine, and practising upon it: for they, observing that the world did not suit their lives to the rules that Christ has given, have fitted his doctrine as if it had been a leaden rule to their lives, that some way or other they might agree with one another.” And he does not soften this severe censure, as if it had been only the fault of a few, but lets it go on them all without any discrimination or limitation.

Page 83, he taxes the great company of “idle priests,” and of those that are called “religious persons” that were in other nations; against which he tells us, in his last chapter, how carefully the Utopians had provided. But it appears there what just esteem he paid to men of that character when they answered the dignity of their profession: for as he contracts the number of the priests in Utopia, p. 186, so he exalts their dignity as high as so noble a function could deserve. Yet he represents the Utopians “as allowing them to marry,” p. 114. And p. 130, he exalts “a solid virtue much above all rigorous severities,” which were the most admired expressions of piety and devotion in that age. He gives a perfect scheme of religious men, so much beyond the monastic orders, that it shows he was no admirer of them.

Page 152, he commends the Europeans for “observing their leagues and treaties so religiously;” and ascribes that “to the good examples that popes set other princes, and to the severity with which they prosecuted such as were perfidious.” This looks like respect; but he means it all ironically: for he who had seen the reigns of pope Alexander VI. and Julius II., the two falsest and most perfidious persons of the age, could not say this but in the way of satire. So that he secretly accuses both popes and princes for violating their faith, to which they were induced by dispensations from Rome. Page 192, his “putting images out of the churches of the Utopians,” gives no obscure hint of his opinion in that matter. The opinion, p. 175, that he proposes doubtfully indeed, but yet favourably, of the first converts to Christianity in Utopia, who (there being no priests among those who instructed them) were inclined to choose priests that should officiate among them, since they could not have any that were regularly ordained; adding, that they seemed resolved to do it; this shows that in cases of necessity he had a largeness of thought, far from being engaged blindfold into the humours or interests of the priests of that time, to whom this must have appeared one of the most dangerous of all heresies.

And whereas persecution and cruelty seem to be the indelible characters of popery, he, as he gives us the character of the religion of the Utopians, “that they offered not divine honours to any but to God alone,” p. 173, so, p. 177, he makes it one of the maxims of the Utopians, “that no man ought to be punished for his religion;” the utmost severity practised among them being banishment, and that not for disparaging their religion, but for inflaming the people to sedition; a law being made among them that “every man might be of what religion he pleased,” p. 191. And though there were many different forms of religion among them, yet they all agreed in the main point of “worshipping the Divine Essence; so that there was nothing in their temples in which the several persuasions among them might not agree.”

“The several sects performed the rites that were peculiar to them in their private houses; nor was there anything in the public worship that contradicted the particular ways of the several sects.” By all which he carried not only toleration, but even comprehension, further than the most moderate of our divines have ever pretended to do. It is true he represents all this in a fable of his Utopians; but this was a scene dressed up by himself, in which he was fully at liberty to frame everything at pleasure: so here we find in this a scheme of some of the most essential parts of the Reformation. “He proposes no subjection of their

priests to any head; he makes them to be chosen by the people, and consecrated by the college of priests; and he gives them no other authority but that of excluding men that were desperately wicked from joining in their worship, which was short and simple. And though every man was suffered to bring over others to his persuasion, yet he was obliged to do it by amicable and modest ways, and not to mix with these either reproaches or violence; such as did otherwise were to be condemned to banishment or slavery."

These were his first and coolest thoughts; and probably, if he had died at that time, he would have been reckoned among those who, though they lived in the communion of the church of Rome, yet saw what were the errors and corruptions of that body, and only wanted fit opportunities of declaring themselves more openly for a reformation. These things were not writ by him in the heat of youth; he was then thirty-four years of age, and was at that time employed, together with Tonsal, in settling some matters of state with (the then prince) Charles: so that he was far advanced at that time, and knew the world well. It is not easy to account for the great change that we find afterwards he was wrought up to. He not only set himself to oppose the Reformation in many treatises, that put together make a great volume, but, when he was raised up to the chief post in the ministry, he became a persecutor even to blood; and defiled those hands, which were never polluted with bribes, by acting in his own person some of those cruelties, to which he was no doubt pushed on by the bloody clergy of that age and church.

He was not governed by interest, nor did he aspire so to preferment as to stick at nothing that might contribute to raise him; nor was he subject to the vanities of popularity. The integrity of his whole life, and the severity of his morals, cover him from all these suspicions. If he had been formerly corrupted by a superstitious education, it had been no extraordinary thing to see so good a man grow to be misled by the force of prejudice; but how a man, who had emancipated himself, and had got into a scheme of free thoughts, could be so entirely changed, cannot be easily apprehended; nor how he came to muffle up his understanding, and deliver himself up as a property to the blind and enraged fury of the priests. It cannot indeed be accounted for but by charging it on the intoxicating charms of that religion, that can darken the clearest understandings and corrupt the best natures. And since they wrought this effect on sir Thomas More, I cannot but conclude, that "if these things were done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?"

His friend Tonsal was made bishop of London by the pope's provision; but it was upon the king's recommendation signified by Hannibal, then his ambassador at Rome.

Reg. Tonst. Fol. 1. Tonsal was sent ambassador to Spain when Francis was a prisoner there. That king grew, as may be easily believed, impatient to be so long detained in prison; and that began to have such effects on his health, that the emperor, fearing it might end in his death, which would both lose the benefit he had from having him in his hands, and lay a heavy load on him through all Europe, was induced to hearken to a treaty, which he pretended he concluded chiefly in consideration of the king's mediation. The treaty was made at Madrid, much to the emperor's advantage; but because he would not trust to the faith of the treaty, Francis was obliged to bring his two sons as hostages for the observance of it: so he had his liberty upon that exchange. Soon after, he came back to France; and then the pope sent him an absolution in full form from the faith and obligation of the treaty. It seems his conscience reproached him for breaking so solemn an engagement; but that was healed by the dispensation from Rome; of which the original was sent over to the king, perhaps only to be showed the king, who upon that kept it still in his secret treasure, where Rymer. Rymer found it. The reason insinuated in it is, the king's being bound by it to alienate some dominions that belonged to the crown of France: for he had not yet learned a secret, discovered or at least practised since that time, of princes declaring themselves free from the obligations of their treaties, and departing from them at their pleasure.

PART III.—BOOK II.

OF MATTERS THAT HAPPENED DURING THE TIME COMPREHENDED IN THE SECOND BOOK
OF THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

I WILL repeat nothing set forth in my former work, but suppose that my reader remembers how Charles the Fifth had sworn to marry the king's daughter when she should be of age, under pain of excommunication and the forfeiture of one hundred thousand pounds: yet when his match with Portugal was thought more for the interests of the crown, he sent over to the king, and desired a discharge of that promise. It has been said, and printed by one who lived in the time, and out of him by the lord Herbert, that objections were made to this in Spain, on the account of the doubtfulness of her mother's marriage. From such authors I took this too easily, but in a collection of original instructions I have seen that matter in a truer light.

Lee, afterwards archbishop of York, was sent ambassador to Spain, to solicit the setting Francis at liberty, and in reckoning up the king's merits on the emperor, his instructions mention "the king's late discharge of the emperor's obligation to marry his dearest daughter the princess Mary, whom, though his grace could have found in his heart to have bestowed upon the emperor before any prince living; yet for the more security of his succession, the furtherance of his other affairs, and to do unto him a gratuity, his grace hath liberally, benevolently, and kindly condescended unto it." There are other letters of the 12th of August, but the year is not added, which set forth the emperor's earnest desire, to be with all possible diligence discharged of his obligation to marry the princess. At first the king thought fit to delay the granting it till a general peace was fully concluded, since it had been agreed to by the treaty at Windsor; but soon after a discharge in full form under the great seal was sent over by an express to Spain: but from some hints in other papers, it seems there were secret orders not to deliver it; and king Henry continued to claim the money due upon the forfeiture, as a debt still owing him. The peace was then treated, chiefly with a view to resist the Turk, and to repress heresy, that was then much spread both through Germany and Poland.

Another original letter was writ after Francis was at liberty, setting forth that "the nobles and courts in France would not confirm the treaty that Francis had signed to obtain his liberty; and therefore earnest persuasions were to be used to prevail with the emperor to restore the hostages, and to come into reasonable terms, to maintain the peace, and to call his army out of Italy." By these it appears, that the league against the emperor was then made, of which the king was declared the protector; but the king had not then accepted of that title. He ordered his ambassadors to propose a million of crowns for redeeming the hostages, to be paid at different times; yet they were forbid to own to the emperor, that if the offices in which the king interposed were not effectual, he would enter into the league.

There are in that Collection some of Wolsey's letters; by one of the 17th of July he claims his pensions of seven thousand five hundred ducats upon the bishoprics of Palencia and Toledo; besides nine thousand crowns a year in recompense for his parting with the bishopric of Tournay and the abbey of St. Martin's there; for which there was an arrear of four years due. On the 29th of September he wrote over a severe charge to be laid before the emperor for the sack of Rome, the indignities put on the person of the pope, the spoiling the church of St. Peter and other churches, and the ignominious treating the ornaments of them: all the blame was cast on the cardinal Colonna and Hugo de Moncada, they being persuaded that it was done without the emperor's know-

ledge or order. He proposes the king to be mediator, as a thing agreed on by all sides: he uses in this that bold way of joining himself with the king, very often saying, "the king and I:" and on the 20th of October, he presses with great earnestness the mediating a peace between France and the emperor; in all which, nothing appears either partial or revengeful against the emperor. The true interest of England seems to be pursued in that whole negotiation.

There was then in the emperor's court a very full embassy from England: for in one or other of these letters, mention is made of the bishops of London, Worcester, and of Bath; of Dr. Lee and sir Francis Bryan. But since the dismal fate of Rome and of pope Clement is mentioned in these letters, I must now change the scene.

Pope Clement, as soon as he could after his imprisonment, wrote over to Wolsey an account of the miserable state he was in, which he sent over by sir Gregory Cassali, who saw it all, and so could give a full account of it. "The pope's only comfort and hope was in Wolsey's credit with the king, and in the king's own piety towards the church and himself, now so sadly oppressed that he had no other hope but in the protection he expected from him." There were many other letters written by the cardinals, setting forth the miseries they were in, and that in the most doleful strains possible; all their eyes being then towards the king, as the person on whose protection they chiefly depended. Upon this Wolsey went over to France in a most splendid manner, with a prodigious and magnificent train, reckoned to consist of a thousand persons, and he had the most unusual honours done him that the court of France could invent to flatter his vanity. He was to conclude a treaty with Francis, for setting the pope at liberty, and to determine the alternative of the marriage of the princess Mary, either to the king of France, or to the duke of Orleans his second son, and to lay a scheme for a general peace.

Sept. 16. He came to Compiègne in the end of September, and from thence he wrote the first motion that was made about the divorce to the pope: for the first letter that I found relating to that matter, begins with mentioning that which he wrote from Compiègne. Mr. Le Grand told me he had seen that despatch, but he has not printed it.

From that place, Wolsey, with four cardinals, wrote to the pope, "setting forth the sense that they had of the calamity that he was in, and their zeal for his service, in which they hoped for good success: yet fearing, lest the emperor should take occasion from his imprisonment, to seize on the territories of the church, and to force both him to confirm it, and the cardinals now imprisoned with him to ratify it, which they hoped neither he nor they would do; yet if human infirmity should so far prevail, they protested against all such alienations: they also declare, that if he should die, they would proceed to a new election, and have no regard to any election to which the imprisoned cardinals might be forced. In conclusion, they do earnestly pray that the pope would grant them a full deputation of his authority; in the use of which they promise all zeal and fidelity, and that they would invite all the other cardinals that were at liberty, to come and concur with them." This was signed by Wolsey and by the cardinals of Bourbon, Salviati, Lorrain, and cardinal Prat. Wolsey wrote to the king, expressing the concern he had for him, with relation to his great and secret affair; it seems, expecting a general meeting of cardinals that was to be called together in France, which he reckoned would concur to the process that he intended to make; but apprehending that the queen might decline his jurisdiction, he would use all his endeavours to bring the king of France to agree to the emperor's demands, as far as was reasonable; hoping the emperor would abate somewhat in consideration of the king's mediation: but if that did not succeed, so that the pope was still kept a prisoner, then the cardinals must be brought to meet at Avignon, and thither he intended to go, and to spare no trouble or charge in doing the king service. When he was at Avignon, he should be within a hundred miles of Perpignan, and he would try to bring the emperor and the French king's mother thither, if the king approved of it, to treat for the pope's deliverance, and for a general peace. This is the substance of the minute of a letter writ in the cardinal's hand.

Collection, Number 12. The Cardinals write to the Pope for a full Deputation.

The king at this time intended to send Knight, then secretary of state, to Rome, in point of form to condole with the pope, and to prevent any application that the queen might make by the emperor's means in his great matter: so he appointed the cardinal to give him such commissions and instructions as should seem requisite, with all diligence; and he pressed the cardinal's return home, with great acknowledgments of the services he had done him. By this letter it appears that the queen then understood somewhat of the king's uneasiness in his marriage. The king of France sent from Compiègne a great deputation, at the head of which, Montmorency, then the great master, was put to take the king's oath, confirming the treaties that Wolsey had made in his name; one in the commission was Bellay, then bishop of Bayonne, afterwards Sept. 25. of Paris, and cardinal.

When that was done, the king's matter that had been hitherto more secretly managed, began to break out. Mr. Le Grand has published a letter that Pace wrote to the king, as he says, in the year 1526; but no date is added to the letter. The substance of it is, "that the letter and book which was brought to the king the day before, was writ by him; but by the advice and help of Doctor Wakefield, who approved it, and was ready to defend everything in it, either in a verbal disputation, or in writing. The king had told him, that some of his learned councillors had written to him, that Deuteronomy abrogated Leviticus; but that was certainly false, for the title of that book in Hebrew was the two first words of it: it is a compend and recapitulation of the Mosaical law; and that was all that was imported by the word Deuteronomy. He tells the king, that after he left him, Wakefield prayed him to let him know if the king desired to know the truth in that matter, whether it stood for him or against him. To whom Pace answered, that the king desired nothing but what became a noble and a virtuous prince: so he would do him a most acceptable thing if he would set the plain truth before him. After that, Wakefield said, he would not meddle in the matter, unless he were commanded by the king to do it; but that when he received his commands, he would set forth such things both for and against him that no other person in his kingdom could do the like." The letter is dated from Sion, but I have reason to believe it was written in the year 1527; for this Wakefield (who seems to have been the first person of this nation that was learned in the oriental tongues, not only in the Hebrew, the Chaldaic, and the Syriac, but in the Arabic) wrote a book for the divorce: he was at first against it, before he knew that prince Arthur's marriage with queen Katherine was consummated: but when he understood what grounds there were to believe that was done, he changed his mind, and wrote a book on the subject: and in his own book, he with his own hand inserts the copy of his letter to king Henry, dated from Sion 1527, which it seems was written at the same time that Pace wrote his: for these are his words (as the author of *Ath. Oxon.* relates, who says he saw it), "He will defend his cause or question in all the universities of Christendom:" but adds, "that if the people should know that he, who began to defend the queen's cause, not knowing that she was carnally known of prince Arthur his brother, should now write against it, surely he should be stoned of them to death, or else have such a slander and obloquy raised upon him, that he would die a thousand times rather than suffer it."

He was prevailed on to print his book in Latin, with an Hebrew title, in which he undertook to prove, that the marrying the brother's wife, she being carnally known of him, was contrary to the decrees of holy church, utterly unlawful, and forbidden both by the law of nature, and the law of God, the laws of the gospel, and the customs of the catholic and orthodox church.

It appears, from the letters writ in answer to those that Knight carried to Rome, that the pope granted all that was desired. This was never well understood till Mr. Rymer, in his diligent search, found the first original bull, with the seal in lead hanging to it. He has printed it in his fourteenth volume, p. 237, and therefore I shall only give a short abstract of it. It is directed to cardinal Wolsey, and bears date the Ides of April, or the 13th day in the year 1528. "It empowers him, together with the archbishop of Canterbury, or any other English bishop, to hear, examine, pronounce, and declare, concerning the validity of the marriage of king Henry and queen Katherine, and of

Knight sent
to Rome.

Numb. 13.

Pace wrote to
the King of
his Divorce.

Tom. iii.
Num. 1.

Kotjer Codi-
cis.

1528.
A Bull sent
to Wolsey to
judge the
Marriage.

the efficacy and validity of all apostolical dispensations in that matter; and to declare the marriage just and lawful, or unjust and unlawful, and to give a plenary sentence upon the whole matter; with licence to the parties to marry again, and to admit no appeal from them: for which end he creates Wolsey his vicegerent, to do in the premises all that he himself could do, with power to declare the issue of the first as well as of any subsequent marriage legitimate. All concludes with a *non obstante* to all general councils and apostolical constitutions."

This rare discovery was to us all a great surprise as soon as it was known: but it does not yet appear how it came about that no use was ever made of it. I am not lawyer enough to discover whether it was that so full a deputation was thought null of itself, since by this the pope determined nothing, but left all to Wolsey; or whether Wolsey, having no mind to carry the load of the judgment on himself, made the king apprehend that it would bring a disreputation on his cause if none but his own subjects judged it; or whether it was that Wolsey would not act in conjunction with Warham, or any under the degree of a cardinal. I leave the reasons of their not making use of the bull as a secret as great as the bull itself was till it was found out by Rymer. Another bull was after that desired and obtained, which bears date the 8th of June (6to Idus), from Viterbo.

Rymer. This I take from the licence granted under the great seal to the legates to execute the commission of that date: but it seems they did not think they had the pope fast enough tied by this, and therefore they obtained from him, on the 23rd of July following, a solemn promise, called in their letters *pollicitatio*, by which he promised, on "the word of a pope," that he would never, neither at any person's desire, nor of his own motion, inhibit or revoke the commission he had granted to the legates to judge the matter of the king's marriage. This I did not publish in my former work, because the lord Herbert had published it: but since that History is like to be confined to our own nation, and this may probably go further, I put it in the Collection; and the rather, because the lord Herbert, taking it from a copy as I do, seems in some doubt concerning it. But probably he had not seen the letter that Wolsey wrote to Gardiner, in which he mentions the pollicitation that he had in his hands, with several other letters that mention it very frequently. The copy that I publish was taken from a transcript attested by a notary, which is the reason of the oddness of the subscription.

In the mean time Warham called such bishops as were in town to him, and proposed to them the king's scruples; which being weighed by them, a writing was drawn up to this purpose: That having heard the grounds of the king's scruples relating to his marriage, they all made this answer: That the causes which gave the king the present agitation and disturbance of conscience were great and weighty; and that it did seem necessary to them all for him to consult the judgment of their holy father the pope in that matter. This was signed by Warham, Tonstal, Fisher, and the bishops of Carlisle, Ely, St. Asaph, Lincoln, and Bath, on the 1st of July 1529. And I incline to think that this was the paper of which Cavendish, whom I followed too implicitly in my former work, gave a wrong account, as brought out when the legates were sitting on the king's cause. There is no reason to doubt of Fisher's signing this; and Cavendish, who wrote upon memory almost thirty years after, might be mistaken in the story: for the false account that he gives of the battle of Pavia shows how little he is to be depended on. At this time the pope, in a letter to Wolsey, offered to go in person to Spain, or to any place where an interview should be agreed on, to mediate a general peace. This Wolsey wrote over to the king's ambassadors at Rome, on the 19th of December; and in the same letter he orders them to offer the guard to the pope in the name of the two kings; and adds, that Turenne should command that part of it which was to have their pay sent from France, and sir Gregory Cassali that which the king was to pay.

In prosecuting the history of the divorce, I must add a great deal out of some French authors. Bellay, the sieur de Langey, has writ memoirs of that time with great judgment, and very sincerely. I find also many letters relating to those transactions both in the *Melanges Historiques* and in *Le Grand's* third tome. These I shall follow in the series in

The Bishops think the King's Scruples reasonable.

Rymer.

1529. Life of Wolsey.

Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 11.

which things were transacted, which will be found to give no small confirmation as well as large additions to what I formerly published in my History. The first of these was much employed in embassies, and was well informed of the affairs of England, both his brothers being at different times employed to negotiate affairs in that court. John, in particular, then bishop of Bayonne, afterwards of Paris; and cardinal Le Grand, as Lord Herbert had done before; have given the relation of the answer that the emperor gave by word of mouth, and afterwards in writing, to Clarenceux, when he came Jan. 27, 1528. with a French king-at-arms to denounce war in the name of the two kings to the emperor.

Demand was made of great debts that the emperor owed the king; among these, the sum forfeited for his not marrying the princess Mary is one. To that the emperor answered, that before he was married he required the king to send her to him, which was not done: and by letters that he intercepted, he saw that the king was treating a marriage for her with the king of Scotland long before the emperor was married. It was farther said to that herald, that a report went current that the king designed a divorce, and upon that to marry another wife. "The emperor said, he had in his hands ample dispensations for the marriage; nor could the king go on in that design without striking at the pope's authority, which would give great scandal, and occasion much disturbance, and give the emperor just cause of war. This would show what faith, what religion, what conscience, and what honour the king had before his eyes. He had offered his daughter to him in marriage, and was now going to get her declared a bastard. He ascribed all this to the ill-offices done by the cardinal of York, who was pushed on by his ambition and avarice, because he would not order his army in Italy to force the electing him to the popedom; which, he said, both the king and the cardinal desired of him in letters that they wrote to him on that occasion. And because he had not in that satisfied his pride, he had boasted that he would so embroil the emperor's affairs, though England should be ruined by it, that he should repent his using him so." This seems to be much aggravated; for it may be easily supposed that the king and Wolsey might, in the letters that they wrote to the emperor at the last conclave, desire him to order his troops to draw near Rome to keep all quiet till, if he was chosen, he might get thither. Yet it is not probable that they could desire so barefaced a thing as the emperor here fastened on them: he in that, perhaps, was no truer than when he said he had in his hands ample dispensations for the king's marriage, though it appears these were forged; for the date of the breve being the same with the bull, both bearing date the 26th of December 1503, it was plainly false. For Rymer has printed one attestation from Rome that the year in the breves begins on Christmas-day; so if it had been a true piece, it must have had the date of 1504. He has likewise published an authentic attestation, signed by the cardinal chamberlain, that in the register of the breves there was none to be found relating to the king's dispensation for his marriage but one dated the 6th of July 1504, and another the 22nd of February 1505.

The bishop of Bayonne made a bold proposition to Wolsey: he thought it might be a proper method to engage the pope to depose the emperor for such enormous felony as he had committed against him, which would secure that see from all such attempts for the future. The cardinal, after a little reflection on it, swore to him that he would pursue that thought; but it seems it was let fall.

When Gardiner and Fox were sent to Rome, they passed through France with letters from Wolsey to Montmorency for his assisting them. It seems the people were expressing their uneasiness upon these steps made in order to the divorce, of which the bishop of Bayonne wrote to the court of France; which was, upon his letters, so talked of at Paris, that Wolsey reprimanded him for it, though in his own excuse he writes that the bishop of Bath had said it more openly than he had written it.

On the 8th of June, it seems matters went not well at Rome; for Wolsey complained to the bishop of Bayonne of the pope for not doing them justice, who had served him so well both before his advancement and ever since. They also apprehended that Campeggio, then named to come over as legate, who was subject

The Emperor's answer to the King by Clarenceux.

Le Grand, p. 64.
Jan. 2, 1528.
A proposition to depose the Emperor.

Le Grand, p. 102.

May 24.

Le Grand, p. 129.

to the gout, would, by that pretence, manage matters so as to keep them long in suspense.

At that time the sweating-sickness raged so, that the court was in dread of it. It broke Le Grand, out in the legate's house: some died of it. He, upon that, stole away privately p. 148. without giving notice whither he went. The king made his last will, and received June 30. all the sacraments. He confessed himself every day, and received the sacrament every holiday. The queen did the same; and so did Wolsey.

In another letter, without date, Bayonne gives an account of a free conference he had with Wolsey; who told him "he had done many things against the opinion of all Eng- Le Grand, land, upon which many took occasion to reproach him as being wholly French; so p. 164.

he must proceed warily. The French would feel their loss if his credit were lessened; therefore it was necessary that the bishop should make the king and his council here apprehend that this alliance was not to their prejudice. The king had of late (as Bayonne had from good hands) said some terrible words to the cardinal, apprehending that he was cold in his matter. Wolsey said to him, that if God gave him the grace once to see the hatred of the two nations extinguished, and a firm friendship settled between the two kings, and that he could get the laws and customs of the nation a little changed, the succession secured, and upon the king's second marriage an heir male born, he would immediately retire, and serve God all the rest of his life." Here were many things to be done before his retirement; yet the bishop did believe he indeed intended, upon the first good occasion, to retire from all affairs, for he could not but see that his credit must lessen upon the king's second marriage. He was also making haste to furnish his episcopal palaces, and to finish his colleges; and he seemed to him to prepare for a storm. Gardiner was at this time advancing the king's business all that was possible at Rome. I did in my second volume publish, among Vol. ii. Coll. Rec. Num. 26, the Records, a letter of his that was written in April, after his coming to Rome. p. 297.

The substance of it is: "He had acquainted the pope with the secret message that the princes of Germany had sent the king, to see if that would work on his fears; for he says, the pope was a man of such a nature that he is never resolved in anything but as he is compelled by some violent affection. He assures the king the pope will do nothing that may offend the emperor; nor was it reasonable for him to do it, except he would remove his see to some other place, for while he was at Rome he was in the emperor's power. By his words and manner the pope seemed to favour the king; but he was confident he would do nothing. He believed, if the cause were determined by the legates, they at Rome would be glad of it: and if the emperor should begin a suit against that, they would serve him as they now did the king, and drive off the time by delays. So he put the king on getting Campeggio to judge for him, which should be a short work; and he assures him nothing was to be expected from Rome but delays. They had put the king's cause, if it should be brought to Rome, in the hands of two advocates (the same that pleaded for the king afterwards in the excusatory plea). The pope would hear no disputation about his power of dispensing: but so the pope did not decide upon that ground, he would not care whether the king's cause were decided upon it or not. And he believed the pope was resolved to meddle no more in the king's matter, but to leave it with the legates. He desired his letter might not be showed to either of the legates. With that bearer he sent over the pope's promise, in which he had got some words to be put that he thought favoured the king's cause as much, and more, than if the decretal commission that was in Campeggio's hands should be showed: so he thought the pope ought to be no more moved in that matter." The words he mentions are, *cum nos justitiam ejus causæ perpendentes*: "we considering the justice of his cause." These are in the promise, or pollicitation, which I do now publish; and they prove this to be a true copy, since we have an authentic proof of the very words that seemed the greatest ground to doubt of its truth.

About a fortnight after this, Gardiner wrote another letter to the king, which will be found in the Collection. A motion was then made at Rome for recalling the Col. Num. 15. powers sent to the legates; but he did not think it was made in earnest, but only to stop the ambassadors in their other suits. The pope told them that the emperor had advertised him that the queen would do nothing in the matter but as the king should

command her ; therefore he would look after the cause the more earnestly. This the pope seemed to tell them, that they should not inquire who was the queen's proctor. The ambassadors were amazed to see, by Campegio's letters that were showed them, that neither he nor Campanus had made any promise in the pope's name to the king, but only in general terms ; considering that they had mentioned the plenitude of the pope's power, which they trusted he would use in that cause. He writes he did not succeed in that which he was ordered to move, which he did indeed apprehend could not be obtained : he lays the blame on the pope or some other, but it became not him to fasten that on any (perhaps this pointed at Wolsey) ; the rest relates to the bulls, probably demanded by the cardinal for his colleges : this was dated the 4th of May ; he had a letter writ to him a month before this by Anne Boleyn, in which she expresses a great sense of the service he was doing her : it seems by it, that at his first coming to Rome he had great hopes of success, but these were then much abated.

At this time king Henry was writing every day letters full of passion to that lady. Some way or other they fell into the hands of those who carried them to Rome, where they lie in the library of the Vatican. I saw them there, and knew king Henry's hand too well not to be convinced at first sight that they were writ by him. I did not think it fit for me to copy them out, but I prevailed with my worthy friend Dr. Fall to do it for me. They were very ill writ, the hand is scarce legible, and the French seems faulty : but since our travellers are encouraged to look on them, I gave a copy of them to the printer to be printed apart ; for I could not think it proper to put them in the Collection *. Objections lay in my way even as to this ; they were trifling letters ; some insinuations are not very decent, and little wit occurred in them to season them in any sort ; yet they carry the characters of an honourable love, directed all to marriage : and they evidently show that there was nothing amiss, as to the main point, in their commerce. So since those at Rome make so ill an use of them as to pretend that they are full of defilement, and in derision call them the true original of our Reformation, all these considerations prevailed on me to suffer them to be printed apart, for I did not think it fitting that such stuff should be mixed with graver matters. So I ordered them to be printed exactly from the copy, and to take no other care about them but to give them as I had them. But since I mention that lady, I must add some passages out of a

relation made by a son of sir Thomas Wyat's, of his father's concerns, marked on the back by a hand very like lord Burleigh's. He shows how false that story must be of his father's pretending to king Henry that he had corrupted her. He was then esquire of the body, and did continue still about his person in that post, except when he was employed in embassies abroad. This shows how incredible that fiction of Sanders was ; since if he had pretended to make any such discovery, he must have fallen either under the king's jealousy or the queen's power, or to avoid both he would have withdrawn himself ; and probably he would have been afterwards set up a witness to disgrace her at her trial. That relation adds, that she was secretly tried in the Tower. Some of the lords declared that her defence did fully clear her ; none of the women that served her were brought to witness the least circumstance against her ; and all the evidence upon which she was convicted was kept so secret that it was never known. This I know is put here out of its place, but the thread of other things led me into it : I shall have occasion to mention this paper again in queen Mary's reign.

The bishop of Bayonne writes, that even after Campegio came into England, both king and queen did eat at one table, and lodged in one bed. The queen put on so good a countenance, that to see them together, one could discern no breach between them : he tells in that letter, that the earl of Angus, who was married to the queen of Scotland, king Henry's sister, was come up, being banished out of Scotland, because the queen had taken another husband, who was a handsomer man than he was (*plus beau compagnon que luy*). In his next letter he writes that Wolsey said to him, that the general of the Cordeliers, that good prophet,

* See the Pamphleteer, Nos. 42, 43, where these letters, seventeen in number, are exactly transcribed from the originals. They will also be found in Turner's Modern History of England ; Henry VIII. chap. xxiii., these in French being there translated.—Ed.

then a cardinal, had capitulated with the pope in the emperor's name, when the pope was set at liberty. That Cordelier cardinal was then to sail to Spain, he wished the French would set out some vessels to seize on him, and draw from him the particulars of that treaty: for they knew that in the articles of that treaty, the reason that obstructed the king's matter would appear. Upon this, after some expostulation that the king of France did not help them in it as he might, Wolsey added, that the first project of the divorce was set on foot by himself, to create a perpetual separation between England and the house of Burgundy: and he had told the king's mother at Compiègne, that if she lived a year to an end, she would see as great a union with them and as great a disunion from the other as she could desire, and bid her lay that up in her memory.

In his next he writes, that both the legates had been with the king and queen. In
 Le Grand, p. 188. with great pomp. Fox answered him decently in the king's name: the queen
 The Legates go to the King and Queen. answered them more roundly: she spoke with respect to Campegio, but said,
 The Queen treats Wolsey very severely. Vitellius, B. 12. "She thanked the cardinal of York for the trouble she was put to: she had always wondered at his pride and vain-glory; she abhorred his voluptuous life and abominable lewdness, and little regarded his power and tyranny: all this rose from his malice to her nephew, the emperor, whom he hated worse than a scorpion, because he would not satisfy his ambition, and make him pope. She blamed him both for the war, in which the king was engaged, and for the trouble he put her to, by this new-found doubt." The cardinal blushed, and seemed confounded: he said, "he was not the beginner nor the mover of the doubt, and that it was sore against his will that the marriage was brought into question; but since the pope had deputed him as a judge to hear the cause, he swore upon his profession he would hear it indifferently."

On the 1st of November, the bishop writes that the queen had chosen for her council the
 Le Grand, p. 192. archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Bath, Rochester, Ely, and Exeter, with the dean of the chapel: but of these, the bishops of London and Rochester, and the dean of the chapel, were the only persons that in their opinion were of the queen's side. She expected an advocate, a proctor, and a counsellor from Flanders. It was not allowed her to bring any over from Spain, for there was then war between England and Spain, but the Netherlands had a neutrality granted them. "The bishop reckoned that the marriage must be condemned; for though the pope and all the cardinals had approved it, they could not maintain it, if it was proved, as he was told it would be, that her former marriage was consummated: for in that case, God himself had determined the matter."

On the 8th of November he writes, "that Wolsey had asked him if he could say nothing
 Le Grand, p. 197. to invalidate the pope's dispensation, and to prove the marriage unlawful, so
 The Bishop of Bayonne's opinion of the Pope's Dispensation. that the pope could not dispense in that case; since nothing could unite the two kings so entirely as the carrying on the divorce must do: he heard he was a great divine, so he prayed him to speak his mind freely. The bishop excused himself; but being very earnestly pressed, he put his thoughts in writing, referring for these to his last letter: he sent over a copy of it to Montmorency, and desired he would show it to the bishop of Bourges, who would explain it to him. Wolsey desired that the king's mother would write earnestly to Campegio in favour of the king's cause. The bishop makes great excuses for giving his opinion in the matter; he did not sign it, and he gave it only as a private person, and not as an ambassador."

On the 27th of November, the bishop writes that he had been with Campegio, and had
 Le Grand, p. 209. talked of the pope's dispensation. Campegio would not bear to have the pope's power brought into debate: he thought his power had no limits, and so was unwilling to let that be touched, but he was willing to hear it proved, that the dispensation was ill founded. He gives in that letter a relation of the king's sending for the lord mayor of London to give the citizens an account of the scruples he had concerning his marriage: and he writes, that he had said the bishop of Tarbe was the first person that made him entertain them; nor does the bishop of Bayonne pretend to call the truth of that in question.

The same bishop in his letter of the 9th of December writes, "that Anne Boleyn was then come to court, and was more waited on than the queen had been for some years: by this they prepared all people for what was to follow. The people were uneasy, and seemed disposed to revolt. It was resolved to send all the strangers out of the kingdom; and it was reckoned there were above fifteen thousand Flemings in London. So the driving all these away would not be easily brought about: care was taken to search for arms, and to keep all quiet. Wolsey in a great company, above a hundred persons of quality being present, reported that the emperor had said he would drive the king out of his kingdom by his own subjects; one only of all that company expressed an indignation at it: the advocates that the queen expected from Flanders were come, but had not yet their audience."

In one of the 20th of December, the bishop writes, "that the king had showed him what presumptions there were of the forgery of the breve that they pretended was in Spain; and upon that he went through the whole matter so copiously with him, that he saw he understood it well, and indeed needed no advocate: he desired that some opinions of learned men in France might be got, and be signed by them, if it could be obtained."

By the letter of the 25th of December, it appears there was an argument of more weight laid before Campegio, for he was offered Durham instead of Salisbury. He said to them who offered it, that the pope was about to give him a bishopric of that value in Spain, but the emperor would not consent to it. The lawyers that came from the Netherlands had an audience of the king, in which they took great liberties: for they said to him, they wondered to see him forsake his ancient friends, and to unite himself to his mortal enemies. They were answered very sharply. They applied themselves to Campegio with respect, but neglected Wolsey; and after that they had lodged such advices as were sent by them with the queen, they returned home.

On the 25th of January the bishop of Bayonne writes, "that the court apprehending the pope was changing his measures with relation to the king's affair, had sent Gardiner to Rome to let the pope know, that if he did not order Campegio to proceed in the divorce, the king would withdraw himself from his obedience: he perceived Wolsey was in great fear; for he saw, that if the thing was not done, the blame would be cast wholly on him, and there it would end. Sir Thomas Cheyney had some way offended him, and was for that dismissed the court; but by Anne Boleyn's means he was brought back, and she had upon that occasion sent Wolsey a severe message. The bishop had in a letter sent him from Paris a list of the college of the cardinals, by which they reckoned fifteen of them were Imperialists, and Campegio is reckoned among these; eighteen were of the contrary party; three had not declared themselves, but might be gained to either side, and six were absent. This canvassing was occasioned by the pope's sickness, and it was writ as news from France, that an Englishman passing through and going to Spain, had reported with joy, that there would be no divorce; that Campegio served the pope well; that this was very acceptable to all the great men of England; and that the blame of all was laid on Wolsey, whose credit with the king was sinking: that he was not at the feast of St. George, for which the king had chid him severely, he being the chancellor of the order."

In a letter of the 22d of May he writes, "that Wolsey was extremely uneasy. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and others, made the king believe that he did not advance his affair so much as he could: he wishes that the king of France and his mother would make the duke of Suffolk desist; for he did not believe that he or the other duke could be able to manage the king as Wolsey had done. They at court were alarmed at the last news from Rome, for the pope seemed inclined to recall the commission: upon which Benet was sent thither, to use either promises or threatenings as he should see cause. They pressed the pope to declare the breve from Spain null; but he refused to do it. He adds, that in the breve lay one of the most important points of the whole matter" (probably that was, that the consummation of the former marriage was expressly affirmed in

it). "Wolsey had pressed the bishop very earnestly to move his master to concur zealously to promote the king's cause; upon which he pressed on Montmorency that the king of France should send one to the pope to let him know that he believed the king's cause was just, and that both kingdoms would withdraw from his obedience if justice was denied on this occasion. To this were to be added all sorts of promises when it should be done; which Wolsey protested, such was his love to the king, he would value much more than if they made him pope. The point then to be insisted on was to hinder the recalling the commission."

By letters of the 30th of June it appears that Gardiner was returned from Rome with the proofs of the breves being a forgery. Campegio was then forced to delay the matter no longer: the bishop of Bayonne had pressed Campegio to it by authority from the court of France. On the 13th of July, Cassali wrote from Rome that the pope had recalled the king's cause at the emperor's suit.

But I come now to give an account of the proceedings of the two legates, in which I must correct the errors of all the writers of that time, whom I had too implicitly followed. I go upon sure grounds; for I have before me the original register of their proceedings, made up with such exactness that, at the end, the register and clerk of the court do not only attest it with their hands and marks, but reckon up the number of the leaves with the interlinings that are in every page; and every leaf is likewise signed by the clerk, all in parchment. This noble record was lent me by my reverend and learned brother Dr. More, bishop of Ely, who has gathered together a most invaluable treasure, both of printed books and manuscripts, beyond what one can think that the life and labour of one man could have compassed, and which he is as ready to communicate as he has been careful to collect it.

The legates sat in a room called the Parliament-chamber, near the church of the Blackfriars. Their first session was on the 31st of May. The bishop of Lincoln presented to them the bull by which the pope empowered them to try and judge the cause concerning the king and queen's marriage, whether it was good or not, and whether the issue by it was legitimate or not. The legates, after the reading of the bull, took it into their hands, and saw it was a true and untouched bull; so they took upon them to execute it. And they ordered the king and queen to be cited to appear before them on the 18th of June; and appointed that the bishop of Lincoln should cite the king, and the bishop of Bath and Wells the queen.

On the 18th, the form of the citation was brought before them, in which the bull was inserted at full length; and the two bishops certified that they had served the citation both on the king and queen, on the 15th: and Sampson, dean of the chapel, and Dr. Bell, appeared with a proxy from the king in due form. But the queen appeared personally, and read an instrument, by which she declined the legates as not competent judges, and adhered to an appeal she had made to the pope. Upon reading this, she withdrew; and though she was required to return, she had no regard to it. Upon which they pronounced her contumacious; and on the 21st of June they ordered the bishop of Bath and Wells to serve her with a monition and a peremptory citation, certifying that if she did not appear they would proceed in the cause. And on the 25th of June, the bishop certified upon oath that he had served the citation, but that the queen adhered to her protestation; so she was again judged contumacious; and as she never came more into the court, so the king was never in it. And from this it is clear, that the speeches that the historians have made for them are all plain falsities*.

The next step made was, that the legates exhibited twelve articles, setting forth the whole progress of the queen's first and second marriage, and of the dispensations obtained from Rome, all grounded upon public fame; and the queen was ordered to be cited again on the 28th of June. The bishop certified upon oath that he had served the queen with the citation, but she not appearing was again judged contumacious; and witnesses were sworn to prove the articles. The king's answer to the articles was laid before them; in which, by his answer to the seventh, it appeared that he was married to the queen by virtue of a papal dispensation.

On the 5th of July, the king's proctors brought the bull of pope Julius, dispensing with

* See the preface to this Part, p. 600; and also note to p. 55, *ante*.—Ed.

the impediments in the marriage, as likewise the copy of the breve, of which the original was in Spain, but attested very solemnly from thence. The legates ordered more witnesses to be sworn on the 9th of July. In another session, additional articles were offered; in which it was set forth that impediments lay against the marriage, as being prohibited both by the divine and the ecclesiastical laws, so that it could not be maintained by the dispensations; and that they were of no force, but were null and void. Then they set forth all the objections formerly made against the bull; by which it appeared that the pope was surprised by the false suggestions made to him, on which he had granted it; and in particular, that there was no war nor appearance of war between England and Spain at that time. They did also set forth the presumptions on which they concluded that the breve was not a genuine but a forged piece. On the 12th of July, commission was given to examine the witnesses. On the 14th, additional articles were brought in; and on the 16th of July, the king's proctors were required to bring all instruments whatsoever relating to the articles before the legates; and another commission was given to examine some absent witnesses.

On the 19th of July, publication was made of the depositions of the witnesses; by which it appears that Warham, in his examination, said, he referred the matter of the lawfulness of the king's marriage to divines; but that he himself believed that it was contrary both to the laws of God and to the ecclesiastical laws; and that otherwise there was no need of a dispensation from the pope. He confesses there were great murmurings against the marriage, for nothing of that sort had ever been heard of in this kingdom before; and that he himself murmured against it, and thought it detestable and unnatural; and that he had expostulated with the bishop of Winchester for his advising it, but he acquiesced when the pope's dispensation was obtained. The bishop of Ely deposed, that he doubted concerning the consummation of the queen's marriage with prince Arthur; for the queen had often, upon her conscience, denied it to him; yet many witnesses were brought to prove the consummation: some, because the prince and the queen constantly lodged in the same bed, and that prince Arthur continued in a state of good health till the beginning of Lent: some inferred it from what they themselves had done when they were of his age: some swore to words that he spake next morning after his marriage, not decent enough to be repeated. Other witnesses were brought to prove that there was no war between England and Spain when the dispensation was granted, but that a free intercourse had been kept up between these nations for many years. It was likewise proved, that the matter set forth in the preamble of the bull was false, and that the breve was a forgery. On the 21st, the protestation the king had made, that he did not intend to marry the queen, was read and proved. With that the king's counsel closed their evidence, and demanded a final sentence. So the 23rd of July was assigned for concluding the cause.

On that day the king's proctor moved that judgment should be given; but cardinal Campegio did affirm, on the faith of a true prelate, that the harvest vacation was then begun in Rome, and that they were bound to follow the practice of the consistory; so he adjourned the court to the 28th of September.

At the end of every session, some of the men of quality then present are named; and at this time the duke of Norfolk and the bishop of Ely are only named, which seems to contradict what is commonly reported of the duke of Suffolk's being there, and of what passed between him and cardinal Wolsey. This record is attested by Clayberg the register, and Watkins the clerk of the court. And four years after that, on the 1st of October, anno 1533, it is also attested by Dr. Wootton; which he says he does, being required to attest it by Clayberg and Watkins. How this came to be desired or done at that time, is that of which I can give no other account but that this is affixed to the register. By this extract that I have made of this great record, it appears that Campegio carried on this cause with such a trifling slowness that, if the king had not thought he was sure of him, he could never have suffered such delays to be made; by which the cardinal had a colour from the vacation, then begun in the consistory in Rome, to put off the cause on the day in which a present sentence was expected. It is very natural to think, that as the king was much surprised, so he was offended out of measure when he found he was treated with so much scorn and falsehood.

On the 23rd of August a sad embroilment happened upon the duke of Suffolk's returning from France. Wolsey complained to the king that he had done him ill offices at that court: Suffolk denied it. The cardinal said he knew it by the bishop of Bayonne. P. 136. Upon which Suffolk came and challenged him: the bishop denied he had said it. Suffolk confessed, indeed, he had said some things to his disadvantage, but the bishop prayed him that the matter might be carried no further; yet he offered to deny in Wolsey's presence that which was charged on him. But he saw the duke of Suffolk intended to oblige him to deny it in the king's presence. The bishop apprehending the ill effects this might have, resolved to keep out of the king's way for some time; and he hoped to avoid the being further questioned in the matter. He found both the king and Wolsey desired that he might make a journey to Paris to get the opinions of the learned men in the king's cause: he would not undertake it till he knew whether the king of France approved of it or not. He desired an answer might be quickly sent him; adding, that if it was not agreed to by France, it would increase the jealousies the king had of that court. He saw they designed to hold a parliament in England; and they hoped by that to make the pope feel the effects of his injustice.

By the bishop's letter of the 18th of September, it appears that Campegio having got his revocation, "resolved to go to court that he might have his audience of leave, P. 354. where it was thought best to dismiss him civilly: in the meanwhile Wolsey, who seemed full of fear, pressed the bishop to get the matter to be examined by the divines; and though he disguised his fears, yet he could not quite cover them. Some had left him whom he had raised, probably this was Gardiner, for he united himself to the duke of Norfolk in all things. The bishop of Bayonne desired leave to go over, on the pretence of his father's old age and weakness; but really to know the sense of the French divines; and also desired that his brother, William de Bellay, might be sent to the court of England during his absence."

On the 4th of October, he writes, "that he saw the parliament was set to ruin Wolsey. P. 364. Campegio was well treated by the king, and had good presents at parting; and the king desired that they would use him well as he passed through France; and particularly, that they would suffer him to resign an abbey he had there in favour of his son. He was stopped at Dover, for it was suspected that he was carrying over Wolsey's treasure."

On the 17th of October, he describes the cardinal's fall: "the bishop thought it was the greatest example of fortune that could be seen; both heart and voice failed him; P. 370. he wept, and prayed that the king of France and his mother would pity him if The Cardinal's Disgrace. they found that he had been true in all that he had promised to them; his visage was quite altered, and the disgrace was so sudden and heavy, that even his enemies pitied him: the bishop saw he would be hotly pursued, and that nothing but intercessions from France could save him: he did not pretend to continue either legate or chancellor; he seemed ready to quit all to his shirt, so he might recover the king's favour again. He was capable of no comfort. He proposed that the French king and his mother should write to the king to this purpose; that they heard of his disgrace, and of the design to ruin him: that they prayed him not to proceed too suddenly: he had been a good instrument between them; if there was just cause for it his power might be lessened; but that they prayed the king would not carry things to extremity. The bishop lays this before Montmorency, without presuming to give advice in it; only he thought this could do no hurt. Whatsoever was done must seem to be of their own motion, and not as coming from a desire of the cardinal, for that would precipitate his ruin. It seems he had received great presents from the king's mother, of which he hoped she would say nothing that might hurt him. It was intended, as he thought, on his ruin, to destroy the state of the church, and seize on their lands, which had been openly talked of at some tables. If the king of France intended to interpose in his favour, no time was to be lost. Anne Boleyn, as it was believed, had got a promise of the king that he would not admit him to a private audience, lest that might beget some pity in him."

On the 22nd of October, he wrote, "that all his goods were seized on, and that his spirit was quite sunk. It was not known who should have the great seal; it was believed it would no more be put into a priest's hands; but he saw Gardiner was like to have a great share in affairs. The cardinal's goods that were seized on were valued at five hundred thousand crowns. More, who had been chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, was made lord chancellor. The see of York was to be left in his hands, and some of his goods were to be sent back to him. The bishop did apprehend, that if the new ministry did not agree, which he believed they would not do long, he might be brought back to court again."

I have given the relation of this great transaction more particularly than was perhaps necessary; but finding so clear a thread in those letters, I thought it not improper to follow them closely, the rather to show that none of the papers that Mr. Le Grand has published, do in the least contradict but rather establish all that I had written; and so punctual a relation being laid before me by those who bore no good-will to me nor to my work, seemed an invitation to me to enlarge further than perhaps was necessary. I will end therefore all that relates to cardinal Wolsey at once.

Upon his going to York, he behaved himself much better than he had done in the former parts of his life. In a book that was printed in the year 1536, entitled "A good Conduct Remedy for Sedition," writ by one that was no friend to popery, this character is given of the last part of Wolsey's life. "None was better beloved than he after he had been there awhile. He gave bishops a good example how they might win men's hearts. There was few holidays but he would ride five or six miles from his house; now to this parish church, now to that, and there cause one of his doctors to make a sermon unto the people: he sat among them, and said mass before all the parish. He saw why churches were made, and began to restore them to their right and proper use. If our bishops had done so, we should have seen that preaching the gospel is not the cause of sedition, but rather lack of preaching it. He brought his dinner with him, and had divers of the parish to it. He inquired if there was any debate or grudge between any of them; if there were, after dinner he sent for the parties to the church, and made them all one."

I had in my work mentioned the concluding character that I found Cavendish gave of him, that was left out in the printed editions, which made me vouch the manuscript from which I had it: but the last edition agreeing with that copy, I need say no more to justify my quotation, for it will be found in it.

It may seem strange, that when the bishop of Bayonne first suggested to Wolsey, that if the king's marriage was against the law of God, the pope's dispensation could be of no force; yet no inferences were made from this. All our writers give Cranmer the honour of having started that first; and they make that the foundation of his advancement. I can see no other way to reconcile all this, but that it may be supposed Wolsey, as true to the interests of the papacy, was unwilling to let it be moved in public; and that he kept this between the bishop of Bayonne and himself, without communicating it to the king. Now the cause was called away to Rome, and so a new process followed with a very slow progress: delays upon delays were granted, and yet all was precipitated in conclusion.

In the meanwhile the king sent his question to the faculties of law and divinity in the several universities of Europe. And understanding that Martin de Bellay, the elder brother of the bishop of Bayonne, distinguished by the title of sieur de Langey, had great credit in the universities, both in France, Italy, and Germany, he engaged him to procure their opinions upon the point of the unlawfulness of his marriage; who, in the view of this service, prevailed with the king to lend the king of France 150,000 crowns, being to be advanced as a part of the 2,000,000 that he was to pay for the redemption of his sons, which was to be repaid to king Henry in five years. Besides, he assigned over to him the forfeiture due by the emperor for not marrying his daughter: and he sent, in a present to his godson Henry, afterwards king of France, a jewel, with some of that which was believed to be the true cross, that had been left in pawn with the king by Philip, Charles's father, for 50,000 crowns; so ready was the king to engage the king of France into his interest at no small charge to himself.

The King consults the Universities.

Mart. de Bellage's Memoirs, p. 282.

I come next to open the transactions in the convocation that was summoned to meet on the 5th of November 1529, two days after the opening of the parliament. At their first meeting, a reformation of abuses was proposed; and with that an inquiry was made concerning heretical books. A committee of bishops was appointed with relation to heretics. On the 19th of December, secrecy was enjoined; and that was again a second time enjoined under the pain of excommunication. Then the prolocutor came up, and had secret conference with the upper house. They remitted to the king the loan that they had made him; and they put an end to that work on Christmas-eve, a week after the parliament was risen.

The bishops were much offended at the translations of the New Testament by Tindall, Joyce, and others, and proceeded severely against those who read them; yet it was not easy to put a stop to the curiosity and zeal of the people. The king came to the star-chamber, and conferred with the bishops and other learned men on this subject. The bishops said these translations were not true; and complained of the prologues set before them. So the king commanded by a proclamation, issued and printed in June 1530, that these translations should be called in, and promised that a new one should be made. On this occasion it is not unfit to mention what doctor Fulk writes that he heard Miles Coverdale say in a sermon he preached at Paul's-cross. After he had finished his translation, some censured it: upon which king Henry ordered divers bishops to peruse it. After they had it long in their hands, he asked their judgment of it: they said there were many faults in it. But he asked, upon that, if there were any heresies in it: they said they found none. Then said the king, "In God's name, let it go abroad among my people." The time is not marked when this was said, therefore I insert it here: for in the beginning of the following year, the king ordered a Bible of the largest volume to be had in every church; but it does not appear to me by whom it was translated.

On the 19th of September 1530, another proclamation was made against all who should purchase anything from the court of Rome contrary to the king's prerogative, or to hinder his intended purposes. The convocation was again brought together about the 7th of January: their greatest business was to purchase their pardon; for as the cardinal had fallen under a *præmunire*, by the act of the 16th of Richard III., so they were generally involved more or less in the same guilt. The sum was soon agreed to, with the consent of the lower house: one hundred thousand pounds was to be their ransom.

On the 7th of February, some of the king's counsellors and judges came and conferred with them about some words that were proposed to be put in the preamble of the bill of subsidy, which were these: "The king, who is the protector and the only supreme head of the church and clergy of England." Upon this the prolocutor and clergy were called up to confer about it. The lord chief justice, with others, came into the convocation and conferred with the archbishop and his brethren. The next day the prolocutor desired a further time, and the archbishop assigned them one o'clock. Then the archbishop had some discourse with them concerning the king's pardon. Some of the judges came and communicated to them a copy of the exceptions in the act of grace: this was in the 23rd session. In the 24th session there was yet further talk about the king's supremacy.

The judges came and asked them whether they were agreed upon the exceptions; and added, that the king would admit of no qualifications. When these were gone, the prolocutor came up and asked yet more time: the archbishop appointed two o'clock the same day: a long debate followed. The next day the archbishop had a secret conference with the bishops; and Cromwell came and had some discourse with him. When he went away, the bishops resolved to send the bishops of Lincoln and Exeter to the king; it seems to soften him; but they came back and reported that the king would not speak with them. The judges told them they had no orders to settle the king's pardon till they did agree to the supremacy. They were prorogued till the afternoon; and then there was so great a variety of opinions that no agreement was like to follow. The lord Rochford, Anne Boleyn's father, was sent by the king with some expedients. The archbishop directed them to consider of these; and that when they were come to a resolution upon them, that they should send

three or four of each house to treat with the king's council and with the judges : but the king would admit of no treaty, and asked a clear answer. It was put off a day longer ; and on the 11th of February the article was thus conceived in Latin: *Ecclesiæ et cleri*

Rymer. *Anglicani singularem protectorem et unicum et supremum dominum, et quantum per Christi legem licet, etiam supremum caput, ipsius majestatem recognoscimus.* In English thus: "We recognize the king's majesty to be our only sovereign lord, the singular protector of the church and clergy of England, and, as far as is to be allowed by the law of Christ, likewise our SUPREME HEAD."

The form being thus agreed on, the archbishop offered it to the whole body: all were silent. Upon which he said, "Whosoever is silent, seems to consent." To this one answered, "Then we are all silent." The meeting was put off till the afternoon ; and then, after a long conference, all of the upper house agreed to it, none excepted. Fisher is expressly named as present: and in the evening the prolocutor came and signified to the archbishop that the lower house had also consented to it. And thus the bill of subsidy was prepared and offered to the king on the 1st of April. Thus this matter was carried by adding this limitation, which all parties understood according to their different notions.

Though these words of limitation had not been added, the nature of things required that they should have been supposed ; since, among Christians, all authority must be understood to be limited by the laws that Christ has given. But those who adhered to their former notions understood this headship to be only a temporal authority even in ecclesiastical matters ; and they thought that, by the laws of Christ, the secular authority ought not to meddle in ecclesiastical matters : whereas others of the new learning, as it was then called, thought that the magistrate had a full authority even in ecclesiastical matters ; but that the administration of this was so limited to the laws of the gospel, that it did not warrant him to command anything but what was conform to these. So that these words were equivocal, and differently understood by those who subscribed and afterwards swore them.

It seems the king thought it was of great advantage to him to have this matter settled with any limitation, for that in time would be dropped and forgotten ; as indeed it was. This, no doubt, was intended to terrify the court of Rome, since it was published over all Europe that it went unanimously in the convocation of this province.

Tonstal was now translated to Durham ; and being a man of great probity, he could not at first approve of a thing in which he saw a fraudulent management and an ill design : so he protested against it. He acknowledged the king's headship in temporal matters, but did not allow it in spirituals : but the king, who had a particular friendship for him, wrote him a letter which, from the printed title to it, I too hastily thought was directed to the convocation at York, but it was writ only to Tonsal ; and it seems it so far satisfied him, that he took the oath afterwards without any limitation.

I shall now go through the rest of the abstract of that convocation, by which it will appear what was the spirit that prevailed among them. In the 49th session, after all had agreed to the preamble of the bill of subsidy, the bishop of London laid before them a libel against the clergy. In the next session, Crome, Latimer, and Bilney were examined upon some articles. It does not appear whether the libel was laid to their charge or not ; only their examination following the other motion so soon gives ground to apprehend that it might be the matter under examination. In the 55th session the king's pardon was read to them ; and it seems exceptions being taken to some things in it, in the 58th session, the emendations that the king's council had made were read to them, in which it seems they acquiesced, for we hear no more of it.

After that, there was a long conference with relation to Crome's errors ; but the matter was referred to the prolocutor and the clergy. The prolocutor had, in the 45th session, complained of Tracy's Testament ; but no answer being made, he renewed his complaint in the 62d session, and desired that it might be condemned, and that Crome should be proceeded against ; as also that Bilney and Latimer might be cited : but for some reasons, not expressed, the archbishop thought fit to delay it.

In the 64th session the prolocutor repeated his motion for condemning Tracy's Testament ; so in the 66th session, on the 23rd of March, the archbishop gave judgment against it. Tracy's son was examined about it : he said it was all written in his father's own hand ; and that he had never given a copy of it to any person, except to one only. In the 69th session the archbishop examined Lambert (alias Nicolson, who was afterwards burnt,) before two notaries ; and in the 70th session, the sentence condemning Tracy's Testament was publicly read ; and after two other sessions, the convocation was prorogued to October.

It appears from all this that the convocation was made up of men violently set against our Reformation : but I turn now to another scene. The king seeing no hope left of succeeding in his suit at the court of Rome, resolved to try the faculties of divinity in the several universities. His chief reliance was upon France, and on those three brothers formerly mentioned. He began to suspect there was some secret negotiation between the court of Rome and the king of France ; yet, though he opened this to the bishop of Bayonne, he did on all other occasions express an entire confidence in that king : and the new ministry seemed zealous in the interests of France, and studied to remove all the jealousies that they apprehended Wolsey might have given of them.

At this time the bishop of Tarbes, then cardinal Grandimont, was with the pope, and had a particular charge sent to him to assist the English ambassadors. He wrote to the French king, on the 27th of March, " that he had served Boleyn, then lord Rochfort, all he could ; that he had pressed the pope to show the regard he had to the king of France as well as to the king of England." He writes, " that the pope had three several times said to him in secret that he wished that the marriage had been already made in England, either by the legate's dispensation or otherwise, provided it was not done by him, nor in diminution of his authority, under the pretence of the laws of God." He also wrote, " that the emperor had pressed the pope to create some new cardinals upon his recommendation ; but that the pope complained, that when he was a prisoner he had made some cardinals who were a disgrace to the college. The emperor said he was sorry for it ; but it was not by his order. The pope said he knew the contrary ; for he saw the instructions sent to the cardinal Cordelier, signed by the emperor, in which they were named. So the pope refused to give the two caps that he desired."

There was then an Italian, Joachim sieur de Vaux, at the court of England, who was an agent of France : he, in a letter to the king of France, March the 15th, writes, that the king thought that by his means he might have the opinion of the faculty at Paris in his cause. On the 4th of April he writes, that the king expected no good from the pope, and seemed resolved to settle his matter at home, with the advice of his council and parliament. He looked on the pope as simoniacal, and as an ignorant man, and not fit to be the universal pastor, and resolved not to suffer the court of Rome to have any advantage from the benefices in his kingdom, but to govern it by a provincial authority, and by a patriarch ; and he hoped other kingdoms would do the same.

After some interval, the bishop of Bayonne's letters are again continued. In one of the 29th of December, he writes, " that the king was marvellously well pleased with the account his ambassadors wrote to him, of what the divines of Paris had done ; though he understands there is one Beda, a dangerous person, among them. That declaration which their divines had made, was such, that all other things were forgiven, in consideration of it."

The next letter is from his brother William, who writes, " that the good answer that came from the doctors and universities of Italy made the king wonder that those of Paris were so backward. It was suspected in England, that the king of France, or his counsellors, had not recommended the matter effectually to them. He had a letter from one Gervais, a doctor there, who had much advanced the king's affairs, for which Montmorency had made him great acknowledgments. He showed this letter to king Henry, who, upon that, carried him to his closet where his books lay, and there he entertained him four hours : he told him he was in such perplexity, that it was not possible for him to live longer in it."

The King's
Proceedings
at Rome.
P. 383.
P. 399.

Applications
made to Di-
vines and
Lawyers.
P. 411.
P. 418.

An Opinion
given by some
in Paris, p.
421.

This de Bellay was to go to Paris to talk with the doctors; therefore he prayed Montmorency that he might find a letter from the king, empowering him so to do; that so he might not seem to act without his orders: and he promised to manage the matter with discretion.

In a letter that the bishop of Bayonne wrote from Lusignan on the 13th of April, where he was then with the French king, he writes, that the matter of the divorce P. 427. was entirely despatched at Paris, as it had been before that done at Orleans by his brother's means. But he adds, some represented to the king that he had showed too much diligence in procuring it, as if he was serving two masters. Joachim had before that,

on the 15th of February, written to the king, that king Henry thanked him for P. 442. his commands to the doctors in Paris in his matter, which he laid to heart more than all other things; and desired they would give their opinions in writing, that they might be laid before the pope.

It does not appear that the pope took any other pains to be well informed in the matter, but by consulting cardinal Cajetan, who was then justly esteemed the learnedest Cardinal Cajetan's Opinion against the King. man of the college. He, when he wrote commentaries upon Thomas's "Summ," though that father of the schoolmen thought, that the laws in Leviticus, concerning the degrees of marriage that are prohibited, were moral and of eternal obligation, yet, in his Commentary, declares himself to be of another mind,

2dus 2dus. Quest. 159, Art. 9. but takes a very odd method to prove it: for instead of any argument to evince it, he goes only on this ground, that they cannot be moral, since the popes

dispensed with them; whereas they cannot dispense with a moral law. And for that he gives an instance of the marriage of the king of Portugal, to which he adds, the present queen of England had likewise consummated her marriage with the late brother of the king of England, her husband. By which, as it appears that they took it then for granted at Rome, that her first marriage with prince Arthur was consummated, so he departed only from Aquinas's opinion, because the pope's practice of dispensing in such cases could not be justified, unless he had forsaken his master in that particular. And here he offers neither reason nor authority to maintain his opinion, but only the practice of the court of Rome.

Which is in plain words to say, that what opinion soever is contrary to the practice of the popes must for that reason be laid aside: for he offers no other argument but three modern instances, of which this of the queen of England is one, of popes dispensing with those laws. But now being required by the pope to consider the present case more particularly, he, on the 13th of March this year, gave his opinion in writing to him. Raynaldus has inserted it in his Annals. In it, after he had compared the laws in Leviticus and Deuteronomy

Ad An. 1530, Num. 194. together, he concludes, "that the marrying a brother's wife was simply unlawful; but that in some circumstances it might have been good, if a much

greater good should follow on such a marriage, than that provided for in Deuteronomy, of continuing the name of a brother dead without children. Now he argues, that the reason of a provision made in a private case, would be much stronger in a case of a public nature; so that a marriage being made to keep peace between two nations must be held lawful, since a dispensation was obtained for it. This was not only good in itself, but it was warranted by the apostolical authority. He confesses that the pope cannot in the least alter or derogate from the laws of God or of nature. But in doubtful cases he may determine with relation to the laws of God and of nature. He insists chiefly upon England's being delivered from a war by the marriage. He acknowledges that both councils, popes, and holy doctors have condemned such marriages as contrary to the laws of God and of nature; but they do not condemn them, when other circumstances accompany them, when it is for the good of

both parties, and for a common good; and therefore he justifies pope Julius's dispensation. Who, as the same Raynaldus tells us, did it with the view of the advantages that Spain and England would have; but chiefly, because it was hoped that by this conjunction of force they would be able to depress the French.

This opinion of so great a man was sent over to king Henry, signed by himself, bearing date the 27th of January, 1534; but this date is perhaps only the date of his signing that copy. It had not the effect they expected from it, especially because

it was defective in that way of writing that was then the most cried up against heretics. For he brought no authority from any ancients writer to confirm his opinion : so that he argued, from his private way of commenting on Scripture, against the streams of tradition, which was called the heretics' way of writing.

The pope made a new step on the 7th of March ; for he sent a breve to the king, setting forth a complaint made by queen Katherine, "that king Henry intended to proceed to a second marriage ; he therefore prohibited that, under the pain of the severest censures, threatening to put the whole kingdom under an interdict ; and charged the king, in the solemnest manner, to live with the queen as formerly." This was granted at Boulogne, upon the emperor's pressing instances. This had been attempted before, but was afterwards disowned by the pope. For when the avocation was sent over to England, there was sent with it an inhibition to proceed further in the matter, threatening censures and punishments in case of disobedience. But complaint being made of this, the pope did by a bull, dated the 5th of October, 1529, declare that the censures threatened in the inhibition were added against his mind, so he annuls them, and suspends the cause to the 25th of December.

In a letter that the cardinal Grandimont wrote to Montmorency, he tells him that the emperor said he would have the matter of the marriage carried through : if it was judged unlawful, he would not support his aunt ; but if otherwise, he would support her. And when Boleyn once offered to answer him, he stopped him and said, he was a party, and ought not to speak in the matter. The cardinal told Boleyn he had orders from the king of France to solicit that matter as if it was his own ; but Boleyn thought it was best to look on for some time, to see how matters went ; for if the pope and the emperor should fall into new quarrels, then they might hope to be better heard.

On the 12th of June, Bellay wrote to the king a long account of his proceedings with the doctors of the Sorbonne ; by which, it seems, what is formerly mentioned of their giving opinion in the king's favour, was only as private doctors, and not in a body as a faculty. "The young princes of France were yet detained in Spain, so it was necessary to proceed with such caution as not to irritate the emperor.

He had delayed moving in it for some days ; but the English ambassadors were impatient. He complains that there were few honest men in the faculty, but apprehending the inconvenience of delaying the matter any longer, he presented the king's letters to them. The assembly was great ; the bishop of Senlis, several abbots and deans, the guardians of the four mendicant orders, and many others, were present, so that of a great while there had not been so numerous an assembly. The proposition was made on king Henry's part with great advantage : an express law in the Scripture was quoted ; the four great doctors of the church, eight councils, and as many faculties or universities were of his side : so, in respect to them, the king desired they would determine the matter in the doctrinal way. The emperor, on the other hand, who was likewise the king's ally, opposed the divorce, the queen of England being his aunt ; for he thought himself bound to interpose on her account. So the king being pressed by two allies, who both were resolved to be governed by the laws of God and of right reason, laid the whole matter before them, who were now assembled in an extraordinary manner, and enjoined them to recommend themselves to God, and, after a mass of the Holy Ghost, to consider that which was to be laid out to them, without fear or favour ; and after full consideration, to determine it as God should inspire their consciences. This was the substance of Bellay's speech. Beda spoke next : he said they all knew how much the king studied to please the king of England. Many strangers that were of the faculty seemed to applaud this. Bellay replied, there was certainly a great friendship between the two kings : the emperor was likewise the king's ally. But they ought to have God only before their eyes, and to search for the truth. And having said that, he withdrew.

"Those who spoke first, thought the king's desire was reasonable, and that therefore they ought to examine the matter : this could not be refused, if asked on the behalf of the meanest person. Others said the faculty was subject to the pope, from whom they had their privileges ; and since this question related to his

The Pope's
first Breve
against the
Divorce.

Rymer, Vol.
xiv.

P. 458.
The Proceed-
ings of the
Sorbonne.

Great Heat in
their Debates.

power, they ought not to speak to it, till they sent to know his mind; or at least, till they sent to know how the king approved of it, and if he would ask the pope's leave to suffer them to debate about it. Another party moved, that while their letters were despatched to that purpose, they should proceed to examine the question, but suspend the coming to a final resolution till an answer was brought them. They said, they thought that they had their privileges from the king as well as from the pope; and that it was a reflection on the pope to imagine he would be offended if they should examine a case in which the conscience of a Christian was disquieted; and that even an order from the pope to the contrary, ought not to restrain them from examining the matter. Upon these different opinions the beadle began to gather their votes, whether they ought to proceed to examine the question or not. But one of the doctors rose from his place and plucked the scroll out of the beadle's hands, and tore it in pieces: and so they all rose up in a tumult, crying out, that nothing ought to be done without writing first to the king and to the pope. Thus the meeting broke up in confusion. The English ambassadors were near enough to see and hear all this. They said they knew this was laid by Beda and his party: Bellay did not then think so, and prevailed with them not to write to England till he tried what might be done. He went to Lizet, the first president of the court of parliament, to whom the king in especial manner had recommended the managing of that affair. Lizet sent for Beda and other his complices, and prevailed with them to meet again the next day, and to proceed according to the third opinion, which was to discuss the question provisionally, and to seal up their conclusion, and send it to the king: so next morning they met, and appointed to begin the Monday following to examine the question.

“This did not satisfy the English ambassadors; they thought this was only an artifice to gain time; and indeed they had just ground of suspicion from what several of the doctors did openly talk. Bellay, therefore, desired the king would write to the dean, that he would cut off impertinent digressions, and bring the matter to as speedy a conclusion as was possible; for some said they would make it last a year. Beda did give it out that he knew that what he did was for the king's service: of this he made no secret. Bellay complaining of this to Lizet, he sent for Beda, and spake so earnestly to him, that he swore very positively he would be so far from hindering the doctors from obeying the king's commands, that he would employ himself, as if it were for the saving of his life, to get the matter to pass without noise or scandal: but Bellay saw that the president trusted him, so he did acquiesce, though he knew that by the noise he had already made, he had broke a promise which he had made to Montmorency. The bishop of Senlis was very sensible of the disorder of that body: it appearing that the English ambassadors did suspect the court of France was dealing doubly in the matter, the bishop of Senlis was resolved to go to the king, and to let him see how matters were managed in that faculty, and to show him the necessity of reforming them.”

At this time the duke of Norfolk wrote to Montmorency, that they wondered to find the faculty was so much altered, that before this time fifty-six doctors were in their opinion on the king's side, and there were only seven against him: but that in the late congregation, thirty-six were against it, and twenty-two only were for it. The king of England had reason upon this to suspect some underhand dealing; therefore he hoped they would so manage the matter, as to clear all suspicions.

The next letters of De Bellay did certainly give the progress of the deliberations of the Sorbonne; but we find nothing of that in Le Grand's Collection. It is somewhat strange, and may be liable to suspicion, that after so close a series of letters concerning that affair, no letter is produced from the 12th of June to the 15th of August: thus we have no account given us of the deliberations of the Sorbonne, and yet it is not to be doubted, but that a very particular relation was written to the court of every step that was made in it. The producing no letters for these two months, must leave a very heavy suspicion of unfair dealing somewhere; for the first letter of De Bellay's that is published by him, after that of the 12th of June, is of the 15th of August.

Rymer has published the original decision of the Sorbonne on the 2nd of July, 1530, but he adds *avulso sigillo*; yet after that, he publishes an attestation of the notaries of the court

P. 471.
Upon the
changing the
Divines' Opinions.

of Paris (*Curie Parisiensis*) of the authenticity of this original decision. The attestation of the notaries, dated the 6th of July, mentions both seal and subscription, free from all blemish, and liable to no suspicion. It is probable this precaution was thought necessary, in case the messenger that was to carry it to England had fallen into the hands of any of the emperor's parties in their way to Calais, who no doubt would have destroyed this instrument: but this notarial attestation would have been a full proof of it; for the difficulties in obtaining it might make those who had conducted the matter think it would be no easy thing to procure a new instrument from the Sorbonne itself. How it came that the seal was pulled from the instrument itself, must be left to conjecture; perhaps it was pulled from it in queen Mary's time.

Bellay, in his letter of the 15th of August, writes, "that he had moved Lizet to send for Beda, and to let him know the king's intentions: Beda talked as a fool, he would not say as an ill man; but the president was possessed with a good opinion of him: the king of France had, at the earl of Wiltshire's desire, ordered an examination to be made of his behaviour; he had also ordered the president to demand of the beadle an authentic copy of an act that Beda had once signed, but then wished he had not signed it; but Lizet would not command the beadle to do this, till he had the consent of the faculty to give it, though he had an order from the king to require it. So Bellay having got the king's letter, went to the president and delivered it to him: he promised he would execute it, and get the authentic copy into his hands: towards the evening he went to the president to see what he had done; he said the beadle told him he could not give it without the consent of the faculty: upon which Bellay said, that might be a rule in case a private person asked it; but when the prince demanded it, he thought it was no just excuse. The act which was demanded, was approved by the faculty, by the dean, and the students, and by all concerned in it: the beadle pretended that it might be said that he had falsified the act: Bellay answered, that was the reason why they desired the act; he was present when it passed, and had minuted it; but since Beda and his complices repented that they had signed it, and that the minute they had signed was in some places dashed and interlined, they might make new dashings and interlineations, therefore he prayed the president to command the beadle to bring him the minute, that he said was conform to the original: for an hour together the president would do no more but desire the beadle to do it; at last he commanded him, but so mildly, that the beadle did not think fit to obey him; upon which Bellay said to him, if he suffered himself to be so treated, he was unworthy of the character that he bore: this quickened Lizet so, that he commanded the beadle, all excuses set aside, to obey him. The act was brought and read, and he promised to bring him a copy of it by the next morning: the president thought that Bellay had spoken too boldly to him, and he would not let him have it, but sent it directly to the king: Lizet had that esteem for Beda, that he thought him a saint, and he would not believe him capable of the faults that he saw him guilty of, which were such, that Bellay wrote, that if he had been to be charged with them, and had a dozen of heads, he had deserved to lose them all. He writes that Beda was not the only bad man of the faculty, he had many companions who seemed to desire an occasion to provoke the king to do that to them which would make them pass for martyrs among the people. He had often heard of their wicked designs, under the hypocritical disguise of sincerity, but could not have believed the tenth part if he had not seen it."

Next to this we have in Le Grand's Collection, the letter that Lizet wrote to Montmorency of the same date, mentioning, "that according to the king's letters to him, he had procured the copy of the act, which the king of England desired: for though the bishop of Bayonne asked it of him, that he might carry it to that king, yet that not being ordered in the king's letters to him, he therefore thought it his duty to send it directly to the king himself: and as touching the examination that the king had ordered to be made of the conduct of that matter, he desired it may be delayed till he was heard give an account of it; for that information would perhaps be a prejudice rather than a service to the king of England: in it he desires to know the king's pleasure, that he might follow it as carefully as was possible."

The Decision
of the Sor-
bonne.

Rymer, Vol.
xiv.

Lizet the Pre-
sident seem-
ed to work
against it.

P. 480.

His Letter of
that whole
Matter.

The bishop of Bayonne gives a further account of this matter, and writes, "that after the assembly of the Sorbonne was dismissed by the dean, and that the bishop of Senlis, with many abbots and nine or ten either generals, provincials, guardians, or priors of the chief convents of the kingdom, and others of great rank and credit, were gone, Beda and his complices did by their own private authority meet and study to overturn that which had been settled in so great an assembly. He writes that this disease was of a long continuance, and was still increasing. This company pretending they were a capitular congregation, sent an order to the bishop of Senlis, who was gone into his diocese, and had carried the original act of the determination with him, requiring him under the pain of disobedience to send it to them: he wrote in answer to them, that he had orders to deliver it to none but to the king; he was resolved to obey the king's orders, and advised them to do the same; upon which they moved to deprive him as a rebel to the faculty: he was not frightened with this, but wrote to them, that he was bound to obey the faculty as his mother, but to obey the king as his father; yet they resolved to proceed further after the feasts. In this letter he tells what pains his brother had taken to prevent the scandal that such proceedings would give, which were better hindered than punished; but he complains that those who had authority to restrain such insolencies did secretly encourage them:" by which it is clear he means Lizet. The date of this letter is printed the 14th of August; but it is more probable it was the 14th of July, some days after the determination was made; for this matter has no relation to the business of the former letter that was written by his brother a day after this, if it is the true date.

It is plain from this that there were two instruments: the one was the act of the determination, which at the time of the writing this letter was in the bishop of Senlis' hands; the other was a minute signed by them all, to which the former letter relates, and that might have had rasures and glosses in it, which are not to be imagined could be in the authentic act: it seems the English ambassadors desired both.

There is another letter on the 15th of August of the bishop of Bayonne's to Montmorency, in which "he complains that the faction was going to make a determination contrary to the former, and had made an order that none of the faculty might sign against the marriage, but left it free for any to sign for it; but that the king had ordered that the determination already made should remain entire. The bishop had pressed the president to obey the king's orders: he had promised him to do it; but Beda promised the contrary to his party. Bellay feared the king of England would suspect that the king did not act sincerely. He confessed that from the appearances of things he should do so himself if he had not seen the concern that the king was in upon this occasion. When he pressed Lizet to obey the king's orders, he spoke two or three hours to him in bad Latin (he calls it the Latin of Auvergne), but he could not understand what he meant. He says the beadle pretended there was one little fault in the act, upon which he might be accused of forgery. Upon this the bishop suspected Beda's practice more than he had done, and he had required the president to obey the king's orders, otherwise he would protest if he did not; and he secretly told him he did say that, to justify him at their hands, whom he saw he was resolved not to offend. The president then promised him the act that night, but then delayed it till next morning at five: when he sent for it, sometimes the gate was not opened, and the key was lost; sometimes the president was asleep; and then it was said that he had taken physic, and that the bishop must have patience: but he understood that he had gone out by a back-door to the abbey of St. Germain's; thither he followed him, and asked for the act; but he said he had sent it to the king. He reckons many other impertinencio that gave a mean character of Lizet."

But while this matter was transacted thus at Paris, though the university of Angiers had determined against the marriage, yet the faculty of divinity there did on the 7th of May, 1530, determine "that it was lawful for a Christian to marry his brother's widow, he dying without children; but having consummated the marriage, that such marriage was not contrary to the laws of God and of nature, and therefore the pope might upon reasonable grounds dispense in that case." This was the judgment of the faculty; but that university did in a body on that

A Design to
make a con-
trary Decree.

P. 507.
Angiers di-
vided; the
University for
the Divorce,
and the Di-
vines against
it.

same day decree the quite contrary, without any mention of this opinion of the divines; so P. 508. it seems that was kept secret.

Thus I have fully opened all that M. Le Grand has thought fit to publish concerning the divines of France. By the relation given of the proceedings in the Sorbonne, it appears that in the opinion of the bishop of Bayonne and his brother that body was then much corrupted; that a few incendiaries influenced many there, so that it was far from deserving the high character that it had in the world. It is highly probable they apprehended that the carrying on the divorce might open a door to let in that which they called heresy into England, which, considering the heat of that time, was enough to bias them in all their deliberations.

I turn next homeward, to give a more particular account of the proceedings both in Cambridge and Oxford. I begin with the former, because it was first ended there; and I have a sure ground to go on. A worthy person found among the manuscripts of Bennet college a manuscript of Dr. Buckmaster, then the vice-chancellor, in which there is a very particular relation of that affair. It was procured to that house in queen Elizabeth's reign by Dr. Jegon, then head of that house, and was by him given to that college; for there is nothing remaining in the registers of the university relating to it, as that learned person has informed me.

The vice-chancellor was then a fellow of Peterhouse, of which Dr. Edmonds was head, who was then a vicar and prebendary in the diocese and cathedral church of Salisbury. The whole will be found in the Collection. It begins with a short introductory speech of the vice-chancellor's, upon which he read the king's letter to them. It set forth, "that many of the greatest clerks in Christendom, both within and without the realms, had affirmed in writing that the marrying the brother's wife, he dying without children, was forbidden both by the law of God and by the natural law. The king, therefore, being desirous to have their minds, to whom he had showed a benevolent affection, did not doubt but they would declare the truth in a case of such importance both to himself and to the whole kingdom. For this end he sent Gardiner and Fox to inform them particularly of the circumstances of the matter; and he expected their answer under the seal of the university." The king's letter is dated the 16th of February.

After this was read, the vice-chancellor told them, "they saw what the king desired of them: they were men of free and ingenious tempers; every one of their consciences would dictate to them what was most expedient." After this follows the form of the grace that was proposed and granted; "that the vice-chancellor and ten doctors, and the two proctors with seventeen masters of arts, should have full authority to determine the question proposed, and to answer it in the name of the whole university; and whatsoever two parts in three of these persons should agree in, that, without any new order, should be returned to the king as the answer of the university: only the question was to be disputed publicly, and the determination that they should make was to be read in the hearing of the university."

On the 9th of March, at a meeting of the university, the vice-chancellor told them, "that the persons deputed by them had, with great care and diligence, examined the question, and had considered both the passages in the Scriptures and the opinions of the interpreters; upon which they had a public disputation, which was well known to them all: so now, after great labours and all possible industry, they came to the determination then to be read to them." Then follows the determination, in which they add to the question proposed to them these words, after "brother's wife," "she being carnally known by her former husband." So, after above a fortnight's study or practice, this was obtained of them. The vice-chancellor came to Windsor, and on the second Sunday of Lent, after vespers, he delivered it to the king. Of this he gave an account to Dr. Edmonds, in a letter, in which he tells him, "he came to court while Latimer was preaching. The king gave him great thanks for the determination, and was much pleased with the method in which they had managed it with such quietness. The king praised Latimer's sermon; and he was ordered to wait on the king the next day. Dr. Butts brought twenty nobles from the king to him, and five marks to the junior proctor that came with him,—scarce enough to bear their charges, and far from the price of corruption; and gave him leave to go when he pleased. But after dinner, the king came to a gallery where Gardiner and Fox, with the vice-chancellor, Latimer, and the proctor

were, and no more, and talked some hours with them. He was not pleased with Gardiner and Fox, because the other question, ‘whether the pope had power to dispense with such a marriage?’ was not likewise determined. But the vice-chancellor said, he believed that could not have been obtained: but the king said, he would have that determined after Easter.” It appears by his letter that there was a great outcry raised against Cambridge for that which they had done: the vice-chancellor was particularly censured for it; and he had lost a benefice that the patron had promised him, but had upon this changed his mind. Those who did not like Latimer were not pleased with his preaching.

He heard those of Oxford had appointed a select number to determine the king’s question; and that Fox, when he was there, was in great danger: but a more particular account of the proceedings in that university, I take from three of king Henry’s letters to them, communicated to me by my learned friend, Dr. Kennet, which, since they have not yet Col. Num. 17. been printed, will be found in the Collection.

In the first letter that the king wrote to the university, he sets forth, “that upon certain considerations moving his conscience, he had already consulted many learned men, both within the kingdom and without it; but he desired to feel the minds of those among them who were learned in divinity, to see how they agreed with others: therefore he hoped they would sincerely and truly declare their consciences in that matter, and not give credit to misreports. He requires them, as their sovereign lord, to declare their true and just learning in that cause: therefore, in a great variety of expressions, mixing threatenings with promises if they should not uprightly, according to divine learning, handle themselves, he leaves the declaring the particulars to the bishop of Lincoln, his confessor, to whom they were to give entire credit.”

By the second letter, the king tells them, “he understood that a great part of the youth of the university did, in a factious manner, combine together, in opposition to the wise and learned men of that body, to have a great number of regents and non-regents to be joined in a committee of the doctors, proctors, and bachelors of divinity, for the determination of the king’s question. This he believed had not been often seen, that such a number of men of small learning should be joined with so famous a sort to stay their seniors in so weighty a cause. The king took that in very ill part, since they showed themselves more unkind and wilful than all other universities had done. He hoped they would bring those young men into better order, otherwise they should feel what it was to provoke him so heinously.”

By his third letter, he complains “that they delayed to send him their determination. He tells them the university of Cambridge had in a much shorter time agreed upon the manner of sending their answer, and had sent their answer under their common seal. He would have more easily borne with a delay in making the answer, if they had so far obeyed him as to put the matter in a method: he, therefore, being unwilling to proceed to extremities, had sent his counsellor Fox to them, hoping that the heads and rulers would consider their duty in granting his request, which was only that they would ‘search the truth’ in a cause that so nearly concerned both himself and his people. And therefore he desired that the numbers of private suffrages might not prevail against their heads, their rulers, and sage fathers; but that they would so try the opinions of the multitude as the importance of the matter did require; hoping that their constitution was such, that there were ways left to eschew such inconveniences when they should happen, as he trusted they would not fail to do; and so to redeem the errors and delays that were past.” In conclusion, the matter was brought into the method set forth in my History*.

Here is no threatening them by reason of any determination they might give; but, on the contrary, all the vehemence in those letters is only with relation to the method of proceeding: and it was certainly a very irregular one to join a great number of persons who had not studied divinity with men of the profession, who could only by a majority carry the point against reason and argument.

Here I shall insert some marginal notes that Dr. Creech wrote in his own book of my History, which is now in my hands. He says, that in the determination of Oxford they added the words of the brother’s wife (*ab eadem carnaliter cognitam*), “that the first marriage

* See note, Part I, p. 65.

was consummated ;” though this was not in the question sent to the university by their chancellor, archbishop Warham. He says further, that they mention the king’s letters, in which it is written, that an answer was already made by the universities of Paris and Cambridge. This of Paris, though not in the king’s letter, might have been written to them by their chancellor ; for it has appeared, from the letters published by Le Grand, that though the decision of the Sorbonne was not made till July, yet, several months before, the doctors of Paris had given their opinions for the divorce. He also writes, that a letter came from their chancellor, Warham, to remove all the masters of arts out of the convocation, as unfit to determine so weighty a question. Warham also, as he says, made the proposal of choosing thirty, to whom the question might be referred. In another place, he quotes the book that was published for the divorce, which affirms that the determinations of the universities were made without any corruption. The questions were not proposed to all the universities in the same terms : for to some, as to the faculty of the canon law at Paris, and to those of Angiers and Bourges, the consummation of the marriage is expressly asserted in it. And in the book, in which the determinations of the universities are printed, those of the universities in England are not mentioned. These are all the strictures he wrote on this part of my History.

Some more particulars are given us by Rymer, concerning the determination of the foreign universities. A copy of that made at Bologna was carried to the governor : upon which five doctors swore before Crook that they had not carried it to him, and that they had kept no copy of it. This is attested by a notary ; and the clerks and notaries swore the same, and that they did not know who carried it. By this it seems Crook had engaged them to secrecy ; and that the matter coming some way to the governor’s knowledge, they took these oaths to assure him that they had not broken their word to him.

The decree in Padua was made July the 1st, and was attested by the Podesta ; and afterwards by the doge of Venice, on the 20th of September ; who affirm that eleven doctors were present, and that the determination was made with the unanimous consent of the whole body : and this is attested by notaries.

But now the scene must be removed to Rome for some time. The pope had ordered a citation to be made of the king to appear before him to hear his cause judged. The king would not suffer any such citation to be intimated to him ; so it was affixed at some churches in Flanders, at Tournay, and Bruges. The king treated this with contempt, while the emperor and his ministers were pressing the pope to proceed to censures. The king of France interposed to obtain delays, in consideration of whom several delays were granted ; and the pope said, if king Henry would proceed no further in the matter of the supremacy, he would yet grant a further delay. And whereas the French king pressed for a delay of four months, the pope said, if the king of England would own him as his judge, he would give not only the time that was asked, but a year or more.

Here I shall give an account of a long letter that the king wrote to the pope ; there is no date put to it in the copy from which I took it ; but the substance of it makes me conclude it was writ about this time. It will be found in the Collection.

In it he complains “ that no regard was had neither to his just desires nor to the intercession of the most Christian king : that the prayers of his nobility were not only despised, but laughed at. All this was far contrary to what he expected ; and was indeed so strange, that he could scarce think the pope was capable of doing such things as he certainly knew he was doing. The pope, against what all men thought just, refused to send judges to come to the place where the cause lay. The holy councils of old had decreed that all causes should be determined there where they had their beginning : for this he quotes St. Cyprian among the ancients, and St. Bernard among moderns, who were of that mind. The truth would be both sooner and more certainly found out, if examined on the place, than could possibly be at a distance. The pope had once sent legates to England ; and what reason could be given why this should not be done again ? But he saw the pope was so devoted to the emperor, that everything was done as he dictated. The queen’s allegation, that England was a place so suspected by her that she could not expect to have justice done her in it, must be believed against the clearest evidence

Tom. XIV.
The Decision
made at Bo-
logna.

Col. Num. 18.

Among Ry-
mer’s MSS.
The King
writes fully
to the Pope.

possible to the contrary. The king bore with the liberties that many took, who espoused her cause, more than was fitting; nor did he threaten any, or grow less kind than formerly to those who declared for the marriage; and yet the pope pretended he must give credit to this, and he offered no other reason for his not sending judges to England. This was to fasten a base reflection upon the king, and an injustice, which he must look on as a great indignity done him."

He further complains, "that the pope took all possible methods to hinder learned men from delivering their opinion in his cause; and though, after long and earnest applications, he did give leave by his breves to all persons to give their opinion in it, yet his own magistrates did, in his name, threaten those that were against the power of dispensing with the laws of God: this was particularly done at Bologna. The emperor's ministers everywhere, in contempt of the permission granted by the pope, terrified all who gave their opinion for the king; at which the pope connived, if he did not consent to it. The pope's nuncio did in France openly, and to the king himself, declare against the king's cause, as being founded neither on justice nor on reason. He still expected that the pope would have regard to the prerogative of his crown, and to the laws of England, which are as ancient as the pope's laws are; and that he will not cite him to answer out of his kingdom, nor send any inhibitions into it; for he will suffer no breach to be made on the laws during his reign. He was resolved to maintain that which was his own, as he would not invade that which belonged to another. He did not desire contention; he knew the ill effects such disputes would have. Upon all which he expected the pope's answer." This had no effect on the pope; so far from it, that upon a representation made to him in queen Katherine's name, that king Henry

1531. seemed resolved to proceed to a second marriage, the pope sent out a second breve, on the 5th of January, 1531, declaring any such marriage to be null, and the issue by it to be illegitimate, denouncing the severest censures possible against all that should be any ways assisting in it, and requiring the king to live with the queen in all conjugal affection till the suit was brought to a conclusion.

Something was to be done to stop proceedings at Rome, or upon this an immediate rupture must follow. This brought on the sending an excusator, in the name of the king and kingdom, to show that the king was not bound to appear upon the citation, nor yet to send a proctor to appear in his name. Sigismund Dondalus and Michael de Conrades, two eminent advocates, were brought to Rome to maintain the plea of the excusator. They sent over the substance of their pleadings, which was printed at London by Berthelet. The sum of it was, Capisuchi, dean of the rota, had cited the king to Rome to answer to the queen's appeal. The chief instructions sent by Carne were to insist on the indignity done the king, to cite him to come out of his kingdom; but it seems that was a point that the advocates thought fit to leave to the ambassadors: they thought it not safe for them to debate it, so they pleaded on other heads.

They insisted much on that (*de loco tuto*), that no man ought to be cited to a place where he was not in full safety: it could not be safe neither for the king nor the kingdom that he should go so far from it. They showed likewise that, to make a place safe, all the intermediate places through which one must pass to it must be likewise safe. The pope therefore ought to send delegates to a safe place, either (*in partibus*) where the cause lay, or in the neighbourhood of it. It was said against them, that a cause once received in the court of Rome could never be sent out of it; but they replied, the pope had once sent delegates into England in this cause, and upon the same reason he might do it again: indeed, the cause was never in the court, for the king was never in it. But it was said the king might appear by a proctor: they answered, he was not bound to send a proxy where he was not bound to appear in person, but was hindered by a just impediment; nor was the place safe for a proxy. In a matter of conscience, such as marriage was, he could not constitute a proctor; for by the forms he was to empower him fully, and to be bound by all that he should do in his name. It is true, in a perpetual impediment, a proctor must be made; but this was not perpetual, for the pope might send delegates.

An excusator was to be admitted, in the name of the king and kingdom, when the impediment was clear and lasting: they confessed, if it was only probable, a proctor must be

The Pope's
Second Breve
against the
King's marry-
ing another
Wife.

Pleadings by
an Excusator.

constituted. There was no danger to be apprehended in the king's dominions: the queen's oath was offered that she could not expect justice in that case. They showed this ought not to be taken, and could not be well grounded, but was only the effect of weak fear; it appearing evidently that not only the queen herself, but that all who declared for her were safe in England. They did not insist on this, that the court ought to sit (*in partibus*) in the place where the cause lay: it seems they found that would not be borne at Rome; but they insisted on a court being to sit in the neighbourhood. They showed, that though the excusator's powers were not so full as to make him a proxy, yet they were not defective in that which was necessary for excusing the king's appearance, and for offering the just impediments in order to the remanding of the matter. The book is full of the subtilties of the canon law, and of quotations from canonists.

Thus this matter was pleaded, and by a succession of many delays was kept on foot in the court of Rome above three years, chiefly by the interposition of Francis: for Langey tells us that the king of France wrote once or twice a week to Rome not to precipitate matters. That court, on the other hand, pressed him to prevail with king Henry not to give new provocations. He wrote to Rome from Arques, in the beginning of June 1531, and complained of citing the king to Rome: he said learned persons had assured him that this was contrary to law and to the privilege of kings, who could not be obliged to leave their kingdom; adding, that he would take all that was done for or against king Henry as done to himself.

There is a letter writ from the cardinal of Tournon to king Francis, but without a date, by which it appears "that the motion of an interview between the pope and the king of France was then set on foot. And he assures the king that the pope was resolved to satisfy him at their meeting; that he would conduct king Henry's affair so dextrously, that nothing should be spoiled. He must, in point of form, give way to some things that would not be acceptable to him, that so he might not seem too partial to king Henry; for whom, out of the love that he bore to king Francis, he would do all that was in his power, but desired that might not be talked of."

On the 4th of May, he wrote to him that the emperor threatened, that if king Henry went on to do that injury to his aunt, he would make war on him by the king of Scotland: but they believed he would neither employ his purse nor draw his sword in the quarrel. Langey reports the substance of king Henry's letters to Francis: he complained of the pope's citing him to answer at Rome, or to send a proxy thither. In all former times, upon such occasions, judges were sent to the place where the cause lay: kings could not be required to go out of their dominions. He also complained of the papal exactions.

Now there were two interviews set on foot in hopes to make up this matter, that seemed very near a breach. Francis had secretly begun a negotiation with the pope for the marriage of the duke of Orleans, afterwards king Henry II., and the famous Catherine de' Medici. Francis, whose heart was set on getting the duchy of Milan above all other things, hoped by this means to compass it for his second son. He likewise pretended that, by gaining the pope entirely to his interests, he should be able to make up all matters between king Henry and him. But to lay all this matter the better, the two kings were to have an interview first in the neighbourhood of Calais, which the bishop of Bayonne, who was now again in England, was concerting. King Henry pressed the doing it so, that he might

come back by All-Saints to hold his parliament. The bishop saw king Henry would be much pleased if Francis would desire him to bring Anne Boleyn over with him, and if he would bring on his part the queen of Navarre. The queen of France was a Spaniard; so it was desired she might not come. He also desired that the king of France would bring his sons with him; and that no imperialists might be brought, nor any of the *railleurs* (*gaudiseurs*), for the nation hated that sort of people. Bayonne writes, he had sworn not to tell from whom he had this hint of Anne Boleyn. It was no hard thing to engage Francis into anything that looked like gallantry; for he had writ to her a letter in his own hand, which Montmorency had sent over. At the interview of the two kings a perpetual friendship was vowed between them; and king Henry afterwards reproached Francis for kissing the pope's foot at Marseilles, which, he

The French
King obtains
many Delays.
P. 319.
MélangesHist.
Lettres du
Roy, p. 1.

P. 8.

Le Grand,
p. 553.

An Interview
between the
two Kings.

affirms, he promised not to do; nor to proceed to marry his son to the pope's niece till he gave the king of England full satisfaction: and added, that he promised, that if the pope did proceed to final censures against Henry, he would likewise withdraw himself from his obedience, and that both the kings would join in an appeal to a general council.

Soon after that the king returned from this interview, he married Anne Boleyn; but so secretly, that none were present at it but her father and mother and her brother, with the duke of Norfolk. It went generally among our historians that Cranmer was present at the marriage, and I reported it so in my History; but Mr. Strype saw a letter of Cranmer's to Hawkins, then the king's ambassador at the emperor's court, in which he writes, "Notwithstanding it hath been reported throughout a great part of the realm that I married her, which was plainly false; for I myself knew not thereof a fortnight after it was done. And many other things he reported of me, which be mere lies and tales." In the same letter, he says it was about St. Paul's day: this confirms Stowe's relation. But to write with the impartial freedom of an historian: it seems the day of the marriage was given out wrong on design. The account that Cranmer gives of it cannot be called in question. But queen Elizabeth was born, not, as I put it, on the 7th, but, as Cranmer writes in another letter to Hawkins, on the 13th or 14th of September. So there not being full eight months between the marriage and that birth, which would have opened a scene of rallery to the court of Rome, it seems the day of the marriage was then said to be in November: and in a matter that was so secretly managed, it was no hard thing to oblige those who were in the secret to silence. This seems to be the only way to reconcile Cranmer's letter to the reports commonly given out of the day of the marriage*.

The news of this was soon carried to Rome. Cardinal Ghinnuccius wrote to the king, "that he had a long conversation with the pope when the news was first brought thither. The pope resolved to take no notice of it; but he did not know how he should be able to resist the instances that the emperor would make. He considered well the effects that his censures would probably have. He saw the emperor intended to put things past reconciliation; but it was not reasonable for the pope to pass censures, when it did not appear how they could be executed. He could not do anything prejudicial to the king unless he resolved to lay out a vast sum of money, which he believed he would not do, the success being so doubtful." And he concludes, "that they might depend upon it that the emperor could not easily bring the pope to pass those censures that he desired."

At this time, the third breve was published against the king, on the 15th of November: but it seems it was for some time suppressed; for it has a second date added to it, of the 23d of December, in the year 1532; "in which, after a long expostulation upon his taking Anne as his wife, and his putting away the queen while the suit was yet depending, the pope exhorts him to bring back the queen, and to put Anne away, within a month after this was brought to him, otherwise he excommunicates both him and Anne:" but the execution of this was suspended. Soon after this, Benet wrote a letter to the king, all in cipher; but the deciphering is interlined. He writes, "the pope did approve the king's cause as just and good, and did it in a manner openly; for that reason he did not deliver the severe letter that the king wrote upon this breve, lest that should too much provoke him. The emperor was then at Bologna, and pressed for the speedy calling a general council; and, among other reasons, he gave the proceeding against the king for one. The king's ambassadors urged the decree of the council of Nice, that the bishops of the province should settle all things that belonged to it: so by this, he said, the pope might put the matter out of his hands. But the pope would not hear of that. He writes further, that an old and famous man, who died lately, had left his opinion in writing, for the king's cause, with his nephew, who was in high favour with the pope. The emperor was taking pains to engage him in his interests, and had offered him a bishopric of 6000 ducats a year, likely soon to be void. The king's ambassadors had promised him, on the other hand, a great sum from the king: they, upon that, ask orders about it speedily, lest too long a delay might alienate him from the king."

There is also a long letter, but without a date, written by one who was born in Rome, but

* The birth of Elizabeth on the 7th of September, 1533, is decisively confirmed by letters in the Harl. MSS. 283, 22, and 797, both wrong in the catalogue. See Hallam's Const. Hist. vol. i. p. 66, 4to. 1827.—Eo.

was employed to solicit the king's cause. He told the pope, and was willing to declare it to all the cardinals in the consistory, "that if they proceeded further in the king's cause it would prove fatal to the see. They had already lost the Hungarians, with a great part of Germany; and would they now venture to lose England, and perhaps France with it? The king thought his marriage with queen Anne was firm and holy, and was resolved to prosecute his cause in that court no more. The king said he was satisfied in his own conscience; but yet, if the pope would judge for his present marriage, both he and his ministers said it would be agreeable to him."

The cardinals of France pressed the king of France to use all endeavours to bring king Henry with him to the interview at Marseilles, or one fully empowered to put an end to the matter of the divorce. Langey was sent to propose it to king Henry; but that king told him, since he saw such a train of dissimulation in the pope's proceedings, and delays upon delays, that had quite disgusted him, he had now obtained a sentence in England of the nullity of his marriage, in which he acquiesced; and upon that he was married, though secretly. He was resolved to keep it secret till he saw what effects the interview had: if the pope would not do him justice, he would deliver the nation from that servitude.

He had obtained the judgment of some universities concerning the citation to Rome. The university of Orleans gave their opinion that he was not bound to appear at Rome, either in person or by proxy, and that the citation was null; but that there ought to be a delegation of judges in the place where the cause lay. Many advocates in the court of parliament of Paris gave their opinions to the same purpose. The canonists in Paris thought that the king could not be cited to go to Rome, but that judges ought to be sent to determine the matter in some safe place.

King Henry wrote to his ambassadors, with the king of France, to divert him from the interview with the pope, as a thing too much to the pope's honour. And whereas the king of France wrote, that his chief design in it was to serve the king; he wrote upon it, that he was so sure of his nobility and commons that he had no apprehension of anything the pope could do. He therefore desired him to write to the cardinals of Tournon and Grandimont, and to his ambassadors at Rome, to press the admitting the excusator's plea; for that was a point in which all princes were concerned.

King Francis pretended that the breaking off the project of the interview could not be done; it had now gone too far, and his honour was engaged. He was very sorry that the excusator's plea was rejected; yet he did not despair, but that all things might be yet set right, which made him still more earnest for the interview. And he was confident, if the king would come to the meeting, all would be happily made up: but since he saw no hope of prevailing with the king for that, he desired that the duke of Norfolk might be sent over, with some learned persons, who should see the good offices he would do.

The duke of Norfolk was sent over upon this, and he found the king of France at Montpelier in the end of August, but told him, that upon the last sentence that was given at Rome, the king looked on the pope as his enemy, and he would resent his usage of him by all possible methods. He studied to divert the interview, otherwise he said he must return immediately. King Francis answered, that the sentence was not definitive; but though he could not break the interview that was concerted by king Henry's own consent, he promised he would espouse the king's affair as his own. He pressed the duke of Norfolk so earnestly to go along with him, that once he seemed convinced that it might be of good use in the king's cause, and a memorial was given him of the method of settling it: he upon this sent the lord Rochford to the king to see if he would change the orders he had given him; and he stayed only a few days after he had despatched him. But he said his orders for his return were positive: if a change of orders should come, he would quickly return; if not, he would get some learned men to be sent to see what might be devised at Marseilles.

The king of France wrote to his ambassador with king Henry, that if the duke of Norfolk could have been allowed to go with him to Marseilles, much might have been done; and he sent with that a part of the cardinal of Tournon's last letter

But soon recalled.

to him of the 17th of August, in which he wrote "that he had spoke fully to the pope as the king had ordered him about the king of England's affair: the pope complained that king Henry had not only proceeded to marry contrary to the breve he had received, but that he was still publishing laws in contempt of his see, and that Cranmer had pronounced the sentence of divorce as legate. This gave the cardinals such distaste, that they would have been highly offended with the pope if he had done nothing upon it: he therefore advised the king to carry the duke of Norfolk with him to Marseilles; for if king Henry would but seem to repair the steps he had made in the 'Attentates,' as they called them, and do that which might save the pope's honour, he assured him such was his love to him, that for his sake he would do all that was desired with all his heart. But he feared expedients would not be readily found if the duke of Norfolk went not to Marseilles."

The king of France sent such messages to king Henry by the duke of Norfolk, and such compliments to queen Anne, as highly pleased them: for his ambassador wrote to him, that since the duke of Norfolk's coming, king Henry expressed his confidence and friendship for him in a very particular manner: king Henry had asked him if he had no order to stand godfather in the king of France's name in case the queen should be delivered of a son: he answered he had none, but he would write to the king upon the subject: the duke of Norfolk said he had spoke to the king of France about it, who agreed to it, that either the ambassador or some other sent express should do it. The child's name was to be Edward or Henry (but the birth proving a daughter, this went no further). He adds in his letter, that Gardiner, then bishop of Winchester, was sent to Marseilles. The king of France sent from Arles on the 17th of September an order for the christening.

But now the next scene is at Marseilles; where after the ceremonies were over, the king of France set himself, as he writes, with great zeal to bring the pope to be easy in the king's matter: he protested he minded no business of his own till he should see what could be done in the matter of the king's divorce. The pope said he left the process at Rome, so that nothing could be done in it. The French ambassador wrote to his master, that king Henry charged him with this, that he himself brought over instructions with promises that Francis would not proceed to the marriage of his son till the king's matter was done: the ambassador denied this, and offered to show his instructions, that it might appear that no such article was in them. King Henry insisted that the French king had promised it both to himself and to the queen; and if he failed him in this, he could depend no more on his friendship. When the ambassador told the duke of Norfolk how uneasy this would be to the king of France, who had the king's concerns so much at heart, and that all the interest that he could gain in the pope would be employed in the king's service; for if he should break with the pope, that must throw him entirely into the emperor's hands; the duke of Norfolk confessed all that was true, but said that the king's head was so embroiled with this matter, that he trusted no living man, and that both he and the queen suspected himself.

The bishop of Auxerre, the French ambassador, had wrote from Rome, "that the pope would do all that they asked, and more if he durst or could: but he was so pressed by the emperor's people, that though it was against God and reason, and the opinion even of some of the imperial cardinals, he was forced to do whatsoever cardinal Dosme demanded." In a letter to cardinal Tournon, the bishop of Auxerre complains that the king of England was ill used, and in a letter to the pope's legate in France he writes, "that the pope was disposed to grant king Henry's desire, yet he was so pressed by the Imperialists, that he expected no good from him, unless in the way of dissembling: he firmly believed he would do well if he durst: his answer to the king of France was as good as could be wished for, he hoped the effects would agree to it: cardinal Farnese, the ancientest cardinal (afterwards pope Paul the Third), was wholly for them: the cardinal of Ancona, next to him in seniority, was wholly Imperialist. He writes that the ambassadors had an audience of three hours of the pope, when they delivered the king of France's letters on the king of England's behalf: the pope said he was sorry that he must determine the matter; for he should have small thanks on

The King of France was to have been Godfather if Queen Anne had brought a Son.

The Inter-view at Marseilles.

Mel. Hist. p. 142.

Mel. Hist. p. 174. Great Promises made by the Pope.

Mel. Hist. p. 175.

both sides. The thing had been now four years in his hands; he had yet done nothing; if he could do as he wished, he wished as they all wished: and he spake this in such a manner, that they were much mistaken if he spoke not as he thought. The pope asked them what made the king of France to be so earnest in this matter; they answered, that the two kings were so united, that they were both more touched with the affairs each of the other than with their own."

In another letter to Montmorency, he writes "that there was a new delay granted for four months. The pope, upon his granting it, pressed him to write to the king to prevail with king Henry to send a proxy. He answered, he believed that would not be done unless assurance was given that the cause should be remitted. If the matter had been then put to the vote, the ancient and learned cardinals would have judged for the king of England; but they were few, and the number of the others was great; so that the cause would have been quite lost."

At the same time, the cardinal of Ancona proposed to Bennet and to Cassali, that if a proxy were sent to Rome, they should have not only justice, but all manner of favour: for both the pope and the cardinals did very positively promise that a commission should be made to delegates to hear the witnesses in England, reserving only the final sentence to the pope. Cassali was upon this sent to England; but his negotiation had no effect: only he seems to have known well the secret method of practising with the cardinals. For upon his return he met the king of France at Compiègne, with whom he had much discourse about managing the cardinals, particularly cardinal de Monte (afterwards pope Julius the Third). The king of France had sent forty thousand crowns to be distributed in the court of Rome, upon which he offers
Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 12. Practices upon Cardinals.
 some very prudent suggestions. The letter to the king from thence seemed so considerable, that I have put it in the Collection.
Collection, Number 19.

These were the preparations on all hands for the meeting at Marseilles; where Francis protested that he set himself so earnestly to get satisfaction to be given to Henry, that he minded no business of his own, till he should see what could be done in that. The pope said, indeed, that he had left the process at Rome; but they wrote over that they knew this was false: yet by that they saw the pope intended to do nothing in it. Francis, indeed, complained that there was no proxy from the king sent to Marseilles; if there had been one, he said, the business had been ended. It was also reported that the king of France
Mel. Hist. p. 19.
 had said to the duke of Norfolk he would be the king's proxy (here in the margin it is set down, "the duke of Norfolk denies he said this"); but the king of France knew that the king would never constitute a proxy, that being contrary to the laws of his kingdom. The pope confessed that his cause was just; all the lawyers in France were of that mind: but the pope complained of the injuries done the see by king Henry. Francis answered, the pope began doing injuries: but king Henry moved, that setting aside what was passed, without asking reparation of either side, justice might be done him; and if it was not done, he would trouble himself no more about it.

He afterwards charged king Francis, "that in several particulars he had not kept his promises to him. He believed that if he had pressed the pope more, he would
Mel. Hist. p. 19.
 have yielded. It was said king Henry was governed by his council; whereas, he said he governed them, and not they him. Upon this audience, the duke of Norfolk seemed troubled that the king was so passionate: he had advised the king, but in vain, to let the annates go still to Rome." This is put in the margin.

In another memorial, set next to the former, and, as it seems, writ soon after it, it is said
P. 21.
 that the emperor had sent word to the queen and her daughter not to come to Spain till he had first got right to be done them, and that the people were in a disposition to join with any prince that would espouse their quarrel. This is said to be the general inclination of all sorts of people: for they apprehended a change of religion, and a war that would cut off their trade with the Netherlands, so that the new queen was little beloved.

But now I must return and set out the progress of matters that provoked the pope and court of Rome so much. I shall give first the several proceedings of the
The Convoca- tion meets.
 convocation.

The parliament had complained of the oath *ex officio*, by which the ordinaries obliged persons to answer to such accusations as were laid to their charge upon oath: and as they answered, charging themselves, they were obliged either to abjure or to burn. To this they added some other grievances. When they presented them to the king, he told them he could give no answer till he heard what the clergy would say to them. They also passed acts about some points that the clergy thought belonged to them; as mortuaries, plurality of benefices, and clergymen taking farms.

The first motion made by the lower house was concerning Tracy's testament, who had left his soul to God through Jesus Christ, to whose intercession alone he trusted, without the help of any other saint: therefore he left no part of his goods to any that should pray for his soul. This touching the clergy very sensibly, they began with it; and a commission was given for the raising his body.

In a following session the prolocutor complained of another testament made by one Brown of Bristol in the same strain. So to prevent the spreading of such an example, it was ordered that Tracy's body should be dug up and burnt. In the eighty-fourth session the house being thin, an order was made that all the members should attend, for some constitutions were at that time to be treated of.

In the 91st session, which was in the end of February, the prolocutor came up with a motion, that those who were presented to ecclesiastical benefices should not be obliged by their bishops to give any bond obliging them under temporal punishment to residence; but to this no answer was given, nor was any rule made against it. There had been complaints made of clerks nonresidents in the former session of parliament; and it seems some bishops thought the surest way to stop that clamour was, to take bonds for residence. And though this complaint shows the ill-temper of the lower house, since they did not offer any other better remedy; yet the upper house offering no answer to it, seems to imply their approving of it.

In the 93rd session, Latimer, who had been thrice required to subscribe some articles, refused to do it: he was excommunicated, and appointed to be kept in safe custody in Lambeth. Session 96, it was resolved, that if Latimer would subscribe some of the articles, he should be absolved. Upon that he submitted, confessed his error, and subscribed all the articles except two.

In the 97th session, on 12th of April, 1532, the archbishop proposed to them the preparing an answer to the complaints that the commons had made to the king against the proceedings in their courts.

In the 98th session, the preamble of that complaint was read by Gardiner, with an answer that he had prepared to it. Then the two clauses of the first articles, with answers to them, were also read and agreed to, and sent down to the lower house. Latimer was also brought again before them, upon complaint of a letter that he had written to one Greenwood, in Cambridge.

In the 99th session, an answer to the complaint of the commons was read and agreed to, and ordered to be laid before the king; with which he was not satisfied. Latimer being called to answer upon oath, he appealed to the king, and said he would stand to his appeal.

Peyto and Elston, two brethren of the house of the Observants, in Greenwich, accused Dr. Curren for a sermon preached there: but the archbishop ordered them to be kept in custody, with the bishop of St. Asaph, till they should be dismissed.

In the 100th session, the king sent a message by Gardiner, intimating that he remitted Latimer to the archbishop: and upon his submission, he was received to the sacraments. This was done at the king's desire; but some bishops protested, because this submission did not import a renunciation usual in such cases. After this, four sessions were employed in a further consideration of the answer to the complaints of the house of commons.

In the 105th session, the prolocutor brought up four draughts, concerning the ecclesiastical authority, for making laws in order to the suppressing of heresy; but declared that he did not bring them up as approved by the house; he only offered them to the bishops as draughts prepared by learned men. He desired they would read them, and choose what was true out

Rights of an
English Con-
vocation.
Col. Num. 20.
The Petition
to the King.

of them ; but added, that he prayed, that if they prepared anything on the subject, it might be communicated to the lower house. Some of these are printed : I shall therefore only insert one in my Collection, because it is the shortest of them, and yet does fully set forth their design. It was formed in the upper house, and agreed to in the lower, with two alterations. In it they promise the king, "that for the future, such was the trust that they put in his wisdom, goodness, and zeal, and his incomparable learning, far exceeding the learning of all other princes that they had read of, that 'during his natural life' they should not enact, promulge, or put in execution, any constitution to be made by them, unless the king by his royal assent did licence them so to do. And as for the constitutions already made, of which the commons complained, they would readily submit the consideration of these 'to the king only : ' and such of these as the king should judge prejudicial and burdensome, they offered to moderate or annul them according to his judgment ; saving to themselves all the immunities and liberties granted to the church by the king and his progenitors, with all such provincial constitutions as stand with the laws of God and holy church, and of the realm, which they prayed the king to ratify : providing, that till the king's pleasure should be made known to them, all ordinaries might go on to execute their jurisdiction as formerly." This did not pass easily ; there was great debating upon it ; but upon adding the words "during the king's natural life," which made it a temporary law, and by adding the words "holy church" after the laws of God, which had a great extent, this form was agreed to. But what effect this had, or whether it was offered to the king, does not appear. The alterations that were afterwards made will appear to any who compares this with the submission, of which a particular account will be found in my History.

The bishop of London, presiding in the absence of the archbishop, told them that the duke of Norfolk had signified to him that the house of commons had granted the king a fifteenth, to be raised in two years ; so he advised the clergy to be as ready as the laity had been to supply the king. The prolocutor was sent down with this intimation ; he immediately returned back, and proposed that they should consider of an answer to be made to the king concerning the ecclesiastical authority ; and that some might be sent to the king to pray him that he would maintain the liberties of the church, which he and his progenitors had confirmed to them. And they desired that the bishops of London and Lincoln, with some abbots, the dean of the king's chapel, and Fox his almoner, would intercede in behalf of the clergy ; which they undertook to do.

In the 106th session, which was on the 10th of May, the archbishop appointed a committee to go and treat with the bishop of Rochester at his house upon that matter. In the 107th session, the 13th of May, the archbishop appointed the chancellor of Worcester to raise Tracy's body. Then they agreed to the answer they were to make to the king. In the 108th session, on the 15th of May, the writ for proroguing the convocation was brought to the archbishop : at the same time, the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Oxford, the lord Sands, lord chamberlain, and the lord Boleyn, and lord Rochford, were in a secret conference with the archbishop and bishops for the space of an hour : when they withdrew, the prolocutor and clergy came up. The archbishop asked, how they had agreed to the schedule, which, as appears, was the form of the submission. The prolocutor told him how many were for the affirmative, how many for the negative, and how many were for putting off the three articles (of the submission). The archbishop said, he expected those lords would come back to him from the king ; and so sent them back to their house. These lords came back to the chapter-house ; and after some discourse with the bishops, they retired. After dinner, the schedule was read in English, and the archbishop asked if they agreed to it ; they all answered they did agree to it, only the bishop of Bath dissented. Then he sent it down by his chancellor to propose it to the lower house. After that, on the 15th of May, it seems, the schedule was sent back by the lower house, though that is not mentioned in the abstract that we have remaining. For that day the convocation was prorogued ; and the next day the archbishop delivered it to the king, as enacted and concluded by himself and others. The convocation was prorogued to the 5th of November.

The Submission made to the King, one Bishop only dissenting.

And thus that great transaction was brought about in little more than a month's time; the first motion towards it being made on the 12th of April, and it was concluded on the 15th of May. It appears by their heat against Tracy's Testament, and against Latimer, that they who managed the opposition that was made to it were enemies to everything that looked towards a reformation. It seems Fisher did not protest; for though, by their sending a committee to his house, it may be supposed he was sick at that time, yet he might have sent a proxy, and ordered a dissent to be entered in his name: and that not being done, gives ground to suppose that he did not vehemently oppose this submission. By it all the opposition that the convocations would probably have given to every step that was made afterwards in the Reformation was so entirely restrained, that the quiet progress of that work was owing chiefly to the restraint under which the clergy put themselves by their submission: and in this the whole body of this reformed church has cheerfully acquiesced, till within these few years that great endeavours have been used to blacken and disgrace it.

I have seen no particular account how this matter went in the convocation at York, nor how matters went there, save only that it was agreed to give a tenth. I have seen a letter of Magnus, one of the king's chaplains, who was required by Cromwell to go thither, where

The Proceedings
at York.

Dr. Lee was to meet him. There is no year added in the date of the letter; but since he mentions the last convocation that had given a great sum of money, and owned the king to be the supreme, that fixes it to this session. He dates it from Col. Num. 21. Marybone, the 21st of April, as it will be seen in the Collection. "He was then in an ill state of health, but promises to be at York soon after the beginning of their convocation. He complains that he had no assistance at the last meeting, and that the books which the king had promised should be sent after him were not sent; which made the king's cause to be the longer in treating before it came to a good conclusion. The prelates and clergy there would not believe any report of the acts passed at London unless they were showed them authentically, either under seal or by the king's letters. He hopes both these things, which had been neglected formerly, would be now done, otherwise the clergy in those parts would not proceed to any strange acts: so he warns him that all things may be put in order."

Whatsoever it was that passed, either in the one or the other convocation, the king kept it within himself for two years; for so long he was in treating terms with Rome: and if that had gone on, all this must have been given up. But when the final breach came on, which was after two years, it was ratified in parliament.

Before the next meeting, Warham died. He had all along concurred in the king's proceedings, and had promoted them in convocation; yet in the last year of his life, six months before his death, on the 9th of February, 1531, he made a protestation of a singular nature, not in the house of lords, but at Lambeth; and so secretly, that mention is only made of three notaries and four witnesses present at the making of it. It is to this effect: "That what statutes soever had passed, or were to pass in this present parliament, to the prejudice of the pope or the apostolic see, or that derogated from or lessened the ecclesiastical authority or the liberties of his see of Canterbury, he did not consent to them, but did disown and dissent from them." This was found in the Longueville library, and was communicated to me by Dr. Wake, the present bishop of Lincoln. I leave it with the reader to consider what construction can be made upon this; whether it was, in the decline of his life, put on him by his confessor about the time of Lent as a penance for what he had done; or, if he must be looked on as a deceitful man, that, while he seemed openly to concur in those things, he

Col. Num. 22.
Proceedings
during the
Vacancy of
Canterbury.

protested against them secretly. The instrument will be found in the Collection. Upon his death, the prior and convent of Christ's-Church of Canterbury deputed the bishop of St. Asaph to preside in the convocation. On the 20th of February, in the 4th session, the bishop of London moved, that the two universities should be exempted from paying any part of the subsidy. The same was also desired for some religious orders; and it was agreed to, Gardiner only dissenting, as to the exemption of the religious orders. It may reasonably be supposed that his opposing this was in compliance with the king, who began to show an aversion both to the monks and friars, seeing

they were generally in the interests of queen Katherine ; and Gardiner was the most forward in his compliances of all the clergy, Bonner only excepted, though the old leaven of popery was deep in them both.

In the 11th session, on the 26th of March, Latimer was again brought before them ; and it was laid to his charge that he had preached contrary to his promise. Gardiner inveighed severely against him ; and to him all the rest agreed. When the prolocutor came up, the president spoke to him of the subsidy. Then the matter of the king's marriage was brought before them. Gardiner produced some instruments, which he desired them to read : they were the judgments of several universities. Some doubted if it was safe to debate a matter that was then depending before the pope ; but the president put an end to that fear by producing a breve of the pope's, in which all were allowed to deliver their opinions freely in that matter. So he exhorted them to examine the questions to be put to them carefully, that they might be prepared to give their opinions about them.

In the 12th session, the president produced the original instruments of the universities of Paris, Orleans, Bologna, Padua, Bourges, and Thoulouse (Angiers and Ferrara are not named) ; and after much disputing, they were desired to deliver their opinions as to the consummation of the marriage. But because it was a difficult case, they asked more time. They had till four o'clock given them ; then there were yet more disputings : in conclusion they agreed with the universities. This was first put to them ; though in the instrument made upon it, it is mentioned after that which was offered to them in the next session.

On the 2nd of April, 1533, Cranmer being now consecrated and present, two questions were proposed and put to the vote. The first was, "Whether the prohibition to marry the brother's wife, the former marriage being consummated, was dispensable by the pope?" Or, as it is in the minutes, "Whether it was lawful to marry the wife of a brother dying without issue, but having consummated the marriage? And if the prohibition of such a marriage was grounded on a divine law with which the pope could dispense or not?" There were present sixty-six divines, with the proxies of one hundred and ninety-seven absent bishops, abbots, and others : all agreed to the affirmative, except only nineteen.

The second question was, "Whether the consummation of prince Arthur's marriage was sufficiently proved?" This belonged to the canonists ; so it was referred to the bishops and clergy of that profession, being forty-four in all, of whom one had the proxy of three bishops : all these, except five or six, affirmed it : of these the bishop of Bath and Wells was one. Of all this, a public instrument was made.

In the account I formerly gave of this matter, I offered a conjecture concerning the constitution of the two houses, that deans and archdeacons who sat in their own right were then of the upper house, which I see was without any good ground. I likewise committed another error through inadvertence : for I said the opinions of nineteen universities were read, whereas only six were read. And the nineteen which I added to the number of the universities was the number of those who did not agree to the vote.

These questions were next sent to the convocation of the province of York, where there were present twenty-seven divines, who had the proxies of twenty-four who were absent ; and all these, two only excepted, agreed to the first question. There were likewise forty-four canonists present, with the proxies of five or six : to them the second question was put ; and all these were for the affirmative, two only excepted. The whole representative of the church of England, in the convocation of the two provinces of Canterbury and York, did in this manner give their answer to the two questions put to them ; upon which Cranmer wrote to the king on the 11th of April, complaining that the great cause of his matrimony had depended long ; and upon that he desired his licence to judge it, which the king readily granted. So he gave sentence, condemning it on the 23rd of May : and then the king openly owned his second marriage ; for the new queen's big belly could be no longer concealed.

This was highly resented at Rome as an open attempt upon the pope's authority ; and

The Convocation judges against the King's Marriage.

The Archbishop, Cranmer, gives Sentence against it.

these steps, in their style, were called the *Attentates*: so considering the blind submission to the popes, in which the world had been kept so many ages, it was no wonder to find the Imperialists call upon the pope, almost in a tumultuary manner, to exert his authority to the full, when he saw it so openly affronted. And it is very probable, that if the pope had not, with that violent passion that Italians have for the advancing their families, run into the proposition for marrying his niece to the duke of Orleans, he would have fulminated upon this occasion: but he finding that might be broke off, if he had proceeded to the utmost extremities with king Henry, was therefore resolved to prolong the time, and to delay the final sentence; otherwise the matter would have been ended much sooner than it was.

Gardiner, Bryan, and Bennet were sent as ambassadors to the king of France to Marseilles. Bonner was also sent thither on a more desperate service; for he was ordered to go and read the king's appeal from the pope to a general council, in the pope's own presence, at such time, and in such a manner, as the king's ambassadors should direct. Of the execution of this, he gave the king a very particular account in a letter to him, bearing date at Marseilles, the 13th of November, 1533, which the reader will find in the Collection copied from the original: in it he tells the king—

“That being commanded by his ambassadors to intimate to the pope in person the provocations and appeals that he had made to a general council, he carried one Penniston, who it seems was a notary, with him, to make an act concerning it. They came to the pope's palace on the 17th of November in the morning. He found some difficulty in getting access, for he was told that the pope was going to hold a consistory, so that no other business was to interpose: yet he got into the pope's chamber, where the pope was with the two cardinals de' Medici and Lorraine; the pope being apparelled in his stole to go to the consistory. The pope quickly observed Bonner, for he had prayed the datary to let the pope know he desired to speak with him: the datary said it was not a proper time; but Bonner was resolved to go immediately to him, so he told the pope of it; who upon that dismissed the cardinals, and going to a window, he called him to him; upon that Bonner told him the message he had from the king to read before him; making such apology first in the king's name, and then in his own, as was necessary to prepare him for it. The pope cringed in the Italian way, but said he had not time then to hear those papers; but bade him come again in the afternoon, and he would give him a full audience. When he came again, he was, after some others had their audience, called in; Penniston following him, whom the pope had not observed in the morning. So Bonner told him that it was he who had brought over his commission and orders; upon that the pope called for his datary and for Simonetta and Capisuchi. Till they came in, the pope in discourse asked both for Gardiner and Brian, seeming not to know that they were at Marseilles; and he lamented the death of Bennet: he complained of the king's using him as he did. Bonner, on the other hand, complained of his unkind usage of the king; and that he had, contrary to his promise, avocated the cause, when it was brought to the point of giving sentence; and had now retained the cause to Rome, whither the king could not come personally, nor was he bound to send a proctor: and he urged the matter very close upon the pope. He also complained, that the king's cause being just, and esteemed so by the best learned men in Christendom, yet the pope kept it so long in his hands. The pope answered, that had not the queen refused the judges as suspect, and taken an oath that she expected no justice in the king's dominions, he would not have avocated the cause: but in that case, notwithstanding his promise, he was bound to do it; and the delay of the matter lay wholly at the king's door, who did not send a proctor. While Bonner was replying, the datary came in, and the pope cut him short, and commanded the datary to read the commission, which he did: the pope often interrupted the reading it, with words that expressed a high displeasure: and when the appeal was read to the next lawful general council to be held in a proper place, he expressed with some rage his indignation; but restrained himself, and said, all that came from the king was welcome to him: but by his gesture and manner, it appeared he was much discomposed. Yet after that, he showed how willing he was to call a council, but that the king seemed to put it off; he ordered the datary to read it quite through. In the end, mention being made

Cotton. Libr.
Vitell. B. 14.
Collection,
Number 23.

Bonner intimates the
King's Appeal
to the Pope.

of the archbishop of Canterbury's sentence, he spoke of that with great contempt. He also observed that the king in words expressed respect to the church and to the apostolic see, yet he expressed none to his person. While they were thus in discourse, the king of France came to see the pope, who met him at the door. That king seemed to know nothing of the business, though Bonner believed he did know it: the pope told him what they were about; they two continued in private discourse about three quarters of an hour, and seemed very cheerful: then that king went away; the pope conducted him to the door of the antichamber. When the pope came back, he ordered the datary to read out all that remained; the pope often interrupting him as he read. When the first instrument was read to an end, Bonner offered the two appeals that the king had made to a general council; these the pope delivered to the datary, that he might read them.

"When all was read, the pope said he would consider with the cardinals what answer was to be given them, and seemed to think that the writings were to remain with him: but Bonner pressing to have them again, he said he would consider what answer he was to give to that. So the pope dismissed him after an audience that lasted three hours. The datary told Bonner there was to be a consistory next day; after that he might come to receive his answer. On the 10th a consistory was held; in the afternoon the pope was long taken up with the blessing of beads, and admitting persons of quality, of both sexes, to kiss his foot. When that was over, he called Bonner in, and the pope began to express his mind towards the king, that it was to do him all justice, and to please him all he could; and though it had not been so taken, yet he intended to continue in the same mind: but according to a constitution of pope Pius, that condemned all such appeals, he rejected the king's appeal to a general council as frivolous and unlawful. As for a general council, he would use all his diligence to have it meet, as he had formerly done, but the calling it belonged wholly to him: he said he would not restore the instruments, and told Bonner that the datary should give him his answer in writing. Bonner went to the datary's chamber, where he found the answer already written, but not signed by him; next day he signed it; adding the salvo of answering it more fully and more particularly, if it should be thought meet.

"The pope left Marseilles the next day, and went towards Rome. Bonner concludes that the French knew of their design, and were willing it should be done two or three days before the pope's departure; yet when it was done, they said it had spoiled all their matters and the king's likewise." He says nothing of any threatening of bad usage to himself. The king of France indeed, when he expostulated upon the affront done the pope while in his house, said that he durst not have done that in any other place: this makes it probable that the pope told him how he would have used Bonner if he had served him with that appeal in his own territories. So whether this came to be known afterwards from the court of France, or whether Bonner might have spread it in England at his return, to raise the value of that piece of service which he was capable of doing, cannot be determined. It is certain it was reported in England so, that in the answer to Sanders it is set down; and from him I took it: but I will leave it with the reader to consider what credit may be due to it.

At the same time Cranmer hearing the pope designed to proceed against him, did by the king's order appeal likewise to a general council, and sent the instrument with a warrant to execute it to Cromwell, that it might be sent to the bishop of Winchester to get it to be intimated to the pope, in the best manner that could be thought of: he therefore, by the king's Collection, command, sent this to him in a letter dated the 22nd of November, which will Number 24. be found in the Collection; but it does not appear to me what was done upon it.

I shall in the next place give an account of the instructions that the king of France sent by Bellay, then translated from Bayonne to Paris, whom he despatched immediately after he came back from Marseilles, as the person in the kingdom that was the most acceptable to the king. The substance of them is, "That Francis had at the interview studied nothing so much as to advance Henry's matters: yet he heard that he complained of him as having done less than he expected, which he took much amiss. It was agreed by the two kings, that a proposition

Le Gr. p. 571.
Bellay sent
over to the
King by King
Francis.

should be set on foot for the duke of Orleans marrying the pope's niece; which had not been before thought of. The matter was so far advanced, and the interview so settled, that Francis could not afterwards put it off with honour; all being done pursuant to their first agreement at Calais. The pope promised to make no new step in king Henry's matter if he would do the same. But king Henry did innovate in many particulars, yet, contrary to all men's expectations, he had effectually restrained the pope from showing his resentments upon it: and he was in a fair way to have engaged the pope against the emperor, if king Henry would have given him any handle for it. Once Francis hoped to have brought Henry to Marseilles; but he judged that was not fit for him, and promised to send the duke of Norfolk in his stead: for notwithstanding the sentence passed at Rome, a remedy was proposed, if a person was sent with full powers as was expected. When Gardiner came to Marseilles, he said he had orders to do whatsoever Francis should direct him, but indeed he brought no such powers. The pope was resolved to do all that he could advise him for Henry's satisfaction: and Francis would enter upon none of his own affairs, till that was first settled: he still waited for powers from England, but none were sent. This might have provoked Francis to have been less zealous, but it did not: instead of sending what Francis expected, there was an appeal made from the pope to a general council, which so highly provoked the pope, that what he had been labouring to do a whole week, was pulled down in one hour. It was also an injury to Francis to use the pope ill without his knowledge, when he was in his house, doing that there which they durst not have done anywhere else. This gave great joy to the Spaniards, and though the pope offered to put Leghorn, Parma, and Placentia, with other places of great importance, into Francis's hand, yet upon the rupture with Henry, he would treat of nothing, so he concluded the marriage, with no advantage to himself from it; and yet for all this zeal and friendship that he had expressed to king Henry, he had no thanks, but only complaints. He saw he was disposed to suspect him in everything, as in particular for his treating with the king of Scotland, though by so doing he had taken him wholly out of the emperor's hands. He proposes of new to king Henry the same means that were proposed at Marseilles, in order to the reconciling him to the pope, with some other motions, which he will see are good and reasonable, and upon that all that passed would be easily repaired: he perceived plainly at Marseilles, that the king's ambassadors had no intentions to bring matters to an agreement; and when he told them that he saw there was no intention to make up matters, they only smiled. It touched the king of France very sensibly to see all his friendship and good offices to be so little understood and so ill requited. He was offered the duchy of Milan if he would suffer the emperor and the pope to proceed against the king of England. But he was now to offer to king Henry, if he would reconcile himself to the pope, a league between the pope and the two kings offensive and defensive. But if king Henry would come into no such agreement, yet he was to assure him that he would still continue in a firm and brotherly friendship with him; and if by reason of his marriage and the censures that might be passed on that account, any prince should make war upon him, that he would assist him according to their treaties: and that he would so manage the king of Scotland, that he should engage him into a defensive league with him. In conclusion, he desired that some other better instruments than the bishop of Winchester might be employed, for he thought he had no good intentions, neither to the one nor the other of them."

There is some reason to suspect that these instructions are not fully set forth by Le Grand: for the best argument to persuade the king to come to terms of reconciliation, was to tell him what the pope had said to him of the justice of his cause. It is certain that Francis owned that on other occasions; this makes it highly probable that it was set forth in these instructions; so that I cannot help suspecting that some part of them is suppressed.

At this time the king in a letter to his ambassador that was at the emperor's court, after he had ordered him to lay open the falsehood of the reports that had been carried to the emperor of queen Catherine's being ill used, and to complain of her obstinate temper, and of her insisting on her appeal to the pope, after the law was passed against all such appeals: he adds, that as he had told the

emperor's ambassador at his court, the pope had to the French king confessed that his cause was just and lawful; and that he had promised to him at Marseilles, that if the king would send a proxy, he would give sentence for him in his principal cause; which the king refused to do, looking on that as a derogation from his royal dignity. The pope it seems looked on his refusing to do this as a contempt, and pronounced sentence against him, notwithstanding his appeal to a general council that had been personally intimated to him. This the king imputed to his malice, and his design to support his usurped authority.

The bishop of Paris, coming to London, had very long and earnest conferences with the king. In conclusion, the king promised, that if the pope would supersede his sentence, the king would likewise supersede the separating himself entirely from his obedience. Upon that, though it was in winter, he went immediately post to Rome. At the same time the king sent a letter to his ambassadors at Rome. He tells them, "that after the interview at Marseilles, he had heard, both by Bonner and Sir Gregory, that the pope had in a lively manner spoken to the emperor in favour of the king's cause, and seemed more inclined than formerly to do him justice. He had proposed that the king should send a mandate, desiring his cause might be tried in an indifferent place; upon which he would send a legate and two auditors to form the process, reserving the judgment to himself: or, that the king of France and he would concur to procure a general council, by concluding a truce for three or four years; upon which he would call one, and leave the king's cause to be judged in it. The same overtures were made to the king by the pope's nuncio. He pretended that sir Gregory had made them to the pope in the king's name, and that the pope had agreed to them; yet the king had never sent any such orders to sir Gregory, but rather to the contrary. Yet, since the pope in these overtures showed better inclinations than formerly, which indeed he was out of hope of, he ordered thanks to be given him in his name. The king asked nothing in return for all the service he had done him and the see, but justice according to the laws of God and the ordinances of the holy councils; which if he would now do speedily, setting aside all delays, he might be sure that he and his kingdom would be as loving to him and his see as they had been formerly accustomed to be. But for the truce, how desirous soever he was of outward quiet, yet he could not set himself to procure it till he had first peace in his own conscience, which the pope might give him; and then he would use his best endeavours for a general peace with the king of France, from whom he would never separate himself. He therefore charges them to press the pope to remit the fact to be tried within the kingdom according to the old sanctions of general councils. If the pope would grant his desire, he would dispose all his allies to concur in the service of that see. He could not consent to let his cause be tried out of the realm; it was contrary both to his prerogative and to the laws of his kingdom; and by his coronation oath he was bound to maintain those. So, without the consent of his parliament, he could not agree to it; and he was sure they would never consent to that. He hoped the pope would not compel him to do things prejudicial to the papal dignity as it was then exercised, which, unless he were forced to it by the pope's conduct towards him, he had no mind to do. The pope had said to sir Gregory, that by their laws the pope could not dispense in such a marriage, unless there was an urgent cause pressing it; and the clearing this point, he thought, would more certainly advance the king's cause than the opinion of lawyers and divines that the pope could not dispense with it. The emperor had said to the pope, that there was an extreme bloody war at that time between England and Spain, for the pacifying which the dispensation allowing the marriage was granted; whereas, in the league signed by his father, and by Ferdinand and Isabella, upon which the dispensation was obtained, no such thing was pretended: the marriage was agreed to for the continuance and augmentation of their amity, and upon the account of the good qualities of the queen. It was also plainly expressed in that league that her former marriage was consummated: so the dispensation was granted without any urgent cause; and therefore, by the pope's own concession, it could not be valid. He sent to Rome an attested transcript of that league; so if the pope would refer the judging in this matter to the church of England, and ratify the sentence given in

De Bellay's
Mem. p. 414.
He prevailed
much on the
King to sub-
mit.
A Letter of
the King's to
his Ambassa-
dors at Rome.
Rymer MSS.
Col. Num. 25.

it, he will not only acquire the obedience of us and of our people, but pacify the disputes that have been raised, to the quiet of all Christendom. He concludes, that if the pope seemed disposed to be benevolent to the king, they were not to declare all this as his final answer, but to assure him that he would study by all honourable ways to concur with the pope's towardsly mind, if he will earnestly apply himself, and persevere in such opinion, as may be for the acceleration of the said cause." This is all that I can find of the submission that he offered; but how much further his promises sent by the bishop of Paris went, does not appear to me.

To quicken the court of France to interpose effectually with the pope, to bring this matter to the conclusion that all the papists of England laboured earnestly for, the duke of Norfolk wrote, on the 27th of January, a very full letter on the subject to Montmorency. "He was glad that the bishop of Paris was sent to Rome with instructions expressing the entire union that was between the two kings. He wished he might succeed; for if the pope would persist in his obstinacy to favour the emperor, and to oppress the king in his most just cause, an opposition to his authority would be unavoidable; and it would give occasions to many questions greatly to his prejudice and against his usurpations. It began to be believed that the pope had no authority out of Rome, any more than any other bishop has out of his diocese; and that this usurped authority grew by the permission of princes blinded by popes, who, contrary to the laws of God and the good of the church, had maintained it. To support this, many clear texts of Scripture were brought, with reasons founded on them: and many histories were alleged, to prove that popes themselves were made by the emperors; and that their authority was only suffered, but not granted, nor confirmed, by emperors or kings. Of all this the bishops and other doctors had made such discoveries, that he himself and other noblemen, as well as the body of the people, were so convinced of it, that if the king would give way to it (which, if no interposition saves it, probably he will do), this present parliament will withdraw from the pope's obedience; and then everything that depends on it will be hated and abhorred by the whole nation, and other states and kingdoms may from thence be moved to do the same. He, out of the friendship that was between them, gave him this advertisement. He apprehended some ill effects from the readiness the king of France had expressed to favour the pope, even to the prejudice of his own authority; for he had taken a bull to do justice in his own kingdom, as if he had not full authority to do that without a bull. The pope and his successors might make this a precedent for usurping on the royal authority. He also complains, that though their king had promised to the earl of Rochford that Beda, who had calumniated the king so much, and was his enemy in his just cause, should be banished, not only from Paris, but out of his kingdom, yet he was now suddenly recalled. He wishes these things may be considered in time: he does not propose that the king of France should turn the pope's enemy; but if there came a rupture between the king and the pope, that he would not so favour the pope as to give him more boldness in executing his malice against the king or his subjects; and that they might not be deceived by his promises, as if he would enable Francis to recover his dominions in Italy, if he should be thereby engaged to lose the friendship of the king and his allies."

This came in time to quicken the court of France; for, by a letter writ from Rome on the 20th of February, it appears that the pope was at that time in great anxiety. He was pressed hard by the imperialists on the one hand, and he saw the danger of losing England on the other hand. To some about him he expressed a great inclination to be reconciled to the king: he sent secretly for some great lawyers; they were positive that the king's cause was just, and that his second marriage was good. But now the matter being brought to a crisis, I shall give it in the words of De Bellay's Mem. p. 414, 415, 416. Bellay, who, no doubt, had his information from his brother. "King Henry, upon the remonstrances that the bishop of Paris made to him, condescended, that if the pope would supersede the sentence till he sent judges to hear his matter, he would supersede the executing that which he was resolved to do; which was to separate himself entirely from obedience to the see of Rome. And the bishop of Paris offering to undertake the journey to Rome, he assured him, that when he obtained that which he went

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Vitell. B. 14.
The Pope was
in great anx-
iety.

to demand there, he would immediately send him sufficient powers to confirm that which he had promised, trusting in him by reason of the great friendship that he had for so long a time borne him; for he had been ambassador in his court for two years.

“It was a very severe winter; but the bishop thought the trouble was small, so he might accomplish that which he went upon. So he came in good time to Rome, before anything was done; and in an audience in the consistory he gave an account of that which he had obtained of the king of England for the good of the church. The proposition was judged reasonable, and a time was assigned him for getting the king’s answer. So he despatched a courier to the king, with a charge to use such diligence that he might return within the time limited.

“The day that was set for the return of the messenger being come, and the courier not come back, the imperialists pressed in consistory that the pope should give sentence. The bishop, on the other hand, pressed both the pope, in particular, and all the cardinals, that they would continue the time only for six days, alleging that some accident might have happened to the courier,—the sea might not be passable, or the wind contrary; so that either in going or coming the courier might be delayed: and since the king had patience for six years, they might well grant him a delay for six days. He made these remonstrances in full consistory, to which many of those who saw the clearest, and judged the best of things, condescended: but the greater number prevailed over the lesser number of those who considered well the prejudice that was like to happen to the church by it; and they went on with that precipitation, that they did in one consistory that which could not be done in three consistories; and so the sentence was fulminated.

“Two days had not passed, when the courier came with the powers and declarations from the king of England, of which the bishop had assured them. This did much condemn those who had been for the precipitating the matter. They met often, to see if they could redress that which they had spoiled; but they found no remedy. The king of England, seeing with what indignity he was used, and that they showed as little regard to him as if he had been the meanest person in Christendom, did immediately withdraw himself and his kingdom from the obedience of the church of Rome, and declared himself to be, under God, the Head of the Church of England.”

We have a further account of this transaction in the letters that M. Le Grand has published. On the 22d of February, Raince, the French ambassador, wrote from Rome a letter full of good hopes; and it seems the bishop of Paris wrote in the same strain: but his letter of the 23rd of March is very different from that. It was on the same day that the consistory was held. “There were two-and-twenty cardinals present when sentence was given; by which king Henry’s marriage with queen Katherine was declared good and valid, and the issue by it lawful. Upon hearing the news of this, he went and asked the pope about it, who told him it was true; but that though some would have had it immediately intimated, he had delayed the ordering that till after Easter. He, with the other French ambassadors, made no answer to the pope; only the bishop of Paris told him he had no other business there, so he must return home again. They did not put the pope in mind of the promises and assurances he had given them to the contrary, when they saw it was to no purpose; and it was not easy to say such things as the occasion required: but the bishop intended to speak more plainly to the pope when he should take his leave of him, which would be within three or four days. He adds, that for some reasons, which he would tell the French king, they were in doubt whether that which was done was not conform to a secret intention of the king’s that was not made known to them. He apprehended, if he stayed longer there, it might give the king of England cause of suspicion: for he had, by his last letters to him, given him assurances, upon which perhaps he had dismissed his parliament; for which he would be much displeased with the bishop. He desires the king will give advice of this with all diligence to king Henry; and then all the world would see that the king had done all that was possible for him to do, both to serve his friend and to prevent the great mischief that might follow to the church and to all Christendom; for there was not any one thing omitted that could have been done. The imperialists were running about the streets in great bodies, crying ‘Empire!’

Bellay was to go to Rome, in hopes to make up the Breach.

The final Sentence given in great haste.

The Courier came Two Days too late.

Le Grand, p. 630, 631. Further Proofs of this Matter.

and 'Spain!' as if they had got a victory; and had bonfires and discharges of cannon upon it. The cardinals Trevulce, Rodolphe, and Priane were not of that number: others had not behaved themselves so well as was expected. Raince, one of the ambassadors, said, he would give himself to the devil if the pope should not find a way to set all right that is now spoiled. He pressed the other ambassadors to go again to the pope for that end, it being a maxim in the canon law that matrimonial causes are never so finally judged, but that they may be reviewed. They were assured that the pope was surprised in this, as well as he had been in the first sentence passed in this matter. The pope had been all that night advising with his doctors how to find a remedy, and was in great pain about it: upon the knowledge of this, they were resolved to go to him, and see if anything was to be expected. In a postscript, he tells the king that he ought not to think it strange if, in their last letters, they gave other hopes of the opinions of the cardinals than appeared now by their votes. They

took what they wrote to him from what they said, which they heard, and not from their thoughts, which they could not know." By a letter that Pompone

Trevulce wrote from Lyons to the bishop of Auxerre, it appears that the bishop of Paris passed through Lyons in his return on the 14th, two days before. "In it he gave him the same account of the final sentence that was formerly related. The bishop said to him it was not the pope's fault, for he was for a delay; and if they had granted a delay of six days, the king of England would have returned to the obedience of the apostolic see, and left his cause to be proceeded in according to justice; but the imperialists and their party in the consistory pressed the matter so, that they would admit of no delay: but when, after a day, the courier came, the imperialists themselves were confounded. He adds one thing that the bishop told him of his brother the cardinal, that he pressed the delay so earnestly that he was reproached for it, and called a Frenchman. He avowed that he was a servant to the most Christian king, and that the king of France and his predecessors had never done anything but good to the apostolic see."

And now I have laid together all the proceedings in the matters relating to the king's divorce and his breach with the court of Rome. In opening all this, I have had a great deal of light given me by the papers that M. Le Grand has published, and by the book that he gave me; for which, whatever other differences I may

Reflections on
this Breach.

have with him, I return him, in this public way, my hearty thanks. There appears to have been a signal train of Providence in the whole progress of this matter, that thus ended in a total rupture. The court of Rome, being overawed by the emperor, engaged itself far at first; but when the pope and the king of France were so entirely united as they knew they were, it seems they were under an infatuation from God to carry their authority so far at a time in which they saw the king of England had a parliament inclined to support him in his breach with Rome. It was but too visible, that the king would have given all up if the pope would have done him but common justice; but when the matter was brought so near a total union, an entire breach followed in the very time in which it was thought all was made up. Those who favoured the Reformation saw all their hopes, as it seemed, blasted; but of a sudden all was revived again. This was an amazing transaction; and how little honour soever this full discovery of all the steps made in it does to the memory of king Henry, who retained his inclinations to a great deal of popery to the end of his life, yet it is much to the glory of God's providence that made the persons most concerned to prevent and hinder the breach to be the very persons that brought it on, and in a manner forced it.

The sentence was given at Rome on the 23rd of March, on the same day in which the act of the succession to the crown of England did pass here in England. And certainly the parliament was ended before it was possible to have had the news from Rome of what passed in the consistory on the 23rd of March; for it was prorogued on the 30th of March. So that if king Henry's word had been taken by the pope and the consistory, he seems to have put it out of his power to have made it good, since it is scarce possible to think that a parliament that had gone so far in the breach with Rome could have been prevailed on to undo all that they had been doing for four years together.

Nothing material passed in convocation before the 31st of March; and then the actuary exhibited the answer of the lower house to this question. "Whether the bishop of Rome has

any greater jurisdiction given him by God in the holy Scriptures, within the kingdom of England, than any other foreign bishop?" There were thirty-two for the negative, four for the affirmative, and one doubted. It was a thin house, and no doubt many absented themselves on design: but it does not appear how this passed in the upper house, or whether it was at all debated there; for the prelates had, by their votes in the house of lords, given their opinions already on the point. The convocation at York had the same position, no more made a question, put to them on the 5th of May: there the archbishop's presidents were deputed by him to confirm and fortify this. After they had examined it carefully, they did all unanimously, without a contrary vote, agree to it; upon which an instrument was made by the archbishop, and sent to the king, which will be found in the Collection as it was taken out of the register of York.

The king sent the same question to the university of Oxford, and had their answer. That part of the king's letter that relates to this matter, and the university's answer, were sent me, taken from the archives there by the learned Mr. Bingham, which will be found in the Collection. The king required them to examine the question sent by him to them, concerning the power and primacy of the bishop of Rome, and return their answer under the common seal with convenient speed, according to the sincere truth: dated from Greenwich the 18th day of May. The answer is directed to all the sons of their mother church, and is made in the name of the bishop of Lincoln, their chancellor, and the whole convocation of all doctors, and masters regents, and non-regents. "It sets forth, that whereas the king had received the complaints and petitions of his parliament against some intolerable foreign exactions, and some controversies being raised concerning the power and authority of the bishop of Rome, the king, that he might satisfy his people, but not break in upon anything declared in the Scriptures (which he will be always most ready to defend with his blood), had sent this question to them (setting it down in the terms in which it was proposed to the convocation). They, upon this, to make all the returns of duty and obedience to the king, had brought together the whole faculty of divinity; and for many days they had searched the Scriptures and the most approved commentators; and had collated them diligently, and had held public disputations on the matter. And at last they had all unanimously agreed that the bishop of Rome has no greater jurisdiction given him by God in the holy Scriptures, in this kingdom of England, than any other foreign bishop. This determination, made according to the statutes of their university, they affirm and testify as true, certain, and agreeing to the Holy Scriptures: dated on the 27th June, 1534." Here was a long deliberation: it lasted above five weeks after the king's letter, and was a very full and clear determination of the point.

To this I shall add the fullest of all the subscriptions, instruments, and oaths that was made, pursuant to these laws and decrees of convocation. I have seen several others to the same purpose, of which Rymer has published many instruments, all from from page 487 to page 527, of Ecclesiastics, Regulars as well as Seculars, Mendicants, and Carthusians: but Collection, that from the prior and chapter of Worcester being much the fullest of them Number 38. all, I shall only insert it in my Collection, and leave out all the rest, that I may not weary the reader with a heavy repetition of the various forms in which some expatiated copiously, to show their zeal for the king's authority and against the papacy, which was looked on then as the distinguishing character of those who designed to set on a further reformation; whereas those who did adhere to their former opinions thought it enough barely to sign the proposition, and to take the oath prescribed by law.

There was likewise an order published, but how soon it does not appear to me; Strype says in June 1534; it was before queen Anne's tragical fall, directing the bidding prayers for the king, as the only and "Supreme Head" of this catholic church of England, then for queen Anne, and then for the lady Elizabeth, daughter to them both, our princess: and no further in the presence of the king and queen; but in all other places they were to pray for all archbishops and bishops, and for the whole clergy, and such as shall please the preacher to name of his devotion; then for all the nobility, and such as the preacher should name; then for the

All in England
concur to re-
nounce the
Pope's Autho-
rity.

Col. Num. 26.

Col. Num. 27.

An Order for
the bidding
of Prayers
and Preach-
ing.

souls of them that were dead, and such of them as the preacher shall name. Every preacher was ordered to preach once in the greatest audience against the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome; and he was left after that to his liberty: no preachers were in the pulpit to inveigh against, or to deprave one another: if they had occasion to complain, they were to do it to the king or the bishop of the diocese. They were not to preach for or against purgatory, the honouring of saints, that faith only justifieth, to go on pilgrimages or to support miracles; these things had occasioned great dissensions; but those were then well pacified: they were to preach the words of Christ, and not mix with them men's institutions, or to make God's laws and men's laws of equal authority, or to teach that any man had power to dispense with God's law. It seems there was a sentence of excommunication with relation to the laws and liberties of the church published once a year against all such as broke them; this was to be no more published. The collects for the king and queen by name were to be said in all high masses; they were likewise to justify to the people the king's last marriage, and to declare how ill the king had been used by the pope in all that matter, with the proofs of the unlawfulness of his former marriage; and a long deduction was made of the process at Rome, and of all the artifices used by the pope to get the king to subject himself to him, which I need not relate: it contains the substance of the

Collection, whole cause, and the order of the process formerly set forth. I have put it in the Number 29. **Collection.** All that is particular in it is, that the king affirms, that a decretal bull was sent over, decreeing, that if the former marriage was proved, and if it did appear as far as presumptions can prove it, that it was consummated, that marriage was to be held unlawful and null. This bull, after it was seen by the king, was, by the bishop of Rome's commandment, embezzled by the cardinals. He adds another particular, which I find nowhere but here; that the pope gave out a sentence in the manner of an excommunication and interdiction of him and his realm; of which complaint being made, as being contrary to all law and right, the fault was laid on a new officer lately come to the court, who ought to have been punished for it, and the process was to cease; but though this was promised to the king's agents, yet it went on, and was set up in Flanders. Perhaps the words in the bishop of Paris's last letter, that the pope was surprised in the last sentence as he had been in the first, are to be explained and applied to this. He also mentions the declarations that the pope had made to the French king and his council, of what he would gladly do for the king, allowing the justness of his cause; and that he durst not do it at Rome for fear of the emperor, but that he would come and do it at Marseilles; and there he promised to that king to give judgment for the king; so he would send a proxy, which he knew before that he would not do, nor was he bound to do it.

Thus the king took care to have his cause to be fully set forth to all his own subjects: his next care was to have it rightly understood by all the princes of Europe. I have found the original instructions that he gave to Paget, then one of the clerks of the signet, whom he sent to the king of Poland and the dukes of Pomerania and Prussia, and to the cities of Dantzic, Stetin, and Coningsburgh; and it is to be supposed, that others were sent to other

Collection, princes and cities with the like instructions, though they have not come in my Number 30. **way.** I have put them in the Collection. By these

“Their old friendship was desired to be renewed; the rather because the king saw they were setting themselves to find out the truth of God's word and the justice of his laws, and the extirpation of such corrupt errors and abuses by which the world has been kept slaves under the yoke of the bishop of Rome, more than the Jews were under the ceremonies of Moses's law. The king orders Paget to let them understand his great desire to promote, not only a friendship with them, but the common good of all Christendom: he orders him to give them an account of the whole progress of his cause of matrimony, with the intolerable injuries done him by the bishop of Rome, and the state in which that matter then stood. He was first to show them the justice of the king's cause, then to open the steps in which it had been carried on. Here all the arguments against his marriage are stated, to make it appear to be contrary both to the laws of God, of Nature, and of men. In this the king did not follow his own private opinion, nor that of the whole clergy of his realm, but that of the most famous universities

Instructions
given to Paget
sent to some
Northern
Courts.

of Christendom : and therefore by the consent of his whole parliament, and by the sentence of the archbishop of Canterbury, he has, for the discharge of his own conscience and the good of his people, and that he might have a lawful successor to rule over them, separated himself from the princess dowager, and was then married to queen Anne ; of whom follows a very exalted character, setting forth the purity of her life, her constant virginity, her maidenly and womanly pudicity, her soberness, her chasteness, her meekness, her wisdom, her descent of noble parentage, her education in all good and lawful shows and manners, her aptness to procreation of children, with her other infinite good qualities, which were more to be esteemed than only progeny. If any should object to this second marriage as contrary to the pope's laws ; he asserts, that every man's private conscience is to him the supreme court for judgment : so the king was satisfied in his own conscience, that, being enlightened by the Spirit of God, and afterwards by the means formerly set forth, he was judged to be at liberty from his former marriage, and free to contract a new one. The king also took great pains to satisfy the world by long travel and study, with inestimable cost and charges, though he had no fruit from it all. Upon this head Paget was to set forth the pope's ungodly demeanour in the whole progress of the king's cause, keeping him off by delays for seven years and more. At first the pope, instead of judging the matter himself, sent a commission to England, to try it with full powers, pretending that it could not be judged at Rome. He gave with these a decretal bull, in which he pronounced sentence, that the king might (*convolare ad secundas nuptias*) 'marry another wife ;' yet he gave the legate secret directions not to proceed by virtue of the decretal bull, nor to give sentence. He wrote a letter to the king with his own hand, in which he approved of the king's cause, and promised to the king, on the word of the pope, that he would not advocate the cause, but leave it in its due course ; yet afterwards, contrary to his conscience and knowledge, he decreed several citations against the king to appear at Rome, to the subversion of the royal dignity ; or to send a proxy, which cannot be justified by any colour of reason. He cites the councils of Nice, Afric, and Milevi against appeals to remote places. It was not reasonable to send original instruments and other documents to a distant place ; nor, in a matter of conscience, could a man give such a power to a proxy, by which he was bound to stand to that which he should agree to : it was fit that all princes should consider what an attempt this made upon their dignity, for the pope to pretend that he could oblige them to abandon their kingdoms, and come and appear before him, by which he might depose kings, or rule them according to his own pleasure. So that all this was not only unjust, but null of itself. Dr. Karn being then at Rome, as the king's subject, he offered a plea excusatory ; yet this was not regarded by the dean of the Rota, who in that acted as he was directed by the pope, pretending he had no powers from the king, which by law was not necessary for an excusator. Karn had appealed to the pope : to this Capisucchi gave an ambiguous answer, promising to give a more determinate one afterwards, which yet he never did ; but upon a second appeal, the cause was brought into the consistory, and there it was judged that Karn could not be heard, unless he had a proxy from the king : and when Karn objected that such proceeding was against law, the pope answered that he might judge all things according to his own conscience : and so they resolved to proceed in the main cause. At that time the king's ambassadors at Rome showed the pope the determination of the universities of Paris and Orleans, with the opinions of the most learned men in France and Italy, condemning the pope's proceedings as unjust and null ; the words of their opinion being inserted in the instructions : yet the pope still went on, and sent out slanderous breves against the king, and designed to excommunicate him. To prevent that, the king did order a provocation and appeal to be made from the pope to a general council, and caused it to be intimated to the pope, but he would not admit it, and pretended that by a bull of pope Pius's, that was condemned ; and that he was superior to all general councils. He rejected it arrogantly, saying they were heretics and traitors to his person who would appeal from him to any general council. It appeared evidently that the pope, for the defence of his own glory and ambition, regarded not what injuries he did to Christian princes : so they were all obliged now to be on their guard against such invasions of their authority. For these reasons the king was resolved to reduce that exorbitant power which the pope had assumed

within due limits: so that in his dominions he shall exercise no other jurisdiction than what is granted to him by express words of Scripture. Paget was to open all these things to those princes and states, desiring that they would adhere to the king in this matter, till it should come to be treated of in a general council; and in the mean time to give him their best assistance and advice, especially in some articles, of which a schedule was to be given him signed with the king's hand, which he was to communicate to them as he should find it convenient. They related to some abuses and customs which seemed necessary to be reformed: and if they would propose any other, Paget was to receive their mind, and to assure them that the king, as he desired their assistance in his causes and quarrels, so he would kindly admit of whatsoever they should propose, and would endeavour to extirpate all abuses against God's word and laws, and to do all that lay in him for the reformation thereof, for the maintenance of God's word, the faith of Christ, and the welfare of Christendom."

But because the king did not know what the mind of those princes might be, nor how far they were devoted to the pope, Paget was to try to find out their inclinations before he should deliver the king's letters to them; and so to proceed according to his discretion, to deliver or not to deliver his letters, or to show his instructions to them. What followed upon this, and how it was executed, does not appear.

The judicious and diligent Sechendorf, in his history of Lutheranism, gives an account of a negotiation of Paget's, two years before this. Cranmer, who was then the king's ambassador at the emperor's court, met with John Frederick, elector of Saxony, at Noremberg, who had secretly left the diet of Ratisbon; and there he delivered letters from the king, both to the elector, to the duke of Lunenberg, and to the prince of Anhalt, which contained only a general offer of friendship. Cranmer came the next day to the elector, who had two of his ministers about him, and asked him many questions concerning their agreement with the state of religion, the Turkish war, and the church lands, which (as they heard) they had seized on. He said great things of the king, and of the aid he had offered the emperor against the Turk, in conjunction with the French king. He asked where Paget was, whom the king had sent to the elector. General answers were made to all his questions; and for Paget, he had been with the elector the former year. This passed on to the 15th of July, 1532. Four days after this, he came privately to Spalatin, one of the elector's secretaries, and assured him that both the king and the French king would assist the elector and his allies in the matter of religion. In August after that, Paget came to the elector, who proposed many things to him concerning religion: but the princes had then come to an agreement with the emperor; so they could enter into no treaty at that time. Only John Frederick did, in a writing under his own hand, offer the scheme of that which was afterwards proposed in their name to the king.

All these negotiations were set on foot pursuant to a paper of advices offered to the king by Cromwell; in which there are divers marginal notes writ in the king's own hand, which will be found in the Collection. "First, all the bishops were to be

sent for, especially those nearest the court, to examine them, whether they can prove that the pope is above the general council, or the council above him? And whether, by the law of God, he has any authority in England? Next, they are to be charged to preach this to the people; and to show that the pope's authority was an usurpation grown up by the sufferance of princes. This ought to be preached continually at Paul's Cross; and the bishop of London was to suffer none to preach there but those who will set this forth. The same order was to be given to all other bishops, and to the rulers of the four orders of friars, particularly to the 'Friars Observants,' and to all abbots and priors. The king's appeal was also to be set up on every church-door in England, that so none may pretend ignorance; as also the act against appeals to Rome. It was also proposed, that copies of the king's appeal might be sent to other realms, particularly to Flanders. A letter was also proposed, complaining of all the injuries done the king by the pope; to be written to him by all the lords spiritual and temporal. The king writes on the margin, 'Not yet done, nor can it well be done before the parliament.' To send spies into Scotland

to see what practices were there: on the margin the king's orders, 'Letters to be written to the lord Dacres, the duke of Norfolk, and sir Thomas Clifford.' To send to the kings of Poland and Hungary, the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, the landgrave of Hesse, and the three ecclesiastical electors. On the margin the king writes, 'In the king's arbitrement.' This, it seems, gave the occasion of sending Paget. The like proposed for the Hans towns: on the margin in the king's hand, 'To know this of the king.' To remember the merchant-adventurers, chiefly those of Brabant. On the margin, 'This is already done.' Then it is proposed, that an order be given for establishing the princess dowager's house, and the lady Mary's, and for my lady princess's house: this was Elizabeth's. To this, on the margin, it is written by the king, 'The order is taken.'"

In June, in the year 1535, after the parliament had settled everything demanded of them, the king published a circular letter, which will be found in the Collection, taken from the original. "In which, after he had set forth that both clergy and temporality had abolished the bishop of Rome's usurpations, and had united to the crown the dignity of 'Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England;' which was also approved in convocation, and confirmed by their oaths and subscriptions; he adds, that considering what quiet would follow in the nation if the bishops and clergy would sincerely, and without dissimulation, publish the many and great abuses of the pope's usurpation, he had sent letters to all bishops, charging them not only in their own persons, but by their chaplains, to preach the true and sincere word of God to the people, and to give warning to all ecclesiastical persons to do the same; and to cause the pope's name to be rased out of all the books of divine service. He had also required the justices of peace to examine whether the bishops and clergy did this sincerely; or whether they did it coldly or feignedly, or used any addition or gloss to it. Upon all this, the king requires them, at their assizes and sessions, to make diligent search, whether the bishops and clergy do their duty sincerely. Likewise, at their meetings, they were to set the same forth to the people; and also declare the treasons committed by the bishop of Rochester and sir Thomas More, who by diverse secret practices intended to breed among the people most mischievous opinions, for which they, with some others, had suffered as they deserved. He requires them if they found any fault or dissimulation in any person, that they should immediately signify it to the king and his council, as that which was of the greatest moment to the quiet of the kingdom, threatening such punishment of those who were negligent in this, as would make them examples to all others: and he charges them upon their allegiance to obey all this punctually."

But it seems this had not the effect that was expected; therefore, in April, after this, a new letter, or proclamation, was writ to some of the nobility, setting forth that he had heard that some, both regulars and seculars, did secretly extol the authority of the bishop of Rome; praying for him in the pulpit, and making him a god; preferring his power and laws to God's most holy laws. The king, therefore, out of his desire to maintain unity and quiet among his people, and to bring them to the knowledge of the truth, and to be no more blinded with superstition and false doctrine, required them that whosoever they found any person spreading such pernicious doctrines to the exaltation of the bishop of Rome, to cause them to be apprehended and put in prison without bail or mainprise.

Among the bishops, all were not equally honest nor zealous. Lee, archbishop of York, and Gardiner, were those in whom the old leaven had the deepest root: so the king, being informed that Lee, though he had given in his profession, subscribed and sealed by him, yet did not his duty in his diocese and province, neither in teaching himself nor causing others to teach the people, conform to what was settled both in convocation and parliament, sent him orders both to preach these things and to order all other ecclesiastical persons in his province to do the same. Upon this he wrote a long vindication of himself, in June 1535, which will be found in the Collection.

"He sets forth in it the complaints that the king signified had been made of him, with the orders that he had received from the king; and then sets out his own conduct.

Collection,
Number 32.

A Letter of
the King's to
the Justices
to observe the
Behaviour of
the Clergy.

Col.Num.33.

The Archbi-
shop of York
is suspected to
favour the
Pope.

Col.Num.34.

He acknowledges he had received, at the end of the last parliament, a book sent from the archbishop of Canterbury as a book of orders for preaching (probably that which is the 28th paper in the Collection). Upon his receiving it, he went on Sunday next to York, and there he set forth the cause of the king's marriage and the rejecting the pope's authority very fully. And that this might be done the more publicly, he had caused it to be published at York the Sunday before that he would be there, and so took care to have a full audience: so that there was a great multitude there. His text was, 'I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come:' and he so declared the king's matters, that all seemed satisfied. It is true, he did not touch the title of the king as the supreme head, for there was no order given as to that; for it was thus only ordered to have it named in the prayer. It is true, he did not use to bid prayers, for the greater haste to utter his matter; but, upon the receipt of that book, he commanded his officers to make out a great number of them, to be sent to every preacher in his diocese. And by all that he ever heard, every one of his curates followed that book, and has done their duty in every particular enjoined in it. He took care that all who preached in their churches should follow the rules prescribed in it. He also sent a book to every house of friars. And for the religious, when any such person came to him, naming particularly the Carthusians and the Observants, for counsel, he told them what he had done himself, and advised them to do the same. On Good-Friday last he had ordered the collect for the pope to be left out, and also the mentioning him in other parts of the service. He desired the king would examine these things, and he would find he was not so much in fault as he imputed it to him. He had been hitherto open and plain, and had never deceived the king: he had also sent letters to the bishops of Durham and Carlisle, pursuant to the letters that he had from the king; and had charged his archdeacons to see that all obedience might be given to the king's orders. He had, since he received the king's last letters, on the Sunday following, declared to the people everything comprised in them. He refers himself to Magnus and Lawson, two of the king's chaplains, who heard him, to make report of what they thought of it. Whatever he promised to the king he would fulfil it; and he had done everything as the king commanded, and would still do it, so God were not offended by it. He besought the king not to believe any complaints of him till he have heard his answer. Some thought it was a high sacrifice when they could bring such a poor priest as he was under the king's displeasure; but he trusted God would continue in him a gracious mind to his priests and chaplains, and that he would give their enemies, who studied to provoke him against them, better minds for the future."

I have no particulars to add to the relation I gave of the sufferings of Fisher and More. There are heavy things laid to their charge; but, except Fisher's being too much concerned in the business of the Nun of Kent, which was without doubt managed with a design to raise a rebellion in the nation, I do not find any other thing laid to his charge; and it does not at all appear that More gave any credit or countenance to that matter, yet I have seen that often affirmed. In our own days, when things have happened both together, though the one did not by any sort of proof appear to be connected with the other, yet they have been represented as done in concert: so the conspiracy of the nun, and those who managed that imposture, was given out, both at home and abroad, as having its rise from Fisher, who indeed knew of it, and seemed to give credit to it; and from More, though he had no share at all in it.

The king of France was not satisfied with this way of proceeding; he thought it too violent, and that it did put things past all possibility of a reconciliation. He had answered for the king to the pope at Marseilles; and he was in such a concern for him, that the wrong steps he made reflected on himself. He told the king's ambassador that he advised the banishing of all such offenders rather than the putting them to death. That king confessed there had been extreme executions and cruelty lately exercised in his own kingdom; but he was now putting a stop to it, and resolved to call home all those that had fled out of his kingdom. He had seen a relation of More's sufferings, by which it appeared that he exhorted his daughter to all duty and respect to the king, which made the proceedings against such a man to be the more censured.

The ambassadors wrote this to the king soon after More's death. The king wrote, on the 23rd of August, an answer from Thornbury to this purpose: "If the king of France had answered for the king, and had justified his cause, he had done what was just and suitable to their friendship. The conspiracies of Fisher and More to sow sedition, and to raise wars both within and without the kingdom, were manifestly proved to their face; so that they could not avoid nor deny it. The relation he had seen, concerning More's talk with his daughter at his death, was a forged story: the king took it in ill part that king Francis should so lightly give ear and credit to such vain tales. This ungrateful behaviour showed that the king of France had not that integrity of heart that the king deserved, and might expect from him. Then follows a vindication of the laws lately made, which indeed were only old laws revived. The banishing of traitors was no ways convenient: that was to send them in places where they might more safely and conveniently execute their conspiracies. Upon all which the ambassador was ordered to expostulate plainly, but discreetly, both with the king and with the great-master." There appears a strain of coldness in the whole intercourse between the two courts of France and England, ever from the interview at Marseilles to this time.

Pope Clement was now dead, with whom the king of France was more closely united; and he found the king's friendship was yet so necessary to him, that he resolved to remove all jealousies: so, to give the king a full assurance of his firmness to him, he sent him a solemn engagement to adhere to him. It is true, I have seen only a copy of this; but it is minuted on the back by Cromwell's hand, and is fairly writ out. There is no date set to it, but it was during queen Anne's life, and after pope Clement's death; so probably it was sent over about this time: it will be found in the Collection.

It begins thus: "That both friendship and piety did require that he should employ his whole strength and authority to maintain the justice of his dearest friend. The king of England, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and, 'under God, supreme head of the church of England,' had, by a dispensation granted by pope Julius, contracted a marriage in fact with Katherine of Spain, relict of the king's elder brother Arthur, and had one daughter yet living of that marriage. That king, upon great and weighty reasons, well known to king Francis, had withdrawn himself from that marriage, and had lawfully and rightfully married Anne now his queen, of whom he hath issue the princess Elizabeth. And a debate had arisen concerning the dispensation and the first marriage, and the legitimacy of the issue by it. In which king Francis, by many arguments, did perceive that the pope himself had not a due regard to equity; and that what by the iniquity of the times, what by ill practice against all law and right, many things were done. The king therefore consulted the men of the greatest integrity in his kingdom, and the most learned both in divinity and in the laws of the church; whom he charged to make a report to him according to their consciences, as in the sight of God, having first conferred among themselves fully upon the whole matter. He does, therefore, upon all their unanimous opinion, clearly perceive that the dispensation granted by the pope was in itself null, both by reason of the surprise put on him by the grounds pretended in it for obtaining it, but chiefly because the pope could not dispense in that case; since such marriages are contrary to the laws of God and of nature. For the pope has no authority to dispense in that case; so that the marriage between king Henry and queen Katherine was incestuous and null; as contrary to the laws of God and man; and by consequence the lady Mary, born of that marriage, was illegitimate. And further, that the marriage the king has contracted with Anne, now his queen, was holy, lawful, and good; and that Elizabeth, born of that marriage, and all the other issue that might come of it, was lawful, and ought so to be esteemed." He adds, "that many of the cardinals, naming particularly the late cardinal of Ancona, and even the late pope Clement himself, did declare their own positive opinion to himself personally, at Marseilles, and frequently to his ambassadors, that the dispensation granted by pope Julius, upon which the first marriage was made, was null and void. And the pope would have declared this by a final and definitive sentence, if private affections and human regards had not stood in his way. All which that king did solemnly declare. He therefore, looking on that dispensa-

Col. Num. 35.
Rymer MS.
An Expostulation with
the Court of
France.

The King of
France en-
gages himself
to adhere to
and defend
the King in
his second
Marriage.
Col. Num. 36.

tion as null and void, and by consequence on the marriage contracted by that authority as unlawful and incestuous; and on the lady Mary as incapable to succeed, being born in it; did judge and affirm that the marriage with queen Anne, and the issue come, or to come of it, was lawful and valid; and that the just right of succeeding to the crown was vested in the issue of that marriage. And that all judgments and censures, either by the late pope Clement or by any other judge, that were made and published, or that might hereafter be made or published, were and are null and void, unjust, and unlawful. And he promised, on the word and faith of a king, and under the forfeiture of all his goods, and of all the goods of his subjects, in the form of a contract of guaranty, both for himself and his heirs successors, that he, at all times and in all places, particularly in all synods or general councils, and before all persons, and against all men whatsoever that should oppose it, of what rank or condition soever they might be, he would, both by himself and by his subjects, maintain and defend it, and (if need were) justify it by a strong hand and with all his forces. Nor would he ever, for the future, publicly or privately, directly or indirectly, go against it, or so much as attempt it, nor suffer it to be attempted by any other as much as in him lay."

Here was as positive an assurance as could be put in words. And though princes have, in former times as well as in our own days, made bold with their promises and
 From which he never de- treaties, and have very easily thrown them off, or broke through them without parted.
 any appearance of great remorse or shame, yet it must be confessed that Francis did never, even in the war that he afterwards had with king Henry, depart from or falsify this engagement.

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